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Gendered utopia : women in the Icarian experience, 1840-1898

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GENDERED UTOPIA: WOMEN IN THE ICARIAN EXPERIENCE, 1840-1898

by

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PREFACE

This historical study of the gender-constructed relations in the Icarian Community is concerned with the representations of `egalitarian' women as defined by Étienne Cabet in his utopian novel, Voyage en Icarie (1840), and their application in the lives of women who attempted to model them in American colonies. It will begin by investigating the contemporary social and ideological forces that motivated Cabet to formulate the imaginary society he called "Icaria." After briefly describing the utopian text's communal structure, this study will analyze its attractions for women and critique the gender problems in its portrayals. Artisan working-class readers were especially intrigued by Icaria's social organization where work and its benefits were shared by all. They responded to Cabet's fraternal and egalitarian ideas by forming the "first large communist working-class 'party' in European history."[1] Other thoughtful contemporaries crossed class boundaries and applauded the merits of Icarian ideals. Women were drawn to Cabet's visions of a secure family society with equitable opportunities for them in education, dowry-less marriages, and professions. Elements of the hopes and difficulties such women encountered when they became Icarian enthusiasts survive in archival letters, documents, and newspaper articles of the time. The thematic focus of this research will be the disjuncture between Cabet's liberating, egalitarian theories and the reality experienced by women in both the imaginary and real Icaria.

In Cabet's fictitious world, all labored according to their abilities and received according to their needs; his model Icarian women's abilities and needs, however, were

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[1] Christopher H. Johnson, Utopian Communism in France: Cabet and the Icarians, 1839-1851 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), 297.

measured and regulated by men's legislation. Equality was practiced by fraternal men who debated the principles' nuanced meanings among themselves and voted appropriate laws to bring it about. Women were referred to as equals, but the narrative plot displayed them as inferior prisoners of men's protective gallantry. Cabet's gendered myopia reflected the French Revolution's fraternal project and its anti-familial social agenda. Legislators denied women a share in political rights. Cabet took this societal exclusion a step farther, for he created female characters who had to be escorted by their husbands when they ventured outside the home. If the husband was not available, a friend could substitute, but women needed to have a male guardian to attend public occasions.[2]

The egalitarian tension in Cabet's gender conceptualizations foreshadowed variants of communist ideology from Marx to Lenin.[3] However intelligently, self-identified `men of reason' in the nineteenth-century refuted superstitious beliefs, religious mysticisms, and aristocratic pretensions, they continued to support an unscientific patriarchy with its accumulated corpus of sexual dualisms. Spokesmen like Cabet who presented equal programs for women codified their different sexual constructions under a nebulous category labeled "Nature." Language used to denote female equality was reduced to

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[2] Étienne Cabet, Voyage en Icarie (Paris, 1848), vol 1 Oeuvres d'Étienne Cabet Preface by Henri Desroche (Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1970), 297-298. This dilemma will be addressed in greater detail in this dissertation. It was presented in a paper, "`Triumph of Reason' and the `Romance' in Etienne Cabet's Voyage en Icarie" at the Society for Utopian Studies 19th Annual Conference: Oct. 13-16, 1994, in Toronto, Canada.

[3] Wendy Z. Goldman, Women, The State & Revolution: Soviet Family Policy & Social Life, 1917-1936 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 1-58. In her opening chapter, "The origins of the Bolshevik vision," Goldman traced the gendered romantic notions of women's emancipation in communist inspired groups which emerged during the nineteenth century. See Barbara Taylor, Eve and the New Jerusalem: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983).

meaningless abstractions. In Cabet's `paradise,' men arranged women's lives according to their notions of justice and happiness.

Irrefutably, increasing numbers of 'republican' men from Cabet's social background agitated to broaden their own political roles. At the same time, they rejected changes in the gender boundaries defining the private sphere. One reason, certainly, was that socially ascendent, educated men often lacked the financial means to pay servants and therefore sought all the more to retain women's private, unwaged family labor to support their public careers. In the Voyage en Icarie, there were no servants. The work assigned mothers and children in the household and in segregated workshops, enabled men to devote their energy to acquiring public status among their peers, albeit without a money exchange. And one of the earliest complaints from women in the American experiment was that they were "slaves." Their quasi-dependent state in France had at least afforded them some possibility to earn money to procure personal or household items. Without any access to money in America, the women that Cabet deceptively called "citoyennes," had to bargain publicly with Assembly men or acquire the favorable agency of their husbands.

In his writings, Cabet boasted that Icaria would liberate women. The scenarios at the beginning of his novel depicted laughing, singing, contented females enjoying family gatherings with their children. Such scenes did not match the reality of women in America where Cabet introduced a "transitory" regime which removed children from their parents after the age of two to a boarding school. Except for a few hours on Sunday, mothers had to relinquish their children's nurture and education to the Community directed by Cabet and the Assembly men. Disillusioned by this un-familial regulation, many women

convinced their husbands to leave the Colony despite the personal economic losses in doing so. A few wives even left alone.[4] Cabet bitterly castigated such husbands as traitors for yielding to their wife's power.

As it turned out, Cabet's utopia, despite its claim to emancipate women, outlined a gender system[5] in many ways more restrictive than that of contemporary France. His revisions, in keeping with Rousseauian rhetoric, privileged Icarian 'men of reason.' But well beyond Rousseau, Cabet's women surrendered their right to material choices and power over their children's socialization. Icarian men controlled women's economic production, labor value, and sexual behavior. Teams of experts determined the extent of women's housing, furniture, food, medical care, parenting tasks, educational opportunities, leisure activities, and even the fabrics and styles of their apparel. In order to profess to being a true Icarian, women had to give up jurisdiction over these domains and agree to obey men's laws. In exchange, they were promised protection, lifetime security, and 'respect' from men and boys. The novel depicted women as physicians and priestesses,

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[4] To become an Icarian (1848), one had to completely dispose of their worldly goods and submit the proceeds to the Community coffers. A signed pledge stated that none was to be returned. In addition, fees of 600 francs were required for adult entrance. This figure was reduced in later constitutions to the point where needy girls could come free since bachelors needed wives. Also, newer members who left were provided with a less drastic scale of monetary renumeration

[5] Ruth Rosen, The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900-1918 (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1982), xv. Ruth Rosen defined a "gender system" as a means to "determine which sex controls economic resources, who defines the values and division of labor between the sexes, and how female sexuality in both its erotic and its procreative aspects is organized in a society. A gender system exists alongside a class system, strongly shaping each individual's psychosexual reality. Like a class system, a gender system is not a static phenomenon: gender continually interacts dialectically with economic conditions to produce new institutional sexual arrangements and norms."

however, such professions did not materialize in America. All adults had to marry and could divorce although re-marriage was mandated. In Cabet's scheme, women's liberty was missing. Men's liberty was also curtailed but it could be expanded with fraternal approval.[6]

There were several contemporary theorists in the early quarter of the century who were encouraging women to act on their own to gain social equality. Both Charles Fourier and the Saint-Simonian leader Enfantin supported women's efforts to reclaim the rights denied them after the 1789 Revolution. Several Saint-Simonian women took the challenge very seriously. They published a journal and formed an "autonomous women's movement" that was "more radical" than Enfantin's sexual liberation programs.[7] Claire Goldberg Moses studied these feminists' emancipatory visions and the problems they encountered due to women's restricted education, financial backing, and access to news outlets.[8] A decade later, several of these feminists allied with the Icarian movement.

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[6] Liberty will be discussed in depth in a later section. Cabet mistrusted liberty because of its égoîste and anarchic connotations. Regulation and order were his standards.

[7] For the Fourierist movements, see: Nicholas Riasonvsky, The Teaching of Charles Fourier (Berkeley; University of California Press, 1969); Jonathan Beecher, Charles Fourier: The Visionary and His World (Berkeley; University of California Press, 1986), and Carl J. Guarneri, The Utopian Alternative: Fourierism in Nineteenth-Century America (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991). The Saint-Simonians have been studied recently by Robert B. Carlisle, The Proferred Crown: Saint-Simonianism and The Doctrine of Hope (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1987). These texts contain sections on the Fourierists and Saint-Simonians' encouraging support of women. Cabet referred to these thinkers' systems in his utopian novel and understood their views on women as he procalimed himself an 'emancipator' of women.

[8] Claire Goldberg Moses, French Feminism in the Nineteenth Century (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 85, 230-1. Women's struggles for equality were tied to the fates of their leftist social allies. Repressive government regimes repeatedly silenced women in 1793, 1834, 1850, and 1871.

During the early months of the 1848 Revolution, the issue of including women in 'universal' suffrage was raised by Icarians and feminists in Paris. Although their voting rights were turned down in France, some of the women who emigrated to the Icarian Colony soon afterwards, carried equal political expectations with them. True to his novel's all-male political blueprint, Cabet refused to adjust his utopia to meet women's demands for equal representation in the community. What rationalizations justified his exclusion of women from Icarian politics? What social compensations were offered to soften their unequal position? Indeed, why did women go to Icaria? And why did so many decide to leave? This study will seek answers to these and other puzzling questions about the gendered practices of equality for women in the Icarian Communauté. Cabet's non-political stance for women was supported by a coterie of like-minded males. As a body, they rejected women's efforts to secure control over their lives in Icaria's radically-changed society. Gender disharmony was a primary factor in their internal factions, high turnover, and eventual disintegration. Women, as Cabet suspected, did revert to weaponry carried with them from the old world. They defied orders and practiced subversive, 'coquettish' tactics. When these strategies proved futile, they took their problems to the court of private resort and pleaded their causes in marital chambers. After thirty years of intermittent protest and warfare, an Icarian branch established the vote for "all adult Icarians, without distinction of sex" and access to political offices. In a few years, two other branches followed their example. Nonetheless, external factors beyond the electoral powers of women coalesced to bring about the dissolution of each Colony in the next two decades. Surely the Icarian citoyennes equal roles in politics and

social affairs in these final years, had enduring effects on their lives, the lives of their partners, and the generations that followed.

A study of the fifty years of gender relations practiced in Icaria's egalitarian Colonies presents a microcosmic survey of androcentric power relations and the muddled rationalizations that preserved it. Icaria was a rare moment in history when an imagined literary utopia enhanced the dreams of thousands of restless French people. Subsequently, many abandoned the customary pattern of their lives to practice Icaria's perfected society in an unknown territory. There were times of excitement, high spirits, and sharing for many. For others, Icaria was not a 'paradise.'

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The majority of research material for this study was located at The Center For Icarian Studies (CIS), Western Illinois University, in Macomb, Illinois. CIS has microfilms of Icarian documents stored at Lovejoy Library, Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville (SIUE). The Adams County Icarian Society (ACIS) in Corning, Iowa also had many useful records. Other materials were dispersed in state and local libraries, and historical societies in the United States. The Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris (BHVP) has an archival collection of Cabet documents especially related to the 1840s and women. The Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (IISG) in Amsterdam, likewise, has a collection of letters and communications between Beluze and Cabet in the Icarian Colony including many items obtained from Jules Prudhommeaux, Cabet's foremost biographer. His Thèse du doctorat d'État, Icarie et son fondateur Étienne Cabet was published in 1907 and contains an extensive bibliography.

Prudhommeaux focused on Cabet's thought and the American experiments, but gave little attention to its gender dimensions. He also largely ignored Cabet's role as leader of the Icarian movement in France during the 1840s. Christopher H. Johnson filled this gap with his study Utopian Communism in France: Cabet and the Icarians 1839-1851 (1974), but, while recognizing in passing both the significance of French feminism as a factor in the response of women to Cabet and the inadequacy of his social vision for women's emancipation, failed to explore these issues in any depth. The latest research on the Icarians by Robert P. Sutton, Les Icariens: The Utopian Dream in Europe and America (1994), acknowledged the importance of the feminist components without fully investigating the legitimacy of their causes or documenting the relevance of women's activism to the movement. Two other recent books on the Icarians have valuable information: Claude Francis and Fernande Gontier, Partons pour Icarie: des Français en Utopie; une société ideale aux États-Unis en 1849 (1983), and Paul S. Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia" The Icarians of Adams County (1992). Journal articles and a growing number of university dissertations continue to multiply the resource materials.

Several historical publications on women in other nineteenth-century American communities have made use of gender as a factor of analysis. In particular, Carol Kolmerton"s Women In Utopia: The Ideology Of Gender In The American Owenite Communities (1990), has a section on Cabet and the Icarians who "owed at least part of their theoretical underpinnings to Robert Owen."[9] Because Cabet and Owen conferred on their systems, Kolmerton accurately concluded that women's search for equality posed a

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[9] Carol Kolmerton, Women in Utopia: The Ideology of Gender in the American Owenite Communities (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 161.

significant gender problem in the communities organized by these two men. With its comparative perspective, her work was invaluable for my more detailed analysis of the Icarian experience.

Another related study, The Utopian Alternative: Fourierism in Nineteenth Century America (1991), by Carl J. Guarneri, supplied evidence of gendered dissonance in these worker and producer co-operatives inspired by Charles Fourier. Guarneri maintained that, "Fourierism also played a significant role in the development of American feminism."[10] While Fourierism influenced Cabet's plans and thoughts, he did not share Fourier's broad vision of female equality.

Icaria began as a futuristic world, a utopian society that Cabet designed during his exile in London. Like Thomas More and earlier utopian authors, he devised an Icarian protagonist character who satirized the current political and social organization. However, in tandem with his role as a critic, Cabet was serious about implementing his Icarian plans. Key passages in the text reflect his intention to initiate a real Icarian community which would be a model for the world to emulate. He worked toward that end for the rest of his life.

Overall, researchers attribute Cabet's decision to go to America as an outcome of the 1846 economic situation and government repression. Christopher H. Johnson traced the multiple forces that restrained communism during this period and argued that Cabet was unable to foresee a peaceful evolution to communism in France itself.[11] While

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[10] Guarneri, Utopian Alternative, 394.

[11] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 235-243. These details are irrefutable, but I add that Cabet had in his mind an intentional ten-year goal of propaganda work before establishing his community. He stated this agenda in his writing in 1836-1837. The decade

agreeing with the timing and exacerbation of these events, close attention to statements in the Voyage en Icarie reveal that Cabet forecast that Icaria would be established after ten years of propaganda. With this motive in mind, he courted women's support for the 'family' emigation to America. His 'companion' text, Vrai Christianisme which appeared in 1846, offered women a version of early Christian communist beliefs that would bring about their affranchissement (liberation from slavery) in Icaria. An examination of this treatise, like the Voyage, upheld the Apostle Paul's dictum that wives submit to husbands and reject jewelry, luxuries, etc. When Icarian women demanded 'absolute equality' in voting and eligibility for all public offices in America, Cabet described their rebel activities as anarchy.[12] The unrest subsided briefly when the boisterous dissidents were removed from the community. Nonetheless, chastened advocates of equality remained in the group and recurring episodes of women's activism plagued the community. Three particular incidents appear to be at the center of gender crises and are deserving of particular attention. Women's unruly eruptions lasted for seven months in late 1850-51 and ceased with the departure of the strident instigators. However, women's subterranean ferment was part of the hostile flare-ups in 1855-56 when the members separated into two Colonies. The final devisive 'war' elevated the issue of gender equality in politics to a primary demand and raged from 1876 to 1879.

Discontented women were a critical component in all Icarian upheavals. After the Nauvoo division and Cabet's death, women in both groups convinced their Assembly men

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of preparation coincides with the 1847 announcement. Where Icaria would begin was not certain but America was second to France. He had proposed starting a small-scale community outside Paris in 1844 but was unable to raise funds or acquire land.

[12] Prudhommeaux, Etienne Cabet, 274.

to change the familial restrictions and allow children to return to their parents' households at night. They continued to request inclusion in politics and petitioned the Assembly to obtain better work and childcare fixtures. In Iowa, the unprincipled tactics used by Partisan foes divided families and destroyed the essence of the Icarian raison d'être. Their final battles obliterated moral principles that had sustained members through years of hardships. The discord culminated in property divisions and new Constitutions which changed the power balance in their respective gender systems. Women gained full political equality in the dissenting group, whereas, the majority Icarians only allowed them partial voting rights, refusing to surrender deeply held gendered notions of women's political capabilities. However, in 1885, they responded favorably to an appeal for suffrage presented by a women and agreed to change their constitution to provide full political equality to all.[13]

A few years after the 'progressive' branch re-organized, several members left for California and began another community called Icaria-Speranza. Like their counterparts in Iowa, the women had political equality. But unexpected losses from crops and livestock in conjunction with short revenues and an unfavorable Court ruling on the transfer of Iowa assets, beset the group. In 1886 the Icaria-Speranza community dissolved and the members divided the property among themselves.

This study argues that contested gender systems undermined the success of Icaria's 'egalitarian' communities. In an effort to reconstruct Icaria's gender dimensions, a number

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[13] Marie Marchand Ross, Child of Icaria reprint of 1938 (Corning: Gauthier Publishing Co., 1986), 111. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 595. Léonie Bettannier "read her plea asking that the women be given the right to vote. It was granted unanimously."

of ideas established by an electic set of feminist theorists were utilized along with interdisciplinary studies of language and context orientation. The most prominent historical models were formulated by Joan Scott, Barbara Taylor, Claire Goldberg Moses, and Karen Offen. Scott has written appraisals of French feminists' cultural conflicts. Her identification of the contradictory legacy of the 1789 Revolution regarding the 'genderless political subject' and women's protests over their exclusion in legislated 'rights' had important ramifications for studying Icarian women's gender problems.[14] Scott used the binary oppositions of French poststructuralism to confront epistemology, linguistic signification, and the processes by which knowledge is constructed.

Historian Barbara Taylor set forth women's quest for a "New Moral World" in Eve and the New Jerusaleum: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century (1983). She analyzed the utopian strains of early socialist thought that were part of the Icarian model. Cabet claimed that his utopia was based on Thomas More's ideal. His discussions with Robert Owen in England reflected points in these authors' common social structures. Taylor's work focused on the debate within Socialism over placing "labour" above "sex" antagonisms. She argued that the narrowing of the socialist program to labour concerns only, resulted in the abandonment of the earlier utopians' dream of eliminating both class and sex oppression. Cabet, of course, had specific notions about women's unequal intellectual and political abilities which were widely shared. The gender constructions in Icaria can be amplifed by identifying similar shifts in utopian visions like those that Taylor accented in her studies.

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[14] Joan Scott, Gender and the Politics of History (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 1-21.

Likewise, Claire Goldberg Moses' study, French Feminism in the 19th Century (1984), contributed to the identification of feminists and their activity. Some of the leading women that she examined saw Cabet as a supporter of feminist causes, particularly those that surfaced in 1848. Likewise, Karen Offen's voluminous research added vital information on gender issues in the period. She analyzed the "sexual politics" activity of French women in the aftermath of the French Revolution. Her historiography included elements of Cabet's citizenship roles for women and presented a "lens" for viewing the "workings of power and the symbiotic historical relationship between difference and domination."[15] Despite Cabet's equivocal stance on women's voting rights in 1848, he was an important link in the hommes-féministes tradition that Offen outlined. Cabet provoked other men to treat women as equals, even critized them for making laws about women that favored men. After considering Offen's research on these masculine historical types, my research has uncovered ample evidence to conclude that Cabet should be categorized with Les hommes-féministes in France during this era.[16]

Besides elements of gender, class, and language deconstruction, this study profited from research by feminist anthropologists, Peggy Reeves Sanday and Sherry B. Ortner.

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[15] Karen Offen, "The New Sexual Politics of French Revolutionary Historiography" French Historical Studies, Vol. 16, No. 4 (Fall 1990): 910-922., 921. Karen Offen, "Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 14 (Autumn 1988): 119-57. Karen Offen, Ruth Roach Pierson and Jane Rendall, Writing Women's History: International Perspectives (Bloominton and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991), 107-135. Susan Groag Bell & Karen M. Offen, Women, the Family, and Freedom: The Debate in Documents, 1750-1950 2 vols., Vol. 1: 1750-1880 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983).

[16] Karen Offen, "Ernest Legouvé and the Doctrine of "Equality in Difference" for Women: A Case Study of Male Feminism in Nineteenth-Century French Thought" Journal of Modern History 58 (June 1986): 452-484.

They pointed out the effect on power and male dominance in societies that was produced by sex-segregated work and leisure activities similar to those in Icaria.[17] The complex project of regenerating Icarian women's geographical, familial, and economic state was a significant undertaking. Cabet reorganized their social framework into a communal system with principles of equality and fraternity in mind. Newlyweds took vows that their unborn children would be raised and educated by the community. They set up new family patterns for infant care, youth education, dormitory living, leisure and work activities (sex-segregated), in conjunction with minutely detailed supervision over daily lives.

Icarian men wanted to improve their community but some of their regulations posed enormous difficulties for the women. When they complained, Cabet denigrated them as ignorant or égoîste. The humiliated women's attempts to ameliorate their living conditions were momentarily stifled, but the stringent controls exerted over their lives precipitated unique forms of extra-political conduct. Some women refused to obey the rules and created disturbances. Cabet claimed that 90% of his problems every day were caused by women. He suspected that a 'secret' society of "Mariannes" existed in the Colony. "All the mothers," he confessed, were "against him" and repeatedly meddled in their children's affairs. Unhappy women acquired symptoms of depression, complained of vague illnesses, and refused to perfom their work assignments. Many put pressure on their husbands to withdraw. Women who followed the laws found reflective rewards and praise for their compliance. Even here, evidence shows that some who appeared on the surface

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[17] Sherry B. Ortner, "Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?" in Woman, Culture, and Society, ed. Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 67-88. Peggy Reeves Sanday, Female power and male dominance: On the origins of sexual inequality (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

to submit to rules, harbored resentments for years and found modest means of withholding their full cooperation. It would be foolish to suggest that there was any general agreement among Icarian women to reject their inferior position or to accept the status quo. Myriad patterns of resignation and resistance appeared in reports over the years.

It is well-known that most Icarian men came from the artisan working class and had strong craft work-identifications. Correspondingly, Frenchwomen also brought specific artistic skills with them. Some, like the embroiderers, were forbidden to practice their trade because of its luxurious, immoral associations. But, in flagrant violation of Cabet's anti-liquor admonitions, he authorized a whiskey distillery that was used to produce income. The different values placed on marketable goods and community labor were contested gender points. The principle of assigning work to "each according to his abilities" and distributing goods to "each according to their needs" resulted in certain abilities elevated over others. Cabet's progressive scale of "necessary, useful, and agreeable" was used to legislate projects by the Assembly. These issues call for thoughful gender analysis. The practice of rhetorical equality and fraternity in Icaria was a complex phenomenon.

Historical and Anthropological theories offer cultural frameworks and insights for studying family, child-care, work, and leisure which were transformed in Icaria. Women struggled to adjust, to amend, and to grapple with bewildering changes in their lives as they sought an improved egalitarian family model. This dissertation endeavors to portray the gender dilemmas in the Icarian episode by re-creating women's lives as they were

guided by a variety of material and intellectual forces and as they reshaped such forces by virtue of their specific interactions.

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CHAPTER ONE

ÉTIENNE CABET'S YOUTHFUL IMAGES OF WOMEN AND HIS CAREER DAYS

> . . . if I caught myself watching some girl with pleasure,
> I quickly made the sign of the cross to invoke divine help
> against the spirit of temptation.[1]

Symbolic behavioral habits like this one practiced by Étienne Cabet when he was thirteen years old were part of a young boy's religious instruction in France. Adolescents were counseled to seek divine help for their fantasized struggle to avoid sinful contact with the devil-inspired temptations of girls. Moralists exploited youthful trust with senseless, tactical banalities in an effort to limit any dangerous 'mingling of the sexes.' The threatened spread of uncontrolled sexual freedom cast dark shadows over industrializing Europe at the dawn of the nineteenth century. An entrenched legacy of mystically constructed sexual imagery had to be examined and discarded before an equitable system of human equality could replace patriarchal privileges.

Thirty years after scrupulously looking away from the 'pleasurable' sight of girls, Étienne Cabet in an exceptional moment of hubris, composed a model utopian society free of such superstitious devices. He called it Icarie. It was a rational world and exhibited his vision of equality between the sexes. Cabet's quasi-feminist format was consciously selected from various sources in his cultural and political surroundings. This study begins with an exploration of Cabet's reality - the pertinent intellectual ideas and social events that framed his conception of female equality - liberating images so powerful that they

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[1] Étienne Cabet, Voyage en Icarie (Paris: 1848) vol 1 Oeuvres d'Étienne Cabet Preface by Henri Desroche, (Paris: Èditions Anthropos, 1970), 281-2. Jules Prudhommeaux, Icarie et son foundateur Étienne Cabet (Paris: Edouard Cornély & cie, 1907), 3 n3. Beluze, in Cabet's biography, claimed this Voyage passage was in "reality a fragment of his autobiography."

captured the imagination of thousands of women readers of his utopian novel, Voyage en Icarie (1840). Within a decade of its publication, scores of convinced Icariennes agreed to emigrate to America and practice Cabet's egalitarian theories in seven Icarian Communities from 1848-1898.

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Jacobin Zealots

The quest to understand Icaria's gender designs for women begins with a glimpse of Cabet in his early childhood years. The rallying symbols of Liberté, Égalité, and Fraternité in 1789 carried heightened expectations of political equality into working-class households across France. Born in Dijon in 1788, young Étienne Cabet was exposed to these lively rhetorical exchanges in his father's artisan workshop. His mother, Françoise Bertier Cabet, carried out her familial tasks and attended to her youngest son's Catholic upbringing.[2] In this same period, some daring women were inspired by the revolutionary activity and publicly proclaimed their right to share in the egalitarian dreams extended to men. There is no verifiable evidence that Cabet's mother did or did not champion such radical appeals.[3] The militant, revolutionary battle waged for women's equality was

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[2] Christopher H. Johnson, Utopian Communism in France: Cabet and the Icarians, 1839-1851 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), 21. Johnson recorded these details from Cabet's birth certificate in the Archives Nationales de France, C 1194 (Cote d'Or). Additional information on Cabet's relatives was presented in Icaria (1975), 7. His paternal grandparents were Jacques Cabet, a roofer, and Claudine Cotton. On the maternal side, Étienne Berthier, a weaver and François Fay. They married Nov. 14, 1785 in Dijon and had four sons, Jean, Jean Baptiste, Louis, and Étienne. They baptized Étienne at St. Michel Cathedral in Dijon on January 2, 1788.

[3] For texts on women and equality issues in the French Revolution, see: Sara E. Melzer and Leslie W. Rabine, Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Darline Gay Levy, Harriet Branson Applewhite, and Mary Durham Johnson, Women in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-1795: Selected documents with Notes and Commentary (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979). Joan

unsuccessfully pitted against the robust authority of patriarchy, class, law, and religious misogyny. Cabet personally encountered these powerful agents in the cultural conflicts of 1815 and 1830. The cerebral growth of his plan for an egalitarian society was a by-product of his complex assessment of these turbulent social and ideological upheavals.

When news of the revolutionary events reached the predominately male Cabet family members, women's demand for gender equality was a more sensationalist topic than fraternal equality. It could hardly have been ignored.[4] Cabet's father was a recognized Jacobin supporter.[5] The Jacobin leadership directed punitive legislation against the public activity of radical women. Cabet's political-minded relatives no doubt agreed with these measures. His three older brothers mastered their father and grand-father's coopering craft in Dijon, a center for the Burgundy wine trade in the Côte-d'Or district.[6] Young Cabet, however, had myopic eyesight and lacked an elemental aptitude for coopering. He was able to develop different skills in this period because class barriers had been effectively

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B. Landes, Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution (Ithaca: Cornell Universitiy Press, 1988).

[4] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 21-2. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 31.

[5] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 21-2. Noting the strength of Jacobinism in Dijon, Johnson found that later Cabet "must have drifted to the right." Pamela Pilbeam, The 1830 Revolution in France (London: Macmillan, 1991), 14-15. Pilbeam's concentrated study on details of the 1830 Revolution revealed that the Dijon mayor was part of a Jacobin group there. Cabet defended a Dijon mayor in 1820.

[6] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 1. Cabet's father was a master tonnellerie (cooperage) employing two or three compagnons (journeymen). Economically, the family would be typically petit-bourgeois. This and other general facts about his family are cited in most studies of Cabet. Beluze began a biography of him with Henry Carle but stopped after the fourth installment in 1861. It followed Cabet's life up to his election to Parliament in July 1831.

lowered and new careers opened up for boys. Educational reforms stressed merit and intellectual rank, not inherited nobility. Therefore, by applying himself to his studies, Cabet's educational achievements allowed him to choose from professions beyond those commonly available to boys from artisan backgrounds.

In addition to gaining knowledge in his coursework, Cabet experienced a spiritual challenge at the onset of his teen-age years. Like his fellow classmates, he had obediently accepted the moral, religious recommendations supplied young boys in his native environment. At the Catholic lycée (secondary school) in Dijon, as noted in the opening quote, he vowed to escape sexually tempting sights by performing the ritual 'sign of the cross.' The myth of the seductress Eve had shaped Cabet's emotional consciousness during these formative years. Women were associated with wicked pleasure, a fearful view which sharply limited his interpretations of gender equality. There were other striking behavioral clues in the passage about the 'pretty girls.' Cabet certified it as a true personal incident and used it to illustrate his rationale for rejecting mysticism. His unfolding pursuit of logical certainty appears to have originated with this episode. In recording his tale, Cabet used the absurd piety of his youth to demonstrate the controlling power of irrational religious beliefs for readers of the Voyage.

> . . . I was thirteen years old when a respectable priest, who had taken a liking to me and who wanted to make me a priest, indoctrinated me to such a point that he persuaded me that God always had his *eye open*, that he saw everything, that one could not do anything without his aid and invoking him sincerely. All the privations that are imposed to please him are agreeable. I believed it in all of the purity of my soul. I was the most innocent and the most fervent among the pious and the believers. Now hear the consequences! Listen well, William! [a novel character]
>
> It seemed to me, all the time and everywhere, that the sight of the eye of God, the *immense eye*, [was] opened and fixed on me (*laughter*). I saw with terror that eye in the highest heavens; and even in the darkness, I could not have done the least thing that He might condemn. . . . When I went to college, persuaded that I

> could not write a good *composition* without His help, I addressed my prayer to him with confidence and first made the *sign of the cross*, in a manner that no one might see me doing it, waiting a considerable interval between the four motions of my hand (*new laughter*), but if I had believed it necessary I should have made them with ostentation. . . . On returning hungry from a walk, if I had the idea that it would be agreeable to him if I deprived myself of a dish that gave me great pleasure, I deprived myself of it with happiness. . . (*new laughter*); and if I caught myself watching some girl with pleasure, I quickly made the sign of the cross to invoke divine help against the spirit of temptation. . . . (*this last revelation caused much more laughter*).
>
> - 'And how did you get over this?' Valmor asked me. - One talk with a good old man, father of one of my school comrades, made me have some reflexions which cured me of my madness (for I was at the point of going insane); first I prayed to God with all the fervor of my soul, I begged him on my knees, I supplicated him with my hands folded together to make the truth known to me, by some sign, by a wink of the eye, for example, promising him that I would consecrate all the days and all the moments of my life, and that I would throw myself into the flames without hesitating, if he order it. . . .
>
> I even said to him, I remember: 'Oh my God, God All-powerful, God infinitely good, show yourself once more to me and to all the world, like you did to Moses! Show yourself, speak from heaven, command! and all men, without exception, I am sure, will prostrate themselves like me and will obey you like me, and the human race which courts the eternal supplices will be saved! . . . God all powerful, good God, just God, merciful God, God our father, speak, show me, save your children!!!'
>
> - And then? said Valmor. - But my *great eye* did not make the least wink, and I ceased to believe, without experiencing the least discomfort in my conscience.[7]

Cabet's reminiscence perhaps exaggerated the simplicity with which he ceased to believe in God's all-seeing eye, but it reveals the level of religious fear commonly taught to children and Cabet's adult awareness of the power of such mental constructions. At thirteen, he conscientiously wanted to please his superiors and be morally upright. But a friendly priest misled him with false dogma. The 'great eye' failed Cabet's 'blinking' test and feeling foolishly betrayed, he 'ceased to believe.'

Two years later, at the age of fifteen, Cabet's scholastic work was rewarded. He

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[7] Voyage, 281-2. Italics were used by Cabet. This and subsequent translations are mine.

proudly donned the rank of professeur and was assigned to teach younger pupils in the lycée.[8] His appointment was made by Jacotot, a teacher who gained fame for his educational theories. Like many instructors in this era, Jacotot used Archbishop François de Fénelon's book, Télémaque (1699) to convey moral lessons to pupils like Cabet. Fénelon was also celebrated for his Traité sur l'éducation des Filles (Treatise on the Education of Girls), a particularly controversial subject. Cabet may have read this, for he proposed an equal system of education for girls in his utopian society. Regardless of the depth of his literary explorations, Cabet was given a copy of Télémaque by Jacotot. Later, he claimed that he found ideas in it that were useful in planning his utopian world.[9] Fénelon's text belongs in the literary canon of early utopian works such as Thomas More's Utopia (1516) and Tommaso Campanella's La Città del Sole: Dialogo Poetico (1602). Its portrait of an ideal country and ruler provided Cabet with an inspirational focus for his study of political power.[10] Imaginative adventures of Telemachus were executed in mythical settings.[11] The novel was a useful artifice for criticizing the cruel deeds of

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[8] Christopher H. Johnson, "Etienne Cabet and the Icarian Movement in France, 1839-1851" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1968), 18. Cabet was renowned for reciting his accomplishments to impressionable followers. The Dijon école centrale was transformed into a lycée in 1804. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 5. Cabet taught mathematics and astronomy.

[9] Robert P. Sutton, Les Icariens: The Utopian Dream in Europe and America (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 149n2. Cabet discovered the uselessness of money in this text.

[10] Katherine Day Little, François de Fénelon: Study of a Personality (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1951), 86-90. Telemachus was advised how a wise King reigned with affection for the people and strict honor in all political dealings. Later, Fenelon's enemies accused him of making the unjust monarch "a copy of Louis XIV" which led to his disfavor at court.

[11] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 3. Cabet studied Latin for two years using the Télémaque

tyrants.[12] There was fraternité in the world of Telemachus but personal liberté was cautiously measured. No genuine égalité existed despite the allure of virtuous communism. Fénelon, the royal prince's tutor, was writing for a censorious ruler in the hierarchical world of the seventeenth century. An enormous gap separated the background of Telemachus from that of Cabet's youth where kingship, noble privileges, and titles had been abolished. The nineteenth-century ruling order was in the process of redefinition and the French government faced the task of revising the legal boundaries of all its citizens to conceptualize an egalitarian people.

Besides the mental influence of Fenelon's moralist writings, the methods Cabet employed to learn and to teach others were vital components of his evolving world view. Jacotot's numerous works reflect the influence of his popular theory of self-education. In his book, Enseignement universel (Universal Teaching) (1829),[13] Jacotot urged readers who had a desire (volonté) to learn a subject to teach themselves. He gave them three simple steps to follow.[14] First, they needed to have a strong interest in mastering the subject. Second, a learner had to find relevant analogies to use as aids in understanding the material. And finally, his new knowledge had to be repeated until it became a habit. Cabet

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text.

[12] Little, François de Fénelon, 250.

[13] Jean Joseph Jacotot, Enseignement universel (Paris: Au Bureau du Journal de l'Émancipation intellectuelle, 1829). This book offered self-tutoring advice using the example of one who wants to learn to play musical instruments. Jacotot referred to Telemaque on page 228.

[14] Ibid., 1-8. Jacotot discussed the problem of motivating students volonté. One needed to have patience to change their d'etat (state).

recommended these elemental drills to others and practiced them himself for the remainder of his life. A perusal of his writings shows that he consistently repeated concise phrases, constructed meaningful metaphors, and urged others to re-read his writings.[15]

After Cabet successfully completed Jacotot's courses, he spent a brief period studying medicine before switching to a legal career.[16] The dean of the Dijon law school, Victor Proudhon, housed and mentored Cabet and he passed the Bar examination on May 1, 1812.[17] It is very likely that Proudhon discussed his leftist political sentiments with his apprentice.[18] Thus we find Cabet at the age of twenty-four, circulating in a locale strongly associated with the Jacobin's negative attitude regarding equality for women, and relatively devoid of detectable feminism. Jacotot and Proudhon had conveyed a sense of

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[15] Prudhommeaux also noted that Cabet instructed his students with "quality repetition." Cabet learned to memorize material by association and repetition. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 22-3. Johnson emphasized Jacotot's approach was effective in Cabet's discovery that career and political involvement "go hand in hand." Johnson, "Utopian Communism" diss., 28-9. Dubois wrote how "Cabet, speaking with a slow and methodical precision, astonished me by a narrative of which all the words appeared prepared in advance and engraved in his memory with such imperturbable fidelity that one would have said that he was reading a written document." Cabet's mnemonic devices were a technique he refined to compensate for his eyesight difficulties.

[16] Jean Maitron, Dictionnaire biographique du mouvement ouvrier Français Tome II (Paris: Les Éditions Ouvrières, 1965), 309-10. (Hereafter cited Dict. biog. with Tome number.) Cabet's interest in medicine was reflected in Icaria's healthcare designs and in his correspondence with physicians like Dr. Ange Guépin (1805-1873), a member of the Franc-Maçonnerie, Charbonnerie, and Saint-Simonians. It was said of him "that he rendered sight to the blind." Cabet may have sought treatment for his eyes from him. They shared similar political associations. See Herman Hausheer, "Icarian Medicine: Étienne Cabet's Utopia and Its French Medical Background" Bulletin of the History of Medicine (May 1941), 294-331; 401-35; 517-29.

[17] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 21n5-22. Cabet requested a loan from Proudhon in the 1820s, therefore, he must have remained in touch with him after his return from exile.

[18] Ibid., 22. Johnson ranked Proudhon somewhere "on the left."

self-confidence and legal knowledge to him. His boyish sexual apprehensions remain somewhat ambiguous, but it appears that he had abandoned incredulous religious superstitions. However, disastrous military and political events abruptly transformed his career as well as his political and gender notions in January 1814.

The Austrian forces moved into Burgundy and the city of Dijon was occupied by Francis II's Restoration army. Its inhabitants resented being forced to supply troop requisitions and abhorred the soldiers' pillage and rapine. Cabet, Jacotot, and Proudhon promptly joined the regional opposition group, la Fédération bourguignonne. Along with many of their townsmen, the trio enlisted in the National Guard to aid Napoleon in his battle against the royalists.[19] After the painfully abortive Hundred Days, the Restoration's "white terror" in Dijon forced Jacotot and Proudhon into exile in Belgium. Cabet received a lighter punishment and was suspended from practicing law for three months.[20]

These adverse forces interrupted Cabet's maturing vision of himself as a lawyer. After years of family and educational preparation, he was anxious to establish himself and he secured a legal position in Paris. A recent study of Cabet noted that his future wife, Denise Lesage, went along with him to Paris. They had been "adolsescent sweethearts" whose fathers were tonneliers. She shared Cabet's political ideas and accepted his invitation to be his "companion" and "secretary."[21] This portrait shows that Cabet had

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[19] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 7. Republican Jacotot served as a revolutionary army artillery captain in the Belgium campaign in 1792. Liberal Proudhon was for the restoration monarchy.

[20] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 9-10. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 22n8. Jacotot found a position teaching French at the University of Louvain in Belgium. Proudhon was allowed to return to Dijon in 1816 where his position as Dean was restored in 1818.

[21] Claude Francis Gontier and Fernande Gontier, Partons pour Icarie: des français en

definitely moved beyond boyish consternations regarding the sight of a 'pretty girl' and 'great eye' fears. However, there is no evidence to show that he was unduly concerned about women's equal status in society or any clue that he would identify himself as a spokesman for the liberation of women in a few years. For these developments, like Denise, we must follow Cabet's ideological progression in Paris.

A Career Amidst the Revolutionary Vanguard

At the end of his three month suspension, Cabet was re-admitted to the bar and took up the legal defense of several prominent men on traitorous charges. Bourbon officials were incensed because so many men had re-joined Napoleon. Cabet was able to win an acquittal for General Antoine Vaux, the military commander of Burgundy, a feat his Dijon patriots applauded.[22] Other leaders, like Marshal Ney, however, were shot as traitors. Fourteen thousand army officers lost their positions and three hundred twenty-four thousand soldiers were dismissed from active duty in the purge. Only those with influential patrons survived. The army reductions alone created disaffected strata of opposition.[23] To prevent further ideological resistance after 1814, instructors in Royalist schools were forbidden to teach students about the Revolutionary period or the Republic. Cabet's heritage of Jacobin concepts was suppressed even more with the revival of

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utopie; une société ideale aux Etats-Unis en 1849 (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1983), 12-13. The Gontier authors (and Prudhommeaux) use Delphine Lesage, but since Cabet's letters, marriage license, and his references to her were addressed to "Denise," I will use Denise in this study.

[22] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 22.

[23] Pamela Pilbeam, The 1830 Revolution in France (London: Macmillan, 1991), 18. Dijon was one of three areas for Pilbeams' analysis. I have drawn data on Cabet from her research.

Catholicism as the official religion of France and the return of the Jesuits.[24] Although he escaped the exile sentences meted his notable mentors, the Royalist police continued to monitor his activities.[25] The ongoing purgative jurisdiction surrounding the 1815 restoration caused him to consider extralegal means of opposition. He was not alone in his estrangement. Like the discharged soldiers, many influential men were deprived of their official posts and in a position to become "articulate foci for discontent."[26] Along with his Dijon affliations, Jacotot, and Proudhon, Cabet's ideology can also be coupled with the renewed fervor of French masonic anti-clericalism.

The basic continental current of Freemason ideology embodied a Deist image of an unknownable creator, the Supreme Being. This appealing belief served to extinguish vestiges of religious superstition. Masonic lodges held secret intiation rites that exalt fraternity and equality between men. Moreover, aspiring members were screened to determine their moral character.[27] Those who were deemed worthy and accepted for

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[24] Ibid., 19, 24. In addition, many Republicans converted to Monarchism after 1814.

[25] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 10n1. In Cabet's Toute la vérité (Nauvoo: Imprimerie Icarienne, 1856), he recalled his work as a lawyer during this era. He stood before the bar in bourgeois clothing, [Piogy trial] and approached a jury composed of nobles prepared to defend the royalist cause. "I did not hesitate a moment, I accepted the mission, saintly in my eyes, of giving an enlightened opinion, of guiding justice, of protecting the weak, of disarming the powerful iniquity; I braved the peril with a delicious feeling of pleasure, I was intoxicated with happiness, fighting alone and triumphing." These braggadocian reflections may not fully recall his fears, but the image of a holy mission to protect the weak, was a motivating force in his life.

[26] Pilbeam, 1830 Revolution, 14-15. They were "divided among themselves and far from revolutionary."

[27] Chameroy to concitoyen Stéphen [English for Étienne], August 26, 1842 CIS, SIUE folder 12. Cabet's 'apostle' Chameroy promoted his works to the Freemasons in the 1840s. "J'y fais jouer un rôle à la franc-Maçonnerie pour exiter la curiosité; j'y indigue les ouvrages." Another document at CIS (nd ~ 1843) certifies the esteem the

membership were regarded as upright, trustworthy, and honest individuals. In France, the lodges brought together men of different birth and rank. However, they

> mediated two mental universes. The first and older one endorsed deference, birth, and inherited status. The second, which was newer and more democratic in its implications, argued for men, generally not women, as creatures equally capable of reason, and hence best judged by their merits. . . . However much the Enlightenment's endorsement of human equality was tied inexorably to literate and polite culture and deeply distrustful of "the people," it was palpably different from the rationale that justified separate and privileged estates.[28]

Not only were virtuous men fusing their class identities, but several democratic Freemasonry lodges had begun admitting women to their organizations. This practice originated in the Netherlands in 1751 and spread to France after 1774. Previously, women were designated as "profane" beings and their inclusion was a volatile, contentious subject. Cabet's birthplace, Dijon, was one of the regions where French masonry had opened lodges of adoption for women. They were quite popular, and the orators in the female lodges were recommending that their members practice the agreeable virtues of charity, modesty, and discretion.[29] However, the problematic definition of gender equality had been magnified by the recent revolution and women's roles in the masonry were reassessed.[30] New lodges created after the Restoration were primarily masculine.

Franc-maçonneries held for Cabet. They sponsored his publications for members to read. Sutton, Les Icarians, 98. When Cabet died, he was interred "with the rites of the Free Mason."

[28] Margaret C. Jacob, Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 198.

[29] Ibid., 140-41. In the mixed lodge ceremony for women, a table contained a representation of the "tree of life" and the "serpent." After the 1780s, French women's lodges contained a "singular radical voice" protesting the "tyranny" of men in their knowledge of the sciences, and bearing of arms. Women attempted to gain reciprocal power like the 'Amazons' and study the sciences. Cabet offered women minor roles in the army and scientific study in his utopia.

In 1818, several young Frenchmen founded a Grand Orient Masonic lodge, Amis de Vérité (Friends of Truth).[31] Two of Cabet's acquaintances, Bazard and Buchez, were among the initial Amis de Vérité, but there is no evidence that he enlisted at this date.[32] In February 1820, the lodge was under police surveillance as he completed details of an important trial. His pre-trial anxieties were intensified by eyesight difficulties causing near blindness and he requested a postponement. It was denied and court hearings continued. The hostile political climate increased with the assassination of the son of Charles X, the Duc de Berry.[33] Cabet won acquittals for all three clients, one of whom was a Dijon mayor, Piogy.[34]After winning his case, the government brought trumped-up malpractice

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[30] Ibid., 127-9. Why did the first lodges of adoption for women appear in the Hague in 1751? Jacobs suggested this radical change was influenced by homosexual accusations leveled against the Dutch Freemasons during this period. She also noted that the wife of William Bentinck, the director of the Loge de Juste, left written speculations related to the inferior position of women and social inequities. Men's enlightened philosophical speculations did not initiate this development. It was fueled by salon women on the continent.

[31] Alan B. Spitzer, The French Generation of 1820 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 53-5. Spitzer described the Amis de Vérité lodge as a "forum for the boldest exploration of current political and philosophic issues and eventually a front for revolutionary conspiracy."

[32] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 21. Spitzer, Generation of 1820, 54-8. There were 45 names on the longest surviving Amis de Vérité membership list. Spitzer listed 24 of them. Familiar names of Cabet's correspondents include Saint-Amand Bazard, Paul Dubois, Philippe Buchez, Joseph Rey, and Victor Cousin. The lodge was conceived and controlled by young men, many from the Ecole polytechnique engaged in the clandestine resistance to the Bourbons between 1816 and 1820.

[33] Sylvester Piotrowski, Etienne Cabet and the Voyage en Icarie: A Study in the History of Social Thought (Washington D.C: Catholic University Press, 1935), 9. Unable to postpone the trial, Cabet brought forth 300 witnesses for testimony in fourteen days and won acquittals.

[34] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 23.

charges against him and suspended him from the bar for a year.

In June 1820, Amis de Vérité members were implicated in student demonstrations protesting the Bourbon's law of the double-vote.[35] A month later, police learned of a plot by them to overthrow the Monarchy. Their conspiracy was foiled and swift prosecution followed. The lodge dissolved and several members escaped to Italy.[36] The fugitives discovered the Italian's Carbonari, studied its structure, and returned to France where they set up a charbonnerie along similar masonic lines. Ventes (groups) were arranged hierarchically so that only one man from each vente knew the superior one. In 1821, Cabet was a member of the vente suprême in Paris.[37] He was director of communications for the Antoine Manuel faction and made "arrangements for meeting places, precautions to foil the police, guards to establish, the means of flight or defense in case of attack; he excelled, and everyone rendered homage to his services, even those who did not like him."[38] With the other charbonnerie men, Cabet was committed to ousting the Royalists

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[35] Pilbeam, 1830 Revolution, 16-7, 22. After the murder of the Duc de Berry, the franchise was restricted and liberals were left with only 40 out of 430 seats by 1824. When Cabet's friends, Bazard, Buchez, and Joubert, organized a peaceful student procession to protest the law of the double vote, a student was killed and Joubert fled to Naples. Spitzer, 1820 Generation, 56-61. The student, Nicholas Lallemand, was shot in the back. His death contributed to student solidarity. See Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 20; Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 30.

[36] Spitzer, 1820 Generation, 61-5. Notable like d'Argenson, Lafayette, Cousin, and Rey were implicated and questioned in the 1820 June Days. The conspiracy was under Bazard's leadership. Nicholas Joubert and Pierre Dugied were two escapees who returned from Italy and set up the national network of charbonnerie ventes.

[37] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 19-20. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 23-5. Pierre Leroux saw Cabet's influence as very important and compared him with that of Bazard in the vente suprême.

[38] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 24. This was quoted from Paul-Francois Dubois, "Etienne Cabet" in Revue bleu (March 14, 1908), 322.

and was involved in the August 1822 plot to have the army help overthrow the Bourbons which failed.[39] Paul-François Dubois, recorded his impression of Cabet at that time. He was living a life that was "honorable and pure" and evidently

> very poor, living on nothing, with bread and a bowl of milk in the morning and in the evening [to be found] in some little and hidden restaurant like a simple worker, a veritable political ascetic, always working, running to the four corners of Paris, knocking on all doors, taking and giving orders, receiving oral or coded messages and expediting them to all the quarters of Paris, to the banlieu [outskirts, suburbs] and even farther . . . in a word, indefatigable.[40]

Dubois' image captured Cabet's charbonnerie fervor. The charbonnerie grew to nearly 100,000 and counted on the support of influencial liberals like Voyer d'Argenson and General Lafayette.[41] Worried officials of the Church and Crown combined their powers to fight the rising threats of insurrection.[42] By 1823, the charbonnerie had accumulated a record of defeats that diminished their coherence and members dispersed into various groups. Undoubtedly, these men contributed to the 1830 "Three Glorious Days" when

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[39] Ibid., 25. As a revolutionary defender, Cabet wrote a piece titled, Mort héroique de Bories, Goubin, Raoult et Pommer: Récit fait, raconté et distribué le lendemain de l'exécution, about the heroism of the four sergeants of La Rochelle who voluntarily gave their lives to save their fellow conspirators. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 24. Pierre Angrand, Etienne Cabet et la Republique de 1848 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1948), 9-10. Angrand noted Cabet was arrested in Joigny on one of his trips. See Alan B. Spitzer, Old Hatreds and Young Hopes: The French Carbonari against the Bourbon Restoration (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 162, 162n48. There was a garrison at Joigny. Charbonnerie Nicolas Joubert (friend of Cabet) was suspected of trying to subvert the Joigny soldiers, arrested, and found 'innocent' by a jury in August 1822.

[40] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 29.

[41] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 22-5. Pilbeam, 1830 Revolution, 21. Voyer d'Argenson was the richest member in the region. Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 30.

[42] Jacob, Enlightenment, 23. An 1821 Papal edict prohibited Catholics from joining either the charbonnerie or Franc-maçonnerie. The Papacy had condemmed masonry a century earlier.

known charbonnerie veterans helped shape the new regime.[43]

Cabet's role in the vente suprême had resulted in contacts with men associated with the left political opposition. He also exhibited his "austerity and single-minded devotion to a cause," an important aspect of his character that was reflected in his later drive to promote Icarianism.[44] During these years, Cabet was introduced to men like Dubois at the home of Countess Victorine de Chastenay, a woman who "served as a kind of 'protector' of prominent Burgundians in Paris."[45] The Countess sheltered oppositional men and hosted salon discussions. These occasions very likely influenced Cabet's outlook about wealthy women lending support to political changes.

Meanwhile, Cabet continued his secretary work for his patron, Félix Nicod, and gained access to influential clientele.[46] When his bar suspension was lifted, he defended some minor cases. In 1824, he became a partner in a banking business with a wealthy friend of Nicod and resigned from the bar. The banker's goals included facilitating "relations between France, England, and other foreign countries."[47] Their commercial

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[43] Spitzer, Old Hatreds, 264-6. Spitzer's Appendix listed 244 members. Philippi Buonarroti recruited charbonnerie veterans for the international Charbonnerie Démocratique Universelle. Their names appear in nearly all the radical movements prior to 1848.

[44] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 25-6.

[45] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 28.

[46] Ibid., 27. Félix Nicod was a prominent lawyer in the Cour de Cassation and Cabet was in touch with his circle which included Jacques Laffitte, Jacques Charles Dupont de l'Eure, and Jacques Antoine Manuel. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 13.

[47] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 34-5. 500,000 francs capital was divided among shareholders: "MM. Lafitte, Casimir Périer, Ternaux, Manuel, Dupont de l'Eure, Nicod, Isambert, Mérilhou, Barthe, etc." These details were in Cabet's Lettre aux électeurs (June 16, 1831), 34.

venture was financed by liberal bankers and lawyers and Cabet made trips to London on three occasions.[48] Such travel widened his network of international associates who helped circulate Icarianism later on. However, the onset of a business depression in 1827 brought an end to his banking partnership.[49]

Cabet also spent time writing several mauscripts in the 1820s which shed light on his ideas about government. In one of them, the "Exposé d'un révolution nécessaire dans le gouvernement de la France" (1827), he offered his opinion that a republic was the best form of rule and called Charles X a crétin [idiot]. This document displayed his low opinion of universal suffrage and reflected a negative view of the political capacity of "uneducated masses." The seeds of his later Icarian dictatorship can also be detected for he noted that "sovereignty belongs to the nation." Another facet of the "Exposé" was his stated choice of the Duc d'Orleans, Louis-Philippe, as the best leader of a "representative and constitutional monarchy."[50] Many of these catchy phrases and political views were exchanged in salon discussions and Cabet may simply have set down a synthesis of opinions which proved to be quite accurate.

Fatherhood

Sometime during the turbulent 1820 decade, Cabet fathered a daughter with Denise Lesage that they named Céline. Her exact birth date can not be verified since birth

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[48] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 26.

[49] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 35. There was also a threat of war between the two nations over the Greek question. Only three-eights of the shares were lost. Cabet's brief banking ventures in the 1820s reinforced his later insistence on handling the colony finances. Sutton, Les Icariens, 85, 92.

[50] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 37-9. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 27.

records for this period were destroyed in the 1871 Hôtel d'Ville fire.[51] Aside from Dubois' account of Cabet's solitary, poor quarters, no other record exists about living arrangements that would explain Denise and Céline's situation. Such an omission in official records was not uncommon for ambitious men wrote to other men about themselves, not their mistresses. Indeed, during this period, a couple's refusal to comply with marriage norms was regarded as a rebellious-styled badge of distinction.[52] The Restoration regime had reversed the ruling on divorce in 1816, marriage licenses were costly, and church regulations onerous.[53] Many revolutionaries had mistresses. Light, casual relationships spared their partners the threat of police arrest or surveillance and made separation easy if they experienced personal conflicts.

However, men who lived with women were expected to aid in supporting their offspring. While statistical studies of births demonstate the enormous rise in illegitimacy in Paris in the first half of the nineteenth century, it is harder to get at the individual rationale that supported a man's decision to legitimize his child or, to marry. The French Civil Code did not permit paternity suits, nor did it punish seduction. Men were not legally responsible for the support of their illegitimate children and Courts refused to recognize financial arrangements of unmarried partners as contracts. A recent study showed that

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[51] Cabet's daughter, Céline was widowed in 1847. I will speculate on her age by extrapolating from a character named Célinie in his utopian novel in a later chapter.

[52] Wendy Z. Goldman, Women , The State & Revolution: Soviet Family Policy and Social Life 1917-1936 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 23-24. Goldman explained the resistance to marriage common among the French utopianists, Marxists, and Russian revolutionary men.

[53] Claire Goldberg Moses, French Feminism in the Nineteenth Century (New York: State University of New York Press, 1984), 36-37.

during the ten year period between 1837 and 1846, nearly one hundred thousand infants, about one-third of all children born in Paris, were illegitimate. Only about 10% of these babies were recognized by their fathers and the rest were either abandoned or became the charge of women who were barely able to support themselves on their low wages. The responsiblility and full time care of a child made women's earnings even more precarious.[54]

Denise Lesage was not married to Cabet when she gave birth to Céline and would be included in these mounting statistics. It appears, however, that they had some type of consensual arrangements for one of Cabet's later recitations lamented the sufferings of his wife when he was persecuted. He recalled how frightened Denise was when he was challenged to a duel. But Cabet did not specify what year this was, and there are records of three duels. One took place in 1815 when he was twenty-six and living in Dijon and may reflect this incident.[55] But he was also challenged to duels in 1834[56] and 1841 which could have been equally frightening.[57] Despite Dubois' statement about Cabet's 'pure and

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[54] Moses, French Feminism, 28. An extended study of this problem in Paris has been done by Rachel G. Fuchs, Poor and Pregnant in Paris: Strategies for Survival in the Nineteenth Century (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 11-21.

[55] Gontier and Gontier, Partons, 12-3. Delphine (Denise) Lesage was born in 1791 in Dijon.

[56] Sutton, Les Icariens, 14. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 40-1. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 95-6. In 1834, Cabet's duel developed after the Procurer General of the Court of Paris asked the Chamber of Deputies to indict him for his press comments that were considered seditious libel of Louis-Philippe. Angered by this act of public embarrassment, Cabet engaged in an vicious attack on d'Argout, the Minister of the Interior, who had introduced this matter before the Chamber. In a heated rebuttal, Cabet accused d'Argout of burning the tri-color flag in 1814 and he responded to this insult by challenging him to a duel. Cabet replied, "If my death were able to bring about the triumph of the cause of the people I would require point blank combat by pistol!" Seconds settled the duel, but the Chamber voted to allow the government to indict Cabet.

[57] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 230. In 1841, Cabet's duel resulted from a conflict

honorable' solitude in the 1820s, he was unofficially attached to a mistress and child, a relationship that he remained faithful to for the rest of his life. Ironically, the ideal society that he proposed in Icaria was unlike his own life style, for marriage was mandated for all Icarians.

Taken together, these brief segments of Cabet's early experiences do not suggest a temperament sympathetic to any liberated doctrine of equality for women. The heavy drain on revolutionary men's energy coupled with the Bourbon terror blocked their careers and destablized incomes. In the 1820s, Cabet had to deal with the conflicting needs of a mistress, a newborn, and the dangerous task of overthrowing an unjust regime. Did his quasi-obligatory responsibility for Denise and Céline serve to motivate him to imagine a more stable family environment for couples in his utopian society? The Icarian gender system was designed to eliminate financial worries and end the insecurities of household food and clothing production. An Icarian father's emotional involvement with children was also reduced as an efficient State, operated by men, regulated the early childcare and primary education that was carried out by women.

This emancipatory and masculine theme in Cabet's utopia was premised on men's pursuit of freedom, glory, and recognition. Icarian men would be liberated from domestic tasks which were performed by women on a collectivized scale. Men could devote themselves full-time to rational legislations, professions, and inventive technology. Cabet promised Icarian women equal education and female professions that were cloaked in the decent garb of gender difference. The doctrine of equality in difference for women was

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with an editor, Thomas, from the newspaper, Le National.

unfolding during this period and the Icarian society reflected it.[58]

Thus, it appears that Cabet's social and financial concerns in the 1820s over the welfare of Denise and Céline opened him up to larger thoughts about gender relations and helped set the stage for his imaginative social engineering in Icaria. Some of his innovative communal plans for women were already being promulgated by Fourierist and Saint-Simonian theorists. Their speculations were recognizable elements of Icarian Society.

Fourierist and Saint-Simonian Feminist Designs

Cabet and Denise Lesage lived in Paris during the decade when the Fourierists' and Saint-Simonians' challenging ideas about gender were topics of public discussion. The couple also had access to speeches and articles about social projects they organized for workers. A renewed effort to extend equality to women was popularized in open forums by the Saint-Simonian enthusiasts. Their doctrines circulated in conjunction with those of Charles Fourier (1772-1837) who introduced even more liberal agendas for women. Both promoted the virtues of associations in which the dignity of male and female workers would increase with their united efforts. Adherents began co-operative nurseries, schools, health clinics, and dining rooms to enhance their collective energies. There were overlapping similarities between these two competing ideologies. Enfantin, who helped compose the Saint-Simonian doctrine, had read and borrowed some of the attractive theories in Fourier works.[59] Cabet also selected vital ideas from these two contemporary

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[58] Moses, French Feminism. Moses' study illuminated this strain.

[59] Jonathan Beecher, Charles Fourier: The Visionary and His World (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 407, 418-9, 422n. Fourier charged Enfantin with plagiarism in 1831-2.

thinkers and revised them to fit his Icarian synthesis.

It appears that Cabet met Fourier in Paris through the intervention of a Dijon friend during the mid eighteen-twenties. Fourier's theories had been published earlier but were received with limited enthusiasm. The Masonic lodges presented excerpts from Fourier's material in talks and a network of fraternal members circulated his ideas.[60] Nevertheless, the complex material in his texts spread slowly. Consequently in 1822, at the age of fifty, Fourier decided to leave his native Besançon for the capital carrying five hundred copies of his two volume work, Traité de l'association domestique-agricole, to distribute to wealthy financiers, hoping to interest them in constructing a model of his Phalanstère.

To facilitate meetings with such influential men, Fourier had a letter of introduction to Cabet written by a Dijon lawyer named Gabriel Gabet in October 1824. It read, "I will ask [Cabet] to introduce you to M. Lafite [Jacques Lafitte], who is philantropic by nature and can be of great service to you."[61] (M. Lafitte had invested in shares of Cabet's Bank partnership.) This minor piece of evidence that Cabet met Fourier is strengthened by his knowledgeable comments about him in the Voyage.[62] Cabet wrote

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[60] Ibid., 346. Beecher observed this in Lyon lodges.

[61] Ibid., 377, 388, 555n2. Gabriel Gabet (1763-1853) was a former colleague of Cabet's at the Dijon Bar with a background as a 1792 republican, and then became a municipal agent for the Directory. His "advanced" ideas did not prevent him from rallying to Louis XVIII and adding to his considerable fortune. Gabet read Fourier's Traité de l'association domestique-agricole in 1824 and was one of his supportive correspondents.

[62] Ibid., 357, 365-8. Beecher offers a list of these potential financiers. Among them was Voyer d'Argenson. Fourier sent two copies of the Traité to Robert Owen who did not read French. He invited Owen to join him as a consultant or in collaborating in his phalanx building. Owen was busy planning a place at Motherwell in Scotland and politely declined. Owen's friend, Anna Wheeler met with Fourier in Paris. His ideas were spread to others

that Fourier had "dedicated his life to the good of Humanity and founded a school where some talented men still shine. Fourier and his disciples looked for social reform in industrial reform, in the Association."[63] Cabet went on to include a simplified description of the Fourierist Commune plan. The members lived and worked in

> ...an immense single building called a phalanstère, with only one kitchen and household. They wanted the twelve hundred Communers to be divided according to their vocations and their tastes, in groups, in series, and in phalanges.
>
> They wanted the work to be attractive, the choices of each worker, varied, of short duration, and made as easy as possible by machines.
>
> They did not want any salary, but one common associated part, not an equal part but a proportional part of the total production, according to the capital, work, and talent of each.
>
> They wanted the women and children doing their part and being independent.
>
> They wanted, with the parallel member Communes, to successively organize the cantons, the arrondissements, departments, one Global Empire.
>
> As you can see, it is the foundation of the Communauté with the inequality of fortune conserved, with the rich, without poor: it is a defective Communauté, I believe; but it is a Communauté![64]

This condensed assessment of Fourier's "defective" Communauté barely occupied a page of his text and was used primarily as another example of an important theorist who wanted to establish a Communauté. However, he did include Fourier's theme of women "being independent." Cabet was understandably reluctant to credit Fourier with any specific structural imput into his own Icarian thesis. After noting that Fourier wanted four million men with 1,200,000 francs to set up his plan, Cabet concluded that, "like all the other systems, it remained in a state of doctrine and theory."[65] His curt dismissal was due not

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like William Thompson, Daniel O'Connell, and Lady Byron.

[63] Voyage, 521.

[64] Ibid., 522.

[65] Ibid. Cabet was not totally correct, for there was a trial phalanx. See: Beecher, Fourier, 454-7, 471. The Societary Colony of Condé-sur-Vesgre was being constructed

only to Fourier's vain hope that a wealthy patron would furnish funds for his phalanx venture, but very likely, Cabet did not want Icaria to be tainted by Fourier's controversial theories about sex. In particular, the Voyage had no overt reference to Fourier's treatise on human "passionate attractions." Fourier's writings had identified 810 "passional" combinations. He drew up elaborate taxonomies which categorized and classified personality types, manias, and tastes.[66] Phalanstery buildings were designed for members to live in and perform different kinds of work. The rotation of labor was systemized to offset boring routines. Fourier theorized that in the past, human passions had been erroneously suppressed and misinterpreted. His associative gender ideas represented a break with patriarchal teachings on female inferiority and submission.

The impact of Fourier's radical speculations about women on the minds of men in this era can not be ignored.[67] His general thesis held that humanity's social progress and

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not far from Paris in 1832-1833. Fourier rejected the "dictatorship" assumed by Baudet-Dulary, one of the financiers, and angrily disassociated himself from the colony's "ramshackle plan."

[66] Beecher, Fourier, 226-9.

[67] Patrick Kay Bidelman, Pariah's Stand Up! The Founding of the Liberal Feminist Movement in France, 1858-1889 (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1982), 54-5. Bidelman found that two of Fourier's slogans were used repeatedly by French feminists: "Everywhere where man has degraded woman he has degraded himself, everywhere where he has ignored the rights of woman he has himself lost his own rights" and "the extension of privileges to woman is the general principle of all social progress." Fourier's plans were sketched by Dolores Hayden, The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981), 3. For sixty years after Fourier's works reached America in the 1840s, his phalanstery, "full of mechanical inventions" was celebrated by utopian socialists and feminists. In addition, Russian women were inspired by the discussions of Fourier's ideas in the circles in St. Petersburg. The Petrashevtsy circle studied Fourier's teachings according to Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, A History of Russia fourth edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 366. See Beecher, Fourier, 118.

changes from one era to the next were "brought about in proportion to the progress of women toward freedom, and social decline was brought about in proportion to the decrease in women's freedom. Other events influence political change; but there is no other cause that produces so rapid a social improvement or so rapid a social decline as the change in women's lot."[68] This element of Fourier's theory of history was presented in his writings as early as 1803 and remained a constant in his thinking.[69] Because his theories evolved as a reaction to the events of the French Revolution, Fourier has been classified as both a "crisis philosopher" and a "prophet of his age." European intellectuals and political reformers studied his texts.[70] When the Revolution interrupted Fourier's education at the college of Besançon, he entered the military for the counter-revolutionary resistance. This ended with his arrest and he barely escaped execution by "telling good lies." The government seized his family's commercial goods leaving him with no economic security and he was forced to work at monotonous jobs. The disillusioning experiences of military horrors, hardships, and confused loyalties, left Fourier with a hatred for bloody revolutions. Liberty, fraternity, and equality were mere abstractions which added nothing to his life. A corrupt world shaken to its foundations motivated him to search for alternative solutions.[71]

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[68] Moses, French Feminism, 92. Fourier's 1808 statement "put the cornerstone of nineteenth-century and even twentieth-century feminist thought into place."

[69] Beecher, Fourier, 321-27.

[70] Frank Edward Manuel, Prophets of Paris (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 5, 197-248. Manuel compared Fourier's ideas with Condorcet, Rousseau, [anti] Voltaire, and Newton.

[71] Beecher, Fourier, 74.

The revised social order that Fourier fashioned in his writings did not result from his efforts to find wisdom by studying ancient philosophical works at the Bibliotheque Nationale. After a cursory review of their ideas, he rejected the enlightened philosophes' confidence in human reason, progress, and equality.[72] Instead,

> I assumed that the most certain means of arriving at useful discoveries was to remove oneself in every sense from the methods followed by the dubious sciences which never contributed an invention that was of the remotest utility to society and which, despite the immense progress of industry, had not even succeeded in preventing poverty; I therefore undertook to stand in opposition to these sciences.[73]

Philosophers, in his opinion, had failed to understand the influence of the passions on human behavior. Their distorted theories had led the French revolutionaries astray and contributed to the destruction and bloodshed. Fourier felt that scientifc knowledge should be applied to explain everything in God's universe including the passions. The basis for Fourier's natural system of passional attraction was Newton's law of gravitational attraction.[74] Just as Newton discovered gravity, men could discover other scientific systems and he believed he had found the key.[75]

In his analysis, Fourier posited that humankind had moved from a Bastard period through systematic stages:

1.) Primitive, termed Eden
2.) Savage, or inertia
3.) Patriarchism, small industry
4.) Barbarism, medium industry

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[72] Ibid., 72. He defined it as ecart absolu (total denial).

[73] Manuel, Prophets of Paris, 209-10.

[74] Beecher, Fourier, 36. By 1799, Fourier claimed that he had discovered the key to harmonize all human passions.

[75] Ibid., 36. Fourier believed he discovered the theory of association in April of 1799.

5.) Civilization, large industry
6.) Guaranteeism, semi-association
7.) Sociantism, simple association
8.) Harmonism, composite association[76]

The present stage was Civilization and it weighed the heaviest upon women, therefore Fourier challenged "women to attack it."[77] In the next three historical periods, he forecast that human labor and passions would become increasingly associative and attractive. Women's efforts to direct their social structure should center around forming collective organizations. Fourier has been described as a radical defender of women who provided nineteenth century feminists with a method and timetable for emancipation.[78]

Many of Fourier's ideas about women originated in his childhood. Fourier shared tutoring classes with his four older sisters and quickly recognized that they had comparable intellectual abilities. He carried this family laboratory into a gender model some years later when he lived at his sister's home where he spent five years supervising his three adolescent nieces activities.[79] In observing their escapades, he discovered that the girls' public masks of modesty contradicted their private sensual pursuits.[80] Fourier

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[76] Charles Fourier, Design for Utopia publ & trans. Julia Franklin 1901, intro. Charles Gide & forward Frank Manuel (New York, 1971), 50.

[77] Ibid., 79.

[78] Marilyn J. Boxer & Jean H. Quataert, Socialist Women: European Socialist Feminism in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries (New York: Elsevier North-Holland, Inc., 1978), 45n1. Moses, French Feminism, 92.

[79] Beecher, Fourier, 140-157. Fourier's three nieces, Fanny, Hortense, and Clarisse, were his oldest sister Mariette's children. Their father died leaving eight children aged eighteen to one. Mariette was institutionalized for mental illness and Fourier stayed with her children. Hortense offered her uncle advice and criticism as he developed his theory of passional attraction

[80] Ibid., 140. Beecher viewed Fourier's five years in the countryside with his nieces as the "most productive period of his intellectual life."

theorized that his nieces' situation had resulted from women's slave-like status as bartered property. Society, he concluded, repressed women's sexual liberty.

Fourier proposed an educational system that would change the traditional sex roles reinforced for women in families. Unlike Rousseau, who celebrated the family, Fourier did not want either fathers or mothers to be "natural teachers." Women need not learn to "submit to men" nor men "to rule." In discussing public instruction, Fourier denounced the disgraceful failures of Seneca, Nero, "Condillac who trained a political dunce, and Rousseau who did not even dare to educate his own children."[81] The goal of education was "not to impart a body of knowledge or to wash children free of sin, but rather to make it possible for them to discover and express their true natures."[82] The wealth and status of students in schools resulted in conflicts in the present society. To solve these multi-faceted dilemmas, Fourier devised a "system of education that is ONE for the whole Phalanx and for the whole globe."[83] Children would not be shut up in schools most of the day, nor would biological parents bring up their children in an isolated household. They would be raised and educated collectively in a series of "choirs" in his Harmonian system.

In Fourier's ideal designs, a communal child-rearing arrangement would remove infants from their mothers to a nursery immediately after their birth. Biological parents could visit them and mothers would breast-feed their own babies. Trained nurses, a

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[81] Ibid., 260. This is in the Traité. Beecher also found that Fourier knew about Pestalozzi's work although he dismissed his intuitive method, yet he regarded "his school as one of the best in Europe because it treats children gently and knows how to win their affection."

[82] Ibid., 261.

[83] Ibid., 262.

minority of women "disposed by nature and attraction" were made responsible for child care.[84] Children's physical, emotional, and intellectual development proceeded as they circulated in workshops of discovery and passed through a series of graduated "choirs." Children were gathered in small groups to study what they wished with whomever they wished, and would "regard as so many friends, as so many saviors, all those who are willing to give [them] instruction in work and study."[85] The kitchen and opera were two other resources in phalanx education. Food was a natural preoccupation of growing children and opera was a harmonious "total art" that "brought together music, dance, poetry, and design in an enchanting whole."[86] The combination of children's senses and faculties toward socially desirable directions resulted in men and women who at the age of twenty were "kept in a state of extraordinary [sexual] innocence."[87] In this regard, Fourier's ideas were in the mainstream of Victorian sexual ideals.[88] However, Fourier's visions were aimed at a total transformation of society which presupposed the abolition of the family and patriarchal authority, a premise Cabet did not advocate.[89]

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[84] Ibid., 262-3. Children were classified into groups of "calm," "unruly," and "little devils" who received care from nurses who had "exceptional patience and dedication."

[85] Ibid., 270. The fear of failure would be reduced and curiosity encouraged.

[86] Ibid., 265-6. The opera included gymnastics for "all material harmonies are noble."

[87] Ibid., 269. Beecher drew this conclusion from his analyses of the educational program.

[88] Ibid. "When one considers the role of sexuality in Fourier's educational theory as a whole, what is striking is not Fourier's audacity but rather the cautious and conventional character of his thinking."

[89] Ibid., 270-3. The influence of Fourier's thought can be found in Maria Montessori's schools, A.S. Neill's Summerhill projects, the Israeli kibbutz movements, and Jean Macé's école maternelle in France.

Although Fourier never married, he had livelong friendships with women like Clarisse Vigoureux who supported his ideas and offered him a place to stay while he worked on manuscripts.[90] In his earliest text, Theorie des quatre mouvements (1808), there were subtle allegations hinting at the polymorphous sexual associations which he developed later but did not publish. Portions of his erotic manuscript on the future harmonious stage of sexuality and love, Nouveau monde amoureux, may have circulated in discussions with his disciples in Paris.[91] To avoid becoming a target for moralist attacks, his disciples edited sections of Fourier's works that they feared would be deemed licentious.

The theory of attraction was applied not only to education but to work where groups of friends were to gather spontaneously and stimulate each other. Work sessions varied and field or agriculture labor should not last longer than two hours. Compensation was paid in proportion to capital, work, and talent. This new social order must also guarantee all people a minimum income to free them from anxiety for their own or their dependents' welfare.[92] "How impotent are our social compacts to provide the poor with a decent means of subsistence. . . .[and] to assure them of the first of the natural rights, the RIGHT TO WORK!" Fourier claimed the poor were the essential problem of the age and

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[90] Ibid., 393, 446. Mme Vigoureux's daughter Julie married Victor Considerant, Fourier's chief disciple who edited condensed versions of his works and founded a Fourierist Colony in Texas in 1856. Cabet knew Considerant who visited him at the Nauvoo Colony.

[91] Ibid., 297-8. The five notebooks were published by Simone Debout-Oleskiewicz in 1967.

[92] Ibid., 277-8.

were "abandoned" by political philosophy. They had "natural rights" not "frivolous" abstractions known as "liberty" and "equality," for they did not aim to be the equal of the rich. In a passage on social compacts, he compared civilized man with the savages and directed philosophers to give all people the "inalienable right to the same sort of work as the chiefs of his horde, the right to hunt and to fish and to keep his catch for himself and not for a master."[93]

More fundamental than his combined visions of education, opera, or gastrononomy, was Fourier's belief "that work could become the gratification of man's deepest needs and the fullest expression of his powers." Properly organized, work would become a means to "instinctual gratification and personal fulfillment." This image contradicted the Christian scheme of work as punishment for sin or, as defined by the French Academy in 1694 as the "toil, pain, fatigue taken to do something."[94] The Phalanx was designed not only to better living standards and aid production, but to rescue work from centuries of denigration. The enlightenment philosophers had praised work as a source of dignity and a condition of progress. In addition, Fourier's contemporary, the Duc Henri Saint-Simon proclaimed that rights and power would come from work.[95] Charles Fourier probably never met the Duc de Saint-Simon although they were both in Paris during the early 1820s.[96] But Cabet was acquainted with both theorists and many of

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93 Ibid., 213-4. Fourier's 1806 writings were regarded as the earliest socialist formulations of the right to work.

94 Ibid., 275.

95 Ibid., 274-6. Fourier believed that work was not a duty but a need that was basic to man's nature provided that it was freely chosen. It had to attract the worker's passions.

96 Ibid., 413. Fourier's first contact with the Saint-Simonians was in 1829 when a

their provocative schemes show up in his ideal Icarian world.

While Cabet well may have been reading Fourier's works, he was at the same time impressed by the social arguments circulating in a growing popular movement called Saint-Simonianism which had come into existence after the death of its namesake in 1825. Readers of the Voyage were told of

> . . . . A man descending from the Duke of Saint-Simon who had claimed to be a descendant of Charlemagne; a Philosopher who had a school and a sect, who counted among his disciples a crowd of young talents and especially of scientists trained in the l'École Polytechnique, and his apostles transformed him into a second Jesus Christ![97]

Clearly Cabet knew of Saint-Simon, but whether he had met him in person can not be verified. He did know his disciple Bazard from the Charbonnerie. Bazard shared leadership in the Saint-Simonian movement with a colleague, Prosper Enfantin. In his youth, Saint-Simon had met Rousseau and when he was nineteen, he had crossed the ocean to fight in the American Revolution.[98] Imbued with the democratic spirit shortly after the 1789 French Revolution, he renounced his ancestral title and thereafter referred to himself as Citizen Bonhomme.[99] Like Fourier, the Revolution had brought unusual dislocations into the lives of many individuals from the wealthier classes who tried to

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carbonaro, Francois de Corcelle (1802-1892), a friend and political follower of Lafayette, took him to one of the bi-monthly meetings of the Saint-Simonians at rue Taranne.

97 Voyage, 520.

98 G. Ionescu, ed., The Political Thought of Saint-Simon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 18.

99 Ibid., 15-18. He had a "fertile mind" which proceeded by flashes or "prophetic intuition." Unlike Comte and Marx, he had no "proper academic training." His egalitarian ideas may have come from Babeuf, whom he knew as a young man in Picardy or later, from John Stuart Mill.

bridge both worlds.

Saint-Simon penned numerous creative projects for reorganizing the sciences. One of his famous works, "Parabole" appeared shortly before the assassination of the Bourbon heir, the Duke de Berry. Written while in a humorous mood, Saint-Simon had suggested that France could easily survive the loss of the old nobility, the Church and Government hierarchies, but its bankers, industrialists, scientists, and artists were indispensable. This publication nearly landed him in prison. After his trial and acquittal, he continued pronouncing candid views on the emerging industrial system. His banker friends considered his ideas "destructive of all social order and incompatible with liberty."[100] Saint-Simon's ideology was anathema to the Royalist government.

He claimed that society ought to be administered by those competent to do so, not merely by those who had seized power. Cabet agreed with these perceptions which likewise appealed to students and engineers at the prestigious École Polytechinque.[101] Barely a month after Saint-Simon died, a group of intellectuals who had been attracted to his ideas constituted themselves as a formal Saint-Simonian association and launched a journal, Le Producteur (1825).[102] The articles in this and their later works, Exposition de la doctrine

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[100] George Lichtheim, The Origins of Socialism (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), 44-5. See Robert B. Carlisle, The Proffered Crown: Saint-Simonianism And The Doctrine of Hope (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1987), 33-4.

[101] Lichtheim, Origins of Socialism, 43-52. Two of Saint-Simon's 1820s publications, Système industriel and Catéchisme des industriels, dealt with his clairvoyant apprehensions about future social conflicts between the producers and the non-producers. The emerging industrial technological society needed "the politics of abilities" not the "politics of power," which should be replaced by a process of "persuasion" and "understanding." Ionescu, Political Thought, 39.

[102] Lichtheim, Origins of Socialism, 51-2. Journal articles were by Blanqui, Comte (Saint-Simon's secretary), and other members of Lafayette's circle. Editors met for

de Saint-Simon (1828-30), defined an economic doctrine which amidst its insightful critiques, condemned "the exploitation of man by man."[103] Cabet's friend, Bazard, authored a lecture in the Exposition series that stated:

> If, as we proclaim, mankind is moving toward a state in which all individuals will be classed according to their capacities and remunerated according to their work, it is evident that the right of property, as it exists, must be abolished, because, by giving to a certain class of men the chance to live on the labor of others and in complete idleness, it preserves the exploitation of one part of the population, the most useful one, that which works and produces, in favor of those who only destroy.[104]

Bazard's ideas impressed Cabet, who placed the phrase about classifying individuals according to their capacities and remunerations on the logos of his newspaper Le Populaire (1833). This deliberate alignment of Cabet's paper with the slogans of the Saint-Simonians illustrates that they shared some common interests during these years. Bazard and Cabet also held leadership roles in the charbonnerie vente supreme.

When the group's journal Le Producteur ceased publication in December 1826, Bazard, Enfantin and their followers spent a year on a "silent expansion" of theories and ideas for their group.[105] The themes developed by Saint-Simonian adherents in the late 1820s went beyond his original industrial-scientific visions as their interests shifted toward

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discussions with Olinde Rodrigues, Cerclet, and Prosper Enfantin. Soon, Bazard, and students like Carrel, Michel Chevalier, Abel Transon, and Euryale Cazeaux asked to be included. Carlisle, Proferred Crown, 22-3. On June 1, 1825, signatures on an act forming the Saint-Simonian Society included the previous list plus Philippe Buchez, Charles Laurent, and banker subscribers like Ardoin and Laffitte. Hugo, Lamartine, and George Sand owed debts to their economic and social theories.

[103] Lichtheim, Origins of Socialism, 52.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Ibid., 58.

immediate social concerns. They focused on the place of women in the new society. Saint-Simon had not written on women, and his followers were challenged to construct new roles for them.[106] Saint-Simon's last work, Le Nouveau Christianisme, reinforced the principle that "men should act as brothers one to another" in their worship and dogma, but ignored women.[107] In December 1829, Saint-Simon's followers solemnly created a new "church" to foster a religion of humanity and had to determine women's revised place.[108] From 1829 until 1832, the Saint-Simonians, their theories and lectures, were the dominant intellectual movement in Paris.[109]

Cabet knew two Le Globe editors, Paul-François Dubois and Pierre Leroux.[110] Their journal was dedicated to edifying the "generations brought up since the Restoration [who were] tormented with the desire to educate themselves."[111] Cabet's Icarian plans shared many of the goals of the Saint-Simonians. He did not deny these similarities but heralded them. In the Voyage, he wrote that the Saint-Simonians sought "a radical reform, the abolition of individual property, work for all with education and happiness; and their

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106 Carlisle, Proferred Crown, 151. One sentence by Saint-Simon in 1802 which urged subscriptions at the tomb of Newton to forward the work of universal association, was followed with the comment that "women may be admitted."

107 Ibid., 35.

108 Lichtheim, Origins of Socialism, 48-9.

109 Carlisle, Proferred Crown, 150-1.

110 Spitzer, French Generation of 1820, 103, 98-9. Leroux and Dubois were charbonnerie. Le Globe editors hoped to collect and summarize scientific, literary, and philosophic contributions of "the civilized nations of the world."

111 Ibid. See Carlisle, Proferred Crown, 117-19. L'Organisateur (1829) was another paper of the Saint-Simonians. It was housed in the same building with Le Globe.

universal association - is it not any other thing than the Communauté!"[112] Cabet indisputably erected his Icarian world on many of the ideological and practical foundations that were prepared by Saint-Simonian propagandists. Because a number of their social reforms were very radical, Cabet cautiously distinguished his Icarian Communauté from the Saint-Simonians precisely at the moral intersection of women and sexuality. Cabet correctly recognized that this issue "killed the Saint-Simonians." He too, was forced to confront it.[113]

The Saint-Simonians "Female Messiah"

As the Saint-Simonians set forth their new social organization, the position of women had to be allocated. Their gender debates resulted in a theoretical impasse. Prior to 1831, Bazard, Enfantin, and other bourgeois men were responsible for providing the definition of women in the new age. Enfantin, however, issued a "call" for women, rather than men, to define the appropriate relationship between the sexes. Women held separate meetings to draw up fresh designs for their social roles and created a hierarchy of women based on the male model.[114] Although most Saint-Simonian women shared the bourgeois class background of the men, they set up special workers' "degrees" which inscribed one hundred and ten working-class women as "faithful adherents." They arranged free public lectures and smaller, informal meetings that included music, songs, and dancing. Women from all parts of France wrote letters to Le Globe, some of which were separately

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[112] Voyage, 521.

[113] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 115-6.

[114] Moses, French Feminism, 51. Many were close relatives or family friends of important Saint-Simonian men. Claire was Bazard's wife. His daughter and sister were also included. See below, p. 36.

adressed to the women in the hierarchy.[115] Workers were urged to follow their doctrine. It offered them association, sharing, organization, and was advanced as a means to raise them to the ranks and privileges of the bourgeoisie. Supporters multiplied.

Energetic Saint-Simonians rented blocks of housing in Paris for their communities. Directors examined candidates' moral and material states. Recruits signed "professions of faith" and surrendered all their personal resources to the association's coffers. In return, the community undertook the support of the weaker members with the contributions from the strong. The collective monies provided all members with aid that ranged from layettes for expectant mothers to settling candidates' minor debts so they could enter the community free of encumberances. They provided them with vaccinations, maternity, and medical care. During epidemics, Saint-Simonian doctors were acclaimed as popular heroes.[116] Organizers created Saint-Simonian committees in each of the twelve Paris arrondissements (districts).[117] Workers, craftsmen, and even a 98 year-old woman applied for membership.[118] The leaders hoped each unit would be self-supporting with their own combined resources. A workshop for seamstresses and tailors was kept busy filling orders for the Saint-Simonian members' colorful uniforms. On Sunday afternoons from 4 to 6PM, they supplied free instructions for four to six hundred workers.

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[115] Ibid., 53. Moses found 112 letters from women stored at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

[116] Carlisle, Proferred Crown, 137-40.

[117] Ibid., 138. Each arrondissement had a director, a directress, and a Saint-Simonian doctor to instruct, encourage conversion, hear "professions of faith" and judge the worthiness of recruits for full membership and benefits.

[118] Ibid., 139.

The Saint-Simonian funds were soon spent on food supplies, medicines, rent payments, and multiple worthy obligations. Their coffers were partially augmented by contributions from wealthier families. But the workers' cooperative support was simply inadequate to meet the needs of the expanding membership. Heroic efforts to translate idealistic doctrine into action gradually declined. Leaders also had to overcome the workers' resistance to directives from some of the patronizing bourgeois. Nonetheless, it was not money, nor patronizing attitudes, but the doctrinal debates about gender at the highest levels that led to a schism. The sexual matters resulted in a public scandal.

Philippe Buchez had persuaded Enfantin that the paradigm for all associations was the irresistable attraction of men and women for each other. From that concept, Buchez deduced his belief that God must be androgynous and they needed to create positions for both a priest and a priestess in their "religion of humanity." Men and women were equal beings but the sexes were not the same. In the background of these speculative arguments by the theorists lurked a kaleidoscope of private sexual affairs. Wives and lovers of members were involved in frank, experiental debates over the nature of the Godhead[s], love, and appropriate social relationships. These subjects were ultimately woven into disputes over who would hold the highest places in the group.[119]

The Saint-Simonian leaders organized the faithful in a hierarchy of "degrees."[120] Women were not only admitted to the hierarchy but held joint responsibility outside the elite circle for their practical enterprises. One of them, Suzanne Voilquin, concluded that

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[119] Ibid., 157.

[120] Ibid., 125. They were concentrated around the rue Monsigny after October 1830.

the hierarchical ranking "was regrettable; [and] much energy was lost by divisiveness." The upper ranks were dominated by men despite their arguments about equality and androgyny.[121] Bazard and Enfantin were elevated to the highest rank as "fathers." Enfantin's ideas most forcefully represented the female principle - loving, understanding, accepting, and calming, whereas Bazard's visions would interpret the male principle - thought, analysis, logic, and force.[122] Their sex-identified binary oppositions combined with hierarchical disputes caused infinite problems that ultimately split the group. Enfantin argued that he wanted to create a symbolic ideal of woman - a "new Eve." Their guiding "spirit of association" generated frank discussions on "complementary qualities" and the "separate but equal" capabilities of both sexes. Buchez was a spokesman for the more egalitarian feminist strain that promoted individual asexual capacities, but his ideas were a minority opinion.[123] As Cabet sifted through the plethora of arguments about women when he designed the gender roles in Icaria, he rejected Buchez's equal, asexual woman for the "separate but equal" pronouncements of "père" Enfantin alongside Bazard's notions of maleness.[124]

Most Saint-Simonians were under the age of thirty and unmarried. The hope that love "might be at once passionate, unrestrained, and pure" spoke to their needs.[125] The

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121 Moses, French Feminism, 55-7.

122 Carlisle, Proferred Crown, 161.

123 Ibid.

124 Icarians began calling Cabet "père" in the mid-forties.

125 Carlisle, Proferred Crown, 153.

"fathers" investigated phenomena related to their members individual psyches, dreams, and evoked personal confessions in their efforts to understand more fully the gender discontent so apparent in Parisian society. Women participated in the debates. They discussed the rising number of illegitimate births and prostitution.[126] Eugenie Niboyet, Jeanne Deroin, and Pauline Roland were women associated with the movement whose articles were published in Cabet's newspaper in the 1840s.[127]

Despite the combined efforts of both sexes, the Saint-Simonians failed to settle the urgent questions regarding the nature of woman and her future role in their religion. Bazard wrote a lengthy letter to his mother outlining his arguments in August, 1831. His view of women stands out because his images were a close reflection of Cabet's thoughts and writings on women. Bazard wrote:

> I ask myself how LIVELY, FLIRTATIOUS, SEDUCTIVE, ATTRACTIVE, CHANGING, ARDENT, PASSIONATE, EXALTED beings [females] ought to be directed, considered, USED in the FUTURE so that their character may be for them and for humanity a source of joy, not of sadness, of fetes and not of mourning. . . . The education of children and the entirety of social morality will calm those out of bounds.[128]

Bazard viewed women and children as beings who needed to be directed and calmed. They were "out of bounds" but education could change their behavior. Likewise, Cabet

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126 Moses, French Feminism. Moses traced these early feminists in the Saint-Simonian movement to their demise after staggering arrests and exiles following the1848 Revolution.

127 Joan Wallach Scott, Gender and the Politics of History (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 108-112. Scott discussed Jeanne Deroin, Cabet, women workers, and the utopian socialists' visions of family. Cabet made references to Pauline Roland in his newspaper and Eugenie Niboyet signed letters that he published. Deroin thanked Cabet for his help in "our cause" in Le Populaire April 2, 1848. Deroin's feminist writings were serialized in his paper in late 1851.

128 Carlisle, Proferred Crown, 165. The capitals were used in the quoted text.

was concerned about directing Icarian education to guide children toward fraternity and reduce the "seductive" or "flirtatious" character of women.

Divorce was available as a social option in their plans. Enfantin agreed that certain personalities might have to change partners. Priestly couples would have the task of counseling partners and help arrange new marriages or "surrogate partners."[129] Children would not complicate the Saint-Simonian's constant or mobile spouses' relationships for they were to be adopted by the society as a whole and need not be informed of their paternal family origins. Jealousy or controversy in "new" families would not inhibit the freedom or equality of partners.[130] Their communal child care arrangement differed from that of Fourier, who had no difficulty with parental knowledge and visits with their children.

All of these family issues and more "scabrous points of sexual relationships" were examined by mixed audiences. They argued "delicate questions" in meetings that lasted for ten hours and longer during 1831. Bazard had a stroke in August. The members finally decided that marriage would be their "normal state" and recommended that a woman be seated on the "Papal throne." She would reveal the law of proprieties "beyond which immorality would commence."[131] A split developed in the hierarchy over who or if a "new Eve" would be on the throne by the end of the year. Some of the hierarchy left.[132] Others

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[129] Ibid., 167. (Cabet had priest and priestess couples serve as counselors in the Voyage.)

[130] Ibid., 168. Pauline Roland exemplified a woman who practiced this with her offspring. See Benoîte Groult, Pauline Roland ou comment la liberté vint aux femmes (Paris: Laffont, 1991).

[131] Carlisle, Proferred Crown, 168-9.

ignored these internal doctrinal issues and worked on more practical economic programs.[133] Meanwhile, an "empty chair" was reserved for "The Woman." By December 31,1831 Enfantin had worked out fourteen specific doctrinal teachings. They were presented in lectures to the public.[134]

Audiences mocked the Saint-Simonian speakers over the titillating notion of a "community of women."[135] The government hired spies to report on their activities. On January 22, 1832, a small army made up of two detachments of municipal guards, a squad of national guards, a company of troops, and a squadron of hussars, descended on the rue Monsigny and placed the Saint-Simonian household under seige. The crown officers entered and three hours later left with the correspondence of the 'fathers,' their financial account books, and those of Le Globe. The closing of the Saint-Simonian halls halted their work. Police investigations lasted until June 1832. Enfantin, Chevalier, and Duveyrier were indicted for "outrages against public morality committed in writings printed and distributed." They were charged with violating Penal Code Article 291 on public assembly, and with embezzlement. Two trial dates were set.[136]

The movement was in disarray when suddenly Enfantin's wealthy mother died and

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132 Ibid., 172-3. In November 1831, Leroux, Cazeaux, Dugied, Carnot, Claire Bazard and Cecile Fournel withdrew their membership.

133 Ibid., 173, 184-86 .

134 Ibid., Chapter XI, "The New Eden" analyzes these points.

135 Ibid., 171. This is an idea historically drawn from Plato's Republic. It was the same charge leveled at Cabet in the 1840s and will be explained in greater detail shortly.

136 Ibid., 185-186.

left him her large house at Ménilmontant outside eastern Paris. Her funeral was combined with a move from their quarters on the rue Monsigny to Ménilmontant. Colorfully costumed Saint-Simonians marched in a ceremonial procession with a thousand people. Living expenses for the group at Ménilmontant were paid for by the rich mother of another member, Alexis Petit. Other wealthy parents like Gustave d'Eichthal's father donated large sums to their work. Enfantin took forty disciples to live with him in celibacy at Ménilmontant.[137] The anxieties over their approaching trials, celibacy, (some disciples were married men) and their domestic life-style caused restlessness and several defected. Others made preparations to undertake a missionary search in the East for the female Messiah. The East, in Enfantin's thought, equaled the female, the mother: mysterious, thus far impenetrable, passive, silent, yet wise and powerful.[138]

When the Saint-Simonians' first trial began, two women lawyers were selected for counsel. Aglaë St. Hillaire and Cecilé Fournel were turned down by the court. "You cannot have counsel of the feminine sex," it said. "The questions we deal with concern

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[137] Ibid., 187-92. Instead of disarming public talk of licentiousness, the Parisian populace took up the spectacle of forty men living and doing housework together with broadsides and cartoons. Both the celibacy and domesticity appeared against men's nature. They wore a Saint-Simonian costume, grew a beard, and saw themselves as men "who could master their passions, live without sex, and devote themselves to industry and domesticity." They would thus gain insight into women's lot. On June 6, 1832 another elaborate ceremony established these men as the "new-womanless-Adams."

[138] Ibid., 206-7. Bazard died at the end of July 1832. Some mystical followers believed that the female Messiah would be found in the "sleeping East" and "must be, like Christ, a Jew." Moses, French Feminism, 79. Disciples calling themselves, Les Compagnons de la Femme, went to Constantiople and Egypt. Colonies were created in Egypt and Louisiana. Suzanne Volquin lived in Egypt for two years. Her sister and husband went to Louisiana with new partners since French laws forbid their re-marriage. (Cabet also incorporated a scenario into the Voyage with a female messiah character who reflected the popular interest in woman's mysterious nature.)

women," the respondents answered. "Let it be noted that the court refuses women as counsel." Because of this, the "court was on trial" as "an oppressor of women" and witnesses used the forum to express the discontent of all women.[139] The "most brilliant and most forceful argument" was made by Duveyrier who

> most dramatically and explicitly made clear the connections between sex, society, money, and property [and] between the exploitation of women and that of workers . . . a third of the children born in France were illegitimate . . . there were 35,000 prostitutes in Paris . . . treason and discord troubled half of France's households . . . half the daughters of the people "are seduced, prostituted, poisoned"; and the race "bastardizes and destroys itself with shameful maladies.". . . no matter "how far from your superb and mystic principle our morality seems to you, if, by it, we destroy the vices of your colleges, diminish by a quarter your adulteries, eliminate illegitimacy and the orphans of living fathers, lift the weight of debauchery and sickness that weighs on public women. . . . I would declare a victory more glorious than any of those of the Empire."[140]

Such eloquence regarding sex persisted throughout the course of the trial. The judge claimed that the defense had degenerated into a scandal. Enfantin took up similar themes adding, "We hope for the coming of a female Messiah. I am her precursor. I am what Saint John was for Christ." He and thirty witnesses refused to take an oath because it was a religious act. The prosecutor described the "ridiculous" elements of this group as "dangerous." The Saint-Simonians had attacked "property and inheritance, incited [others] to rebellion, and preached the equality of the sexes, the community of goods and persons."[141] Because the law protected religion and they were a faith, "it should protect us," the accused argued. In order to establish their religious character they quoted from Le

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139 Carlisle, Proffered Crown, 216. The trial was turned into a dazzling drama with costumes and a procession from Ménilmontant.

140 Ibid., 219.

141 Ibid.

Nouveau Christianisme and pointed out they had been meeting for four years, had printed three to four thousand copies of Le Globe and distributed them free. The history of the movement was reviewed for the court by Chevalier who adroitly noted sessions at the salon of the Marquis de Lafayette, the untouchable hero of two worlds.[142]

When the jury found them all guilty, the Saint-Simonian society was dissolved. Enfantin, Duveyrier, and Chevalier were sentenced to a year in prison and fined one hundred francs each. Others received lesser fines.[143] Their second trial was over in twenty minutes. The case was weak and the embezzlement charges ended with an acquittal.[144] Enfantin and Chevalier were imprisoned for seven months when a law was passed recognizing the religious character of the Saint-Simonian movement in August 1833, and they were freed. A month later, Enfantin set sail for Egypt to join other missionaries in their search for the "female Messiah."[145]

It was at this juncture that Cabet denounced the Saint-Simonians in his text even though he approved of many of their projects. He wrote that it was "unfortunate" that the Saint-Simonians restored the religious structures and called their leader a pope or a père with a government that was "at times a Monarchy, an Aristocracy, and above all a

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142 Ibid., 218-9.

143 Ibid., 220-2. These mild sentences reflected the July Monarchy's political concerns since many of the accused were allied with the regime's vital support links. They were sons of bankers, generals, and judges. Carlisle lists such connections.

144 Ibid. Among the Saint-Simonians who gave donations were the Petits, mother & son, 94,000 francs; Fournel, 80,000 francs; d'Eichthal, 50,000 francs; and Enfantin, 75,000 francs.

145 Ibid., 230-1. Saint-Simonians were later associated with engineering Egypt's Suez Canal.

Theocracy armed with absolute power." It was "these last ideas, so contrary to the philosophy of the eighteenth century, that brought the internal schisms and arrested the progress of the new sect," he concluded. Cabet's criticism was based on their religious imitations not their associative, egalitarian principles. The Saint-Simonians wanted:

> The UNIVERSAL ASSOCIATION, or the definitive organization of humanity, for the progressive amelioration of People; - the education for all; - the classing of employment of each according to his *capacity*; - the division and the distribution of work; - the work of each for the happiness of all, and the work of all for the happiness of each; - the *social and communal* Property; - the *social and communal* products; - the retribution according the *works*; - the ambition of each reduced to follow the progress of the *superiors* and to raise the *inferiors*; - nor hereditary or any privilege of birth;- equality between the woman and the man; - the right of association, of suffrage and of eligibility for all; - the monarchical government, but elective and conferred on the most worthy by the most worthy.[146]

This, he declared approvingly, was "nothing other than the communauté!" Cabet had no intention of resurrecting their sexual scandals when he was composing his plan for an Icarian communauté, nor did he want to copy the Saint-Simonian religious structure. But he had a sympathetic accord with the unequal plight of women so publicly debated by them. He intended to rectify the gender problems with his version of 'equality in difference.'

The perplexing definitions of 'equality' in this movement have been well-documented by Claire Goldberg Moses in French Feminism in the 19th Century (1984). This decade-long feminist development, which involved male and female friends of Cabet, spotlighted the social and sexual inequalities of women. The birth of Cabet's own daughter and his strained financial and professional status added to his special interest and appraisal of the Saint-Simonians. Many of their tenets appeared in Icarian society, but

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[146] Voyage, 521. Capitals and italics from the text.

Cabet put off describing the doctrinal elements of religion in the Voyage while he worked on Vrai Christianisme, which finally appeared in 1846, and which he differentiated from Saint-Simon's Nouveau Christianisme (1825).

The accumlated activities of Cabet and Denise Lesage during their 1820s sojourn in Paris profoundly altered both their lives. Cabet was keenly aware of the weak and strong points in the social systems described by Charles Fourier and the Saint-Simonian leaders. He picked up vital cues about women for the Voyage from his personal experiences and from the theories advanced by these Icarian percursors.

CHAPTER TWO

PROCUREUR GÉNÉRALE - DEPUTÉ - UTOPIAN

The 'Three Glorious Days" of July 1830 not only overthrew the government of King Charles X, but marked the beginning of Cabet's move into the upper ranks of French politics. Louis-Philippe, the candidate he speculated favorably about in 1827, was selected to be the "Citizen-King" of the French. Shortly after his installation as Minister of Justice, Dupont de l'Eure, Cabet's employer, appointed him procureur général in Corsica and he left Paris in October.[1] It is hard to determine whether this move can be characterized as a rewarding political post or one provoked by Louis-Philippe's wish to distance himself from Cabet's irritating opinions.[2] A review of his role in the sequence of revolutionary events points to the latter. Regardless, this was a new phase in his life. In the next few years, Cabet's drive to bring about republican goals unfolded in tandem with a heightened awareness of the problems of workers and women. However, his conviction on a charge of seditious libel brought his career to a standstill in 1834. He withdrew from France to serve a five-year exile and spent part of that time writing a utopian novel, Voyage en Icarie. This chapter will examine the sources in Cabet's background that contributed to the exceptional design of its society and his visions for women. It will also offer an interpretation of the novel's title and point out its masculine-laden symbolism which typified the many gender dualisms in the Voyage.

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[1] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 36, 44. After the bank dissolution in 1828, Cabet worked about a year at the Dalloz publishing house gathering materials for legal reform to include in Recueil de jurisprudence générale. He was Dupont de l'Eure's secretary. Sutton, Les Icarians, 7, 147n9. He applied for readmission to the bar in December 1829 claiming he had quit his practice in 1827 due to ill health.

[2] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 37-41.

Although Cabet was not near the barricades when the July fighting began, he joined a local revolutionary committee.[3] The inflammatory news about Charles X's St-Cloud ordinances stirred the workers and students in Paris to violent protests. The King disliked the composition of the newly elected chamber of deputies. He dissolved it and changed electoral qualification laws.[4] Print-shop employees were particularly outraged over his decree to limit press freedom.[5] Its implementation would cause unemployment and reduce incomes which were barely sufficient to manage the food costs that had risen sharply after the harsh winter of 1828-29.[6] Three days of street battles followed.[7] Liberal

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[3] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 28. Piotrowski, Etienne Cabet, 21. Biographers, Carle and Beluze, wrote that Cabet "rushed forward like others to cooperate in it" and that "while he did not shoulder a gun, - eye trouble vexed him - Cabet played his role on the staff which directed the uprising." Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 33. On July 29, 1830, Cabet was elected to the municipal board in the XI arrondissement.

[4] Pilbeam, 1830 Revolution, 60. The Chamber of Deputies was nearly halved in size to 238. The pretext for this was "unspecified electoral malpractice." The liberal press was blamed for dominating parliament, depressing the army, and subverting religion. Any paper less than 25 pages needed royal authorization, had to be renewed every three months, and could be revoked. See Ronald Aminzade, Ballots and Barricades: Class Formation and Republican Politics in France, 1830-1871 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 55. The 1831 law franchised 20-25% of males over 21 for municipal elections.

[5] For these ordinances and events see, H.A.C. Collingham with R.S. Alexander, The July Monarchy: A Political History of France 1830-1848 (London: Longman, 1988), 6-22; Aminzade, Ballots and Barricades; David H. Pinkney, The French Revolution of 1830 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972); and Pilbeam, The 1830 Revolution.

[6] Pinkney, French Revolution of 1830, 63-74. The depression years of 1828-30 were subsiding slightly and job prospects began to improve in the spring of 1830. High unemployment remained. One fourth of Paris, 227,000 indigents, were issued bread cards to purchase bread at reduced costs in June 1829. Crime, suicides, infanticides, and starving, abandoned children rose. Food and grain riots were widespread.

[7] Pinkney, French Revolution of 1830, 90-142. The ordinances were published in the Moniteur on July 26 and the disturbing events began about 8PM. The police commissioner seized a printing press within sight of a crowd gathered in the Galerie d'Orleans. After the

editors were arrested and their presses confiscated. On July 27, the Saint-Simonian Globe proclaimed that France's "legal government has come to an end; force has taken its place."[8] The bloodiest skirmishes were carried out near government centers, newspaper offices, and artisan neighborhoods. Insurgents seized the Hôtel de Ville.[9]

Women helped tear up paving bricks and hurled them from windows. One woman reportedly attacked a Royal guard with a kitchen knife. Two women were killed and fifty-two were wounded.[10] Cabet could not have missed this exposure to women's fighting spirit and combative behavior. In the Voyage, he portrayed women aiding the military.[11]

Mixed reports about the revolt in Paris spread to other cities and sporatic riots took place across France for over a week.[12] Several army troops mutinied as the Royal Guard abandoned the Louvre and fled Paris on July 29. General Lafayette was asked to assume military leadership.[13] He reformed the units of the National Guard who quickly

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editor's arrest, the crowd shouted, "A bas les Bourbons!" The police brought in additional officers who arrested protesters and restored order by midnight. More editors were arrested the next day.

[8] Pilbeam, 1830 Revolution, 61, 67-8. Many editors, as in Dijon, ignored the ordinances and continued publishing. For details on the editors' efforts to devise a plan of resistance, see Samuel Bernstein, Auguste Blanqui and the Art of Insurrection (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971), 32-5. Blanqui had recorded parliamentary proceedings for Pierre Leroux in Le Globe since 1824.

[9] Ibid., 63.

[10] Pinkney, French Revolution of 1830, 254-6. No publishers or journalists died.

[11] Voyage, 354-6. Everyone in Icaria mobilized for war, and "small regiments of women offered to care for the sick or servir (to serve, help) the combatants."

[12] Aminzade, Ballots, 105, 141, 175. The cities of Toulouse, St. Etienne, and Rouen reacted.

[13] Pinkney, French Revolution of 1830, 139, 140n44.

began patrolling streets and the city gates to prevent further attacks.[14] When an uneasy order settled across Paris on August 1, Cabet attended a meeting with other influential men to discuss the situation. Deputy Mauguin, a radical from Dijon who wanted a provisional government, invited Cabet to accompany him to the Palais Royal where they spoke with Louis-Philippe about the process of establishing a "republican" monarchy.[15] Lafayette sent Odilon Barrot to the Chamber of Deputies to "warn them they would lose popular support should they designate a new chief without first obtaining guarantees of the liberties for which the people had fought."[16] In the Chamber, a small number of the 95 deputies wanted Louis-Philippe to be made king, but the majority preferred that he take the title of lieutenant-général of the realm. Others, like Cabet and Lafayette, wanted him to delay his acceptance until there was a popular acclaim by the people. The latter view was enhanced with the distribution of 10,000 copies of Louis-Philippe's carefully drafted proclamation which implied that the King was chosen by the people.[17] Cabet wrote a letter to Louis-Philippe recommending that he not "accept the crown which a specially elected

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[14] Ibid., 139-44. National Guards had been disbanded in 1827.

[15] Piotrowski, Etienne Cabet, 23. Collingham and Alexander, July Monarchy, 8-12. Deputy Mauguin was joined by lawyer-secretary, Odilon Barrot. Prudhommeux, Cabet, 33-4, 39. They gathered at the home of Lointier. Mauguin and General Lamarque represented the extreme left deputies from a neighboring arrondissement, Beaune. Pilbeam, 1830 Revolution, 22, 65, 96. Deputy Audry de Puyraveau was with Dijoin deputy Mauguin, a radical lawyer and franc-maçon described by Guizot as "an elegant and daring orator, pretentious, vain and wholly lacking in both judgment and scruples." They signed a proclamation to Louis-Philippe on July 31, 1830: "instead of a government imposed by foreign troops, you will have one which owes its power to you alone; all social classes are equally worthy; all have the same rights which are forever sacrosanct."

[16] Pinkney, Revolution of 1830, 152.

[17] Collingham and Alexander, July Monarchy, 16.

National Assembly will offer you together with a new Constitution. Such a refusal will win all minds, all hearts for you . . . and would save our beautiful fatherland from new misfortunes which threaten it."[18] His strategy was ignored and Louis-Philippe was installed as "king of the French people" on August 9.[19] Cabet quickly adjusted his opinion to meet the shifting parameters of the political scene.

The three day revolution claimed the lives of 2,000 in Paris. Another 4,500 people and 800 soldiers were injured. The task of repairing the human and material damages strained workers' modest resources. A small percentage of the wounded applied for government compensation.[20] Carpenters, stonemasons, and shoemakers had fought alongside law and medical students from the École Polytechnique. When interviewed, they claimed to be motivated by a desire to protect their liberté or la nation.[21] Many fought because their political hostility would not make their economic deprivation worse.[22] Later

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[18] Piotrowski, Etienne Cabet, 23-4. Cabet wrote Louis-Philippe again August 7. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 28-31. Cabet "changed his tune" in a brochure that repeated the suffrage demands. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 33-9. Prudhommeaux printed text material from these letters.

[19] Pilbeam, 1830 Revolution, 66-7. The three glorious days were really fourteen. Pinkney, French Revolution of 1830, 150-1. Collingham and Alexander, July Monarchy, 95-108. Martin Nadaud saw Louis-Philippe as a "fluent speaker," generally considerate, even "courteous to workmen." He hated bloodshed, but was both benevolent and cynical - a "man of expedients."

[20] Pinkney, French Revolution of 1830, 241-8. The Commission on Damages paid out 4,029,000 francs. Generous private donations were given to 5,000 widows, orphans, and wounded (over 700,000 francs). Remaining funds were supplied to orphans until age 18.

[21] Ibid., 269-273.

[22] Pilbeam, 1830 Revolution, 62-3. In addition, contemporary liberals saw the causes as economic and could not accept that less well off workers would be motivated by political reasons.

accounts by "left-wing Orleanists like Odilon Barrot and socialist-republicans like Louis Blanc and Étienne Cabet" verified the artisan-student composition.[23] Cabet maintained that he had risked his life during the three days. Moreover, his services "rendered as a lawyer and patriot" had entitled him to "one of the first places in the magistracy."[24]

Député Cabet

Cabet's post in remote Corsica was an unlikely "first" place and it positioned him at a formidable distance from Paris.[25] After less than six months, he resigned and announced his Dijon candidacy for the Chamber of Deputies. He was a favorite among his home town republican electorate. Dijonnais were familar with Cabet's opposition to the Bourbons and recalled his defense of local patriots in the preceding decade. However, he did not own enough land to have paid the required taxes to qualify as a candidate for the office of deputy. Countess de Chastenay, Cabet's Parisian patroness, contacted a wealthy woman in Dijon, Mme Legeas, who placed a large section of her property in Cabet's name, making it possible for him to be a candidate.[26] This generous act reinforced his naive conviction that

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[23] Pilbeam, 1830 Revolution, 62. Pinkney, Revolution of 1830, 48, 85, 141. Collingham and Alexander, July Monarchy, 17-8, 442. Deputy Barrot was a constitutional monarchist and member of Aide-toi.

[24] Fotion, "Cabet," diss., 29. Cabet claimed to have risked his life ten times. Pinkney, French Revolution of 1830, 284-8. De l'Eure had the task of replacing 426 members of the magistrate, mostly drawn from the professional class of lawyers.

[25] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 29-30. Cabet wrote Nicod's wife, Elisa, that he was satisfied with the post which was a "logical stepping stone toward his 'one serious ambition,' to become a deputy." Pinkney, French Revolution of 1830, 284. Cabet was one of many erstwhile administration job-seekers, "Benjamin Constant complained that in a single week in August six to seven thousand persons called at his house to bespeak his support of their quests for government jobs. Lafayette was said to have endorsed 70,000 job applications."

[26] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 52. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 30. Cabet paid

wealthy property owners (especially, women) would willingly align with a movement to better all the people. Cabet won the election and on July 5, 1831, he was seated in the Chamber of Deputies in Paris.[27]

Barely a year had passed since the Revolution and Cabet had gained one of the highest positions in French politics. He brought his republican persuasion to a government that was retreating from its hastily proclaimed revolutionary goals. Despite the fact that he did not have the extensive property background of his colleagues, Cabet expected them to find merit in his proposals. The aims of his legislative concerns were viewed by many deputy peers with hostility and denigration. He criticized the projects of the new ruling system and his inflammatory arguments over the "betrayal of July" were poorly received. Only a handful of like-minded republican deputies had won seats in the conservative chamber. Consequently, Cabet was not only a newcomer who lacked any prior claim to political influence, but part of a disssenting minority. The intimidating heckling and laughter of those who interrupted his speeches infuriated him.[28]

In a commentary some years later, deputy Dubois recalled how Cabet's angry gestures and speeches had made "a goodly number of brave center members shudder from head to toe, believing themselves to be looking at some hyena resuscitated from the Convention."[29] Dubois's analogy fittingly captured the effects of Cabet's revolutionary

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46 francs taxes, Mme Legéas added property worth 509 francs.

[27] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 31. Cabet's Dijon opponent was Mauquin de Chauvelin, a marquis and former deputy. Deputies had to be forty years old, and Cabet was 43. Sutton, Les Icariens, 150n12. Gontier and Gontier, Partons, 11-2. D'Argenson cast a medal in Cabet's honor.

[28] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 31-2.

studies on his discourses. He and the other republican deputies were unable to convince the chamber body to favor popular issues like "universal suffrage, freedom of assembly, or government consideration of working-class economic distress."[30] In essence, Cabet's arguments failed to dent the class armor of the entrenched Deputies.[31]

Reforming society from above was slow and exasperating. Cabet joined a popular movement in Paris that was set up to foster education for workers, the Association libre pour l'éducation du peuple. His instructive abilities had a greater impact on people outside the Chamber of Deputies where he organized classes, located instructors, and set up learning sites. Students from the École polytechnique volunteered to teach without pay. This people's movement was active alongside the Saint-Simonian's community projects. Participants in both groups frequently overlapped. However, after the government arrested Saint-Simonian leaders in January 1832, it began investigating the political content of the classes held by the Association libre. When a riot erupted during a funeral procession in June, they supressed it. A few months later, they were allowed to reorganize after pledging that their teaching materials would be apolitical.[32]

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[29] Fotion, "Cabet" diss., 33-39. Cabet was a "vulnerable target for his tormentors on the benches to his Right." Fotion found his detailed, windy, repetitious monologues bored his audience and that his indignant reactions delighted them even more.

[30] Ibid., 37. Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 59, 79. Another of his projects was legislation to end the indirect taxes on salt and beverages that was encouraged by his brother, Louis Cabet.

[31] Gordon Wright, France in Modern Times: 1760 to the Present (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1966), 148-9. The Chamber of Deputies "bombarded ministerial orators with interruptions and insults, and one member who complained of fatigue was even greeted by the unmannerly cry "Drop dead, dog!". . . clear majorities were rare. . .right-center domination was broken by occasional interludes of left-center control, but such interruptions were brief."

The funeral riot had a direct connection with Cabet who was "nearly killed" when fighting broke out between the demonstrators and the police. He had helped recruit the marchers to honor deceased deputy General Maximilien Lamarque.[33] Afterwards, police searched his house. They confiscated his papers, two pistols, and arrested him for planning and "fomenting the riot."[34] Although he escaped a jail term, this was a critical moment in his simmering hostility toward Louis-Philippe's repressive practices. Among his friends who were arrested was a medical student, Camille Berrier-Fontaine, who received a prison sentence. Because of this, he lost his intern position at the Maternity hospital. When he was released, Berrier-Fontaine had to enter a less prominent study program at the Hotel Dieu (city hospital).[35] Both Cabet and Berrier-Fontaine shared republican views which hardened after their arrests.

For well over a decade, Cabet had been a part of the ferment waged against the Royalists. Now, his hope that the new regime would bring needed reforms was disappearing. Louis-Philippe's ministers barely modified the government's offensive policies. But it was not in Cabet's character to end his republican protests and he refocused his energy on finishing his account of La Révolution de 1830 (1832). He donated the profits from the book's first three months' sales to "political patriot prisoners."

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32 Johnson, Utopian Communism, 35. It was renamed, Association libre. Collingham and Alexander, July Monarchy, 136-7. Many members were also active in the Association pour la liberté de la presse.

33 Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 62.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid., 101-2.

Banquets honored Cabet for his generous contribution.[36] Jittery government censors pored over the book and discovered five press offenses. His republican friends skillfully defended him and the charges were dropped.[37]

Cabet continued to work with the reformed Association libre and in February 1833, twelve commissions of the Paris arrondissements elected him secretary-general of the society and editor-in-chief of their paper Le Fondateur.[38] By the end of the year, over 3,000 volunteer members were offering 50 courses to workers. People paid 25 centines a week to take classes. In addition, a staff of Doctors and lawyers was set up in each arrondissement to aid members and non-members without charge.[39] This charitable work was boosted in June 1833 when Cabet began a newspaper, Le Populaire, which promised to "defend the rights and interests of the people."[40] It was hawked in the streets by crieurs dressed in tri-color costumes. Le Populaire was priced at 10 francs a year, less than one-third the cost of other papers. With its articles of interest to popular readers, Le Populaire quickly became the largest paper circulating in Paris.[41]

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[36] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 53.

[37] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 35. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 53-5.

[38] Ibid., 36.

[39] Ibid., 36-7. They helped find employment and provide relief when needed.

[40] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 77-8. The June prospectus proclaimed its devotion to the "people" and its mission "to teach, as does the Association libre." It began September 13, 1833.

[41] Ibid., 78. Collingham and Alexander, July Monarchy, 169-70. The new government had promised press freedom - "Censorship can never be re-established" (Article Seven of the Charter). Juries alone were able to judge press offenses. In December, hawking of pamphlets and prints was allowed with licenses. Caution money, stamps, and postage costs were lowered. From 1831 to 1835, there were 520 press

The timing of Cabet's newspaper coincided with the start-up of an all-women's journal by Saint-Simonians in August 1832. La Femme libre (The free woman) called for women to work together toward their liberation.[42] Its editors were ridiculed for their paper's strident title. Consequently, they renamed it several times before it succumbed in 1834.[43] These women journalists were exceptional. Few woman wrote or spoke out in public. Many of the authors of articles in La Femme libre used pseudonyms to protect their identities. An estranged husband held legal rights to his wife's services and incomes. Public exposure of a woman's private thoughts was culturally (and spiritually) unladylike.[44] Their newspaper accounts succeeded in bringing women's demands for fair wages as well as marriage and divorce law reforms before the public. In his critical roles as editor and deputy, Cabet was aware of the women's journalistic debates. In a short time, he championed many of the liberating causes they highlighted. Elements of his utopian society

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prosecutions and 322 acquittals. Pilbeam, 1830 Revolution, 160.

[42] Moses, French Feminism, 63.The title changes were: Apostolat des femmes; La Femme de l'avenir; La Femme nouvelle; Affranchissement des femmes; and La Tribune des femmes.

[43] Evelyne Sullerot, Histoire de la presse féminine (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1966), 147-159. Sullerot listed editors, excerpted themes and demands printed in the women's paper. "We want equality in marriage or celibacy rather than slavery," wrote Jeanne Deroin. Sullerot noted Deroin later became a disciple of Cabet. Claire Goldberg Moses and Leslie Wahl Rabine, Feminism, Socialism, and French Romanticism (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 45-48. The women editors and contributors helped teach night school classes for poor women. Some lived on their own or in a "free union" with a man. Editors and contributors were not paid and financial difficulties added to the demise of their journal.

[44] Pseudonyms helped women publish (as a man) and were used to hide an author from her estranged husband. The aristocratic mother-in-law of George Sand (Audry Dudevant) forbid her to dishonor the Dudevant family name by attaching it to her literary productions.

upheld La Femme libre writers' call for spousal equality in marriage, albeit somewhat rhetorically since the Icarian husband's voice was 'merely' predominant. This ideal infringed on the prevalent Napoleonic legal codes and Catholic theology which subordinated women.[45] Icaria also had a divorce option, which was likewise illegal. Several divorce bills were passed in the Chamber of Deputies between 1831 and 1834 but failed to be approved by the Chamber of Peers.[46] La Femme libre editors also stressed the need for serious education for girls, a concern that Cabet emphatically agreed with for girls and boys had equal education in Icaria. Although not identified as an outspoken defender of women during this period, Cabet's interest in their social equality accumulated. His Icarian models for women were considered so advanced that he designated himself an emancipator of women in the 1840s. This was a very unlikely stance for most men to take. While French feminism had revived briefly in the 1830s' shadow of political opposition, the majority of republican men "displayed outright hostility toward feminist initiatives . . . Even those who subscribed to feminist aims often did so on the basis of a culturally gendered doctrine of separate spheres."[47] Cabet's visions followed this differentiated mode, yet, he offered women significant improvements in their lives.

By 1833, the popularity of deputy Cabet reached new heights. Admirers held a victory banquet for him in Dijon after he successfully defended the publishing rights of the

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[45] Moses and Rabine, Feminism, 12, 22, 64.

[46] Ibid., 323n. "Divorce" article in Tribune des femmes. Pilbeam, 1830 Revolution, 133. The Chamber of Peers was still in the hands of the King who appointed new members. He rewarded well-behaved bourgeoisie bureaucrats with appointments that included 235 Army generals.

[47] Landes, Women and the Public Sphere, 171-2.

editors of Le Patriote de la Cote d'Or. Cabet delivered a speech in front of a banner that read, "To the popular, incorruptible deputy; long live Cabet, long live liberty."[48] Unfortunately, his days of glory were short-lived.

Louis-Philippe's government grew uneasy about the increase in popular journals and educational movements. Its agents observed that members of a Jacobin society, Droits de l'homme, were infiltrating the moderate ranks of the Association libre.[49] They worried that the latter was being used as a front organization for a deeper conspiracy. Radical members of the Droits de l'homme began asserting control over the Association libre. Cabet denied belonging to the Droits de l'homme, but his name appeared on a circular designating the election of a known member, Doctor Berrier-Fontaine, as Inspector-general of Courses.[50] The "gentle" physican held dual memberships and would not only become the future secretary of the central committee in the Droits de l'homme, but an intimate friend with whom Cabet and Denise shared their quarters in exile.[51] Berrier-Fontaine also belonged to another social justice group, the Société des amis du peuple, led by Doctor François-Vincent Raspail.[52] Although it can easily be shown that

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48 Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 79-80.

49 Ibid., 81.

50 Johnson, Utopian Communism, 38-9. Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 84. Another Droits de l' homme member, deputy Voyer d'Argenson, replaced Cabet as president of the Association libre central committee in July, 1833. This internal shift, which was towards the more radical segment, had prompted Cabet's newspaper.

51 Ibid., 39. Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 84. In a recorded toast to Cabet by a delegate from the Droits de l'homme at a Dijon banquet, there is verification of Cabet's approval, "We had the honor of conversing with Deputy Cabet, who praised the plan and goal of our association." ("Gentle" was the adjective used to describe Dr. Berrier-Fontaine in a police report.)

Cabet had friendly relationships with members of many different Clubs, he avoided jeopardizing his deputy position by openly joining the known radical ones. But he did not refrain from issuing political commentaries in Le Populaire. On January 12 and 19, 1834, he composed two articles defending the Polish exiles from Prussia who were being refused French asylum.[53] In a piece that compared the practices of powerful monarchs, "Crimes des rois contre l'humanité" (The crimes of Kings against humanity), Cabet overstepped journalistic law by asserting that Louis-Philippe was "resolved, if necessary, to have Frenchmen shot, gunned down in the streets."[54] Prosecutors charged him with seditious libel.

Cabet's trial on February 28, 1834 ended with a guilty verdict despite the court-room appearance of sixty fellow deputies who respectfully lined up to shake his hand. Loyal friends even tried to intimidate the jury by drawing a skull and crossbones on their houses.[55] The Judge assigned Cabet the maximum penalty of two years in prison and a 4,400 franc fine. In addition he was condemned to four years of civil death, a judgment that had never been given to press offenders in the past.[56] In lieu of this sentence, Cabet

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52 Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 101-2. The police reported that Berrier-Fontaine held meetings in his home for members of the Amis du Peuple and distributed their writings.

53 Pilbeam, 1830 Revolution, 152, 211n8. 35,000 francs was raised by a committee sympathetic to the Polish cause. Lafayette headed the Paris branch. Aminzade, Ballots and Barricades, 23. Cabet was not an isolated defender of Poland. French republicans "repeatedly took to the streets to demonstrate in support of the Polish struggle for national independence."

54 Johnson, Utopian Communism, 40-1.

55 Sutton, Les Icariens, 14-5.

56 Johnson, Utopian Communism, 41. Collingham and Alexander, July Monarchy,

chose a five year exile, claiming that my "friends urge me to leave."[57] Republican supporters promised him a 4,000 franc yearly pension to cover living expenses in exile. In a later comment on why he chose exile over prison, Cabet stated that it permitted him to take better care of "family affairs."[58] However, there is no other evidence about this familial persuasion. One could speculate that an exile location would have permitted Denise and his daughter to be with him, unlike the confinement of prison quarters.

Initially, Cabet chose to spend his exile in Belgium. He was barely "welcomed at the [Brussels] residence" of liberal deputy, A.Gendebien, when an uprising took place on April 5 and 6, 1834.[59] A newspaper, the Gazette de Frankfort, reported that Cabet had "come to overthrow the Monarchy. 'Imagine what that is going to do to peace and quiet,' the editor warned."[60] King Leopold was married to Louis-Philippe's daughter Louise and had no desire to provide asylum for his father-in-law's adversary. He ordered Cabet to leave his country. Confused accounts about deaths in the Belgium riot were the likely source of the false news that Cabet was killed; Denise Lesage lapsed into a "brain fever"

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171. By September 1835, harsher laws were passed. Caution money increased to 100,000 francs for papers appearing more than once a week and the definition of press crimes was expanded.

57 Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 92-4.

58 Fotion, "Cabet," diss., 56. Fotion suggested he may have been referring to his brothers and parents at Dijon. She also speculated that he was "soon to become the father of a child." This does not seem likely. Cabet's daughter Céline was widowed in March 1847. She was probably born earlier, for if her birthdate was 1834, she would have been a 13 year-old widow.

59 Johnson, Utopian Communism, 41-2. This was the Belgium "anti-Orangist troubles known as the haras de Tervueren." Collingham and Alexander, July Monarchy, 105.

60 Sutton, Les Icariens, 16.

upon hearing it.[61] It is unclear what a brain fever diagnosis meant, but shock, fainting, grief, hysteria, or some form of sorrow can be implied.

Prior to Cabet's exile at the age of forty-six, tangible information on the whereabouts of his partner or his daughter Céline was virtually non-existent. Denise Lesage was a seamstress and may have associated with women in Association libre or Saint-Simonian groups whose names surfaced during the 1840s in Cabet's press and correspondence. This slender link permits speculation that Denise and Cabet knew these active women earlier. Denise Lesage may well have been the catalyst for Cabet's interest in women and family conditions. Some years later, Cabet described her role during his trials as that of a loyal, frightened wife who suffered cruelly from his numerous persecutions, duels, and arrests. Hard evidence about her activity in these years nevertheless, remains elusive.[62]

It is a reasonable assumption that the Parisian feminist initiatives of the 1830s reinforced the proposals for women's education and professional roles in the Voyage. If Cabet was only marginally concerned with women's problems prior to his exile, then Denise Lesage increased his awareness in London. While many questions about her cannot be answered, we know that she stayed behind when Cabet left Paris in 1834. Did he expect to have her join him in Belgium? Was their reunion in London requested by Cabet or contrived by mutual friends? A small mention in the available records points toward the latter. Deputy de Puyraveau had visited Cabet in London and was alarmed over his mood,

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61 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 98.

62 Gontier and Gontier, Partons, 13, 12.

even "afraid for his life." On his return to France, de Puyraveau reported that "Cabet was perishing from sorrow and worry, and no matter what they had to brave, his mistress and daughter went to rejoin him."[63] Cabet's remark about taking care of "family affairs" could imply that he planned to have them nearby when he was in Belgium, but it appears that de Puyraveau intervened and they arrived unexpectedly in London. It is also likely that Cabet had decided to 'tough it out' but de Puyraveau and others urged his wife to join him upon seeing his condition. Either way, their presence meant that he needed day-to-day expense money.

Because 'family' was the centerpiece of Icaria's social structure, Cabet's striking reference to "family affairs" was significant. It is difficult to determine when Cabet first noticed the precarious state of families or the oppressive status of women. The clearest indicators of his increased solicitude were his exposure to workers in the Association libre and the gender concerns raised by Saint-Simonian feminists. Cabet had supported Denise and Céline earlier, however, his exile circumstances caused him to examine the wider meaning of 'family.'[64]

Three months after his arrrival in London, Cabet wrote a reassuring letter to his mother in response to her inquiry about his health and comfort.

London, September 4, 1834

My dear mother,

I am happy to know that you are in good health. As for me, I have been indisposed; but I am doing very well now, although I work a lot. I am staying at the house of a French doctor.

The city of London is superb, very large, very rich, and more beautiful than Paris. There are many similarities, but it is not as gay. The countryside is

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63 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 98-9.

64 Johnson, Utopian Communism, 41, 42n65.

> magnificent. The summer has been very good, but the winter is ordinarily very stormy. Overall this country is not like our France. I often miss our excellent fruit, which is rare here, very expensive, and definitely not as good.
>
> It is principally my friends that I miss and being deprived of seeing you afflicts me. Fortunately, I am not lacking in courage nor resignation, otherwise, I would be troubled. I am comforted to learn that you are in good health. Do not be distressed by my exile, and remember me always my dear mother. I return your caresses with my respect and my love.
>
> Your son, Cabet.[65]

This is a commendable and devoted letter, but it seems strange that Cabet does not include any reference to either Denise or her grand-daughter, Céline. If we can posit that Cabet's mother had remained a pious Catholic, then Denise's unmarried state and the illegitimacy of his daughter may be an embarrassment for him, an unmentionable subject, or perhaps, completely unknown to her. He confided to his mother that he mostly missed his friends. There was nothing in this letter to suggest that he missed Denise and Céline, or, that he was occupied with taking care of "family affairs."

The letter also noted that Cabet was living with a '"French doctor" in September 1834. Was this Dr. Berrier-Fontaine?[66] Since he reportedly escaped from the Sainte-Pélagie prison on July 12, 1835, the "French doctor" may be someone else or Berrier-Fontaine may have been awaiting trial. Cabet's friends, deputy de Puyraveau and Berrier-Fontaine, carried news to him in London about the riots in Paris and the arrests and trials of his associates.[67] Their reports fueled his disgust with the present forms of governing society.

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[65] Cabet to his mother, London, Sept. 4, 1834, IISG. Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 105-6. Johnson described Cabet's attitude in this letter as "neither completely happy nor dolorous."

[66] Angrand, Cabet et la république, 13. Cabet was in London by May 1, 1834.

[67] Pilbeam, 1830 Revolution, 65.

Cabet's advocacy of communism as a viable political alternative intensified. He had discussed Babeuf's radical communist theories with Buonarroti and Voyer d'Argenson in Paris in 1832. Berrier-Fontaine, de Puyraveau, and Mauguin were also among those present at these talks.[68] Babeuf's ideas were a critical element of Icarian communism and Cabet acknowledged that he knew Buonarroti and had read his work on Babeuf.[69] De Puyraveau and Berrier-Fontaine worked with Cabet in the Association libre and their names were listed with Le Populaire souscripteurs (signers of a loan or subscribers) in 1833.[70] In the Chamber, De Puyraveau's voice was more radical than Cabet's. These two men with their identifiable Babouvist leanings shared Cabet's exiled distress and strengthened his egalitarian notions.

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[68] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 113-14. Voyer d'Argenson was one of Buonarroti's biggest promoters and among the three friends Cabet sent a copy of the Voyage to in 1838. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 62. Buonarroti wrote Conspiration pour l'egalité (1828). It was reportedly the topic discussed within a cercle in 1832 by Audry de Puyraveau, Kersausie, Ballon, Berryer-Fontaine, Vignerte, Bornias, and Cabet. Dict. biog., Tome I, 324-6. Filippo-Michele Buonarroti (1761-1837) joined a masonic lodge in 1786 and was known for spreading French masonry lodges, especially among workers. He was exiled for political activities in 1797. While in Brussels, he published his work on Babeuf and returned to Paris in 1830. Cabet stated that he had intended to send Buonarroti a copy of the Voyage, but he died in September 1834.

[69] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 114. Buonarroti gave a copy of the Babeuf book to Cabet. Prudhommeaux's thesis on the development of Cabet's communism deemed it a major influence.

[70] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 86-7, 77-78. Le Populaire souscripteurs were: Anglade, d'Argenson, Audry de Puyraveau, Briqueville, Duris-Dufresne, le général Duchaffacud, Dupont de l'Eure, Dulong, Garnier-Pagès, Joly, Laboissière, général Lafayette, de Ludre, Mauguin, Eusèbe Salverte, députés; Ch. de Lesseps, Pagnerre, Népomucène Lemercier, Dr. Beryer-Fontaine, Guinard, etc,. Many of these same names were members of Société des droits de l'homme in November 1833 with president Cavaignac, secretary Berrier-Fontaine, D'Argenso, Guinard, Vignerte, Audrey de Puyraveau, Beaumont, Dersausie, Lebon, Desjardins and Titot.

While Cabet's mood was faintly melancholy in his letter to his mother, his emotional state darkened in a letter to his patron Nicod on January 16, 1836. "I am too noir dans l'ame (gloomy spirit or black thoughts) to speak to you of anything else," he wrote.[71] This tone was repeated a month later when Cabet speculated to Nicod that he might have to take up teaching French to keep his "family and himself alive."[72] This comment suggests that he needed money because his family was with him in early 1836, or he had to send them support. Regardless, his bleak mental state was worsened by financial hardship. The 4,000 francs a year stipend was not sent regularly. Near the end of the Voyage, he wrote that the "banished" learn to do without friendships, a hint that his old friends were ignoring their monetary promises.[73]

This sum was a considerable amount for republican patriots to collect each year. The April 1834 workers' uprisings and the subsequent defense and care of arrested prisoners and their families strained republican funds.[74] The strike episode had begun when 20,000 workers halted Lyon industry for a week in February 1834 to protest a reduction in wages. Unable to exist without incomes and threatened with the association laws, they returned to work in eight days. Six men were arrested and as their trial began on April 5,

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71 Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 107.

72 Ibid.

73 Voyage, 548-9. 4,000 francs was about 5 times the average workers' yearly wage.

74 Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 105-107. In February 1835, Cabet wrote, La Justice d'Avril, lettre à M. Guizot in an assuring tone related to the French justice system. He was visited afterwards by Lucien and Joseph Bonaparte and Persigny with whom he had cordial relations. However, a work dated 1835, "Lettre à Louis-Philippe" was filled with bitterness and accusations against the King's "massacres." This mood "prepared Cabet to accept more radical solutions."

noisy protesters forced a postponement. On April 9, the trial reopened with the army standing by to arrest demonstrators who were distributing handbills outside. When the insurgents retreated into the narrow alleys, the soldiers trailed them. The worker's managed to circumvent the army with clever ambush tactics. In turn, the soldiers ruthlessly destroyed suspected houses and brutally crushed the resistance. The bloody end left 320 dead. The government feared a wholesale revolutionary conspiracy as outbreaks spread to other provinces including Paris and Dijon. The Droits de l'homme mobilized to defend the 2,000 arrested. A list of 150 republican luminaries pledged assistance to the victims. Deputy de Puyraveau was on the "committee of defense." It was nearly a year before the lengthy trials began on May 5, 1835. Only 121 were found guilty and 28 of these prisoners tunneled their way out of Sainte-Pélagie on July 28, 1835.[75] One of the escapees was Berrier-Fontaine, who made his way to London. Consequently, Cabet's exiled existence was steadily informed by this influx of troubled refugees. He not only shared housing, but legitimate grievances with rebel outcasts. By the end of 1835, in addition to his contempt for Louis-Philippe's regime, he had to earn expense money. Fortunately, his brother Louis Cabet came to his rescue with a loan.[76] With his economics momentarily stabilized, Cabet finished writing the four-volume history of the French Revolution and a universal world history that he had begun earlier.[77]

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[75] Collingham and Alexander, July Monarchy, 157-64.

[76] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 98n1. The pension was reduced to 3,000 francs in the final years.

[77] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 44-5. "Berrier-Fontaine regarded himself as a disciple of Buonarroti and Voyer d'Argenson." This "daily contact with Berrier" helped change his outlook.

A recent analysis of these works by Linda Orr, Headless History: Nineteenth-Century French Historiography of the Revolution, revealed that Cabet directed his research efforts toward establishing a historical thread of communauté (community) in these texts which he would afterward convert into the communal, egalitarian, social, and legal base of Icarian society. The "French word communauté itself is a legal term describing any group sharing property. . . . [who by] pooling their capital into a common fund, such persons would establish a communauté for a given period of time, after which profits - or debts - would be divided."[78] The cultural traditions of these extended household groups were disputed after the 1789 Revolution by a regime of lawyers, judges, and republican politicans.[79] Cabet deplored the loss of these "truly popular and democratic" communes in France in the aftermath of the revolution.[80] The invention of Icaria was his effort to preserve these egalitarian ideals of communauté in a system of shared patriarchal authority, albeit modified by modern science and urban technology.

The communauté tradition idealized the fraternity, morality, and equality exemplified in Cabet's historical writings. According to him, similar ideals were shared by "Robespierre who is able to give France peace in founding the Republic of equality, justice, virtue, the happiness of the People, and fraternity of the human race."[81] Orr's

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78 John W. Shaffer, Family & Farm: Agrarian Change and Household Organization in the Loire Valley 1500-1900 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1982), 20.

79 Ibid., 90-91.

80 Le Populaire, August 3, 1851.

81 Johnson, Utopian Communism, 47. Cabet was "ecstatic over the cult of the Supreme Being." (He transplanted a similar type of celebration into Icarian festivals.)

investigation concluded that

> Cabet wanted to make a tradition coincide, really to invent a tradition that would link him to Robespierre through Babeuf. Robespierre went as far as speaking of "the equality of goods," which Cabet wanted to move closer to the "Community of goods," Babeuf's expression. Each metonymy, "commodities made communal," "portions of goods equal to its placement," "common resources," led Cabet to announce that the Revolution was "almost the Community of goods . . . One goes as far as . . . the equality of fortunes, a sort of agrarian law, or rather a Community of goods, without anyone, however, presenting a clear-cut idea of this sort of social and political system, almost entirely unknown."[82]

Orr's examination of revolutionary features traced "a sort of agrarian law" regarding the equality or "community of goods." This concept fueled Cabet's thoughts as he completed his writing. Strengthened by these historical insights, he contemplated the vagaries of history and his own situation.

> Too long a victim of my own devotion to the popular cause not to be always devoted to it, I was resolved, like *Campanella*, to put to profit my time in exile to study, reflect and to try be useful to my fellow citizens. For the people, I prepared three elementary histories (one universal history, one history of France, one history of England), when I was glad to have read the Utopia in English, since like many others, I had often cited it without knowing it very well.
>
> Despite the numerous defects of that work, especially if one wants to apply it to today, I was so struck by the fundamental idea that I closed the book without recalling the details to think seriously about the ideas of communauté that I had never had time to think deeply about, because I was always dominated, like the rest of the world, by the blindness which prescribed the communauté as a chimera.
>
> But the more I reflected, the less the idea appeared dreamlike. . . . I applied the theory to all the situations and needs of Society; and the more partial applications, the more I perceived the possibility and even the ease of it.
>
> I cannot tell you the pleasure that I experienced from finally finding the remedy to all the evils of Humanity; and I am sure that, in their palaces and their feasts, the exilers do not have any pleasures as pure as that which the exiled have in perceiving each day the advantage and the aurora of happiness for the human family.[83]

There can be little cause to dispute Cabet's judgment that he retained strong images of

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[82] Linda Orr, Headless History: Nineteenth-Century French Historiography of the Revolution (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 72, 73n29.

[83] Voyage, 547-8.

Robespierre and communauté. Thomas More had both inspired and offered him a framework for presenting his Utopia. Consequently, his literary task and mood were reinforced by sources that encompass his exile, radical friends, unstable finances, feminists, Denise, and Céline.

Utopian

After Cabet discovered communauté in More's Utopia, he "was completely transformed." Then, he recollected, "I began writing my edition. Moreover, I went back and read all the works on the origins of communauté and followed this concept in the past." This pertinent disclosure in 1842 was intended to counter Théodore Dézamy's charges that he plagiarized Buonarroti's work on Babeuf.[84] Although there were excerpted quotes from them in the Voyage's imposing pantheon of thinkers, Cabet insisted on the uniqueness of his plan even though he knew about Babeuf.

It would be relatively simple to point to More's money-less, egalitarian structure for comparative purposes. However, the most striking level of agreement between these two authors was the nexus of paternal morality directed toward women and children. Each thinker presented laudable predictions of fraternity between men, but neither imagined a system of gender equality between men and women. Male control was obscured by Cabet's protective family reforms that would engender a felicitous society. Unlike More, he did not expect women to deferentially kneel and confess sins to their husbands each week.[85] In Cabet's vision, women happily obeyed men's wise regulations and thereafter, all

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[84] Ibid. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 142.

[85] Edward Surtz, S.J. ed., St. Thomas More, Utopia (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), 232-3. Before attending the Final-Feast at the Temple, "wives fall down at the feet of their husbands, children at the feet of their parents. They confess that they have

their wrongdoings disappeared. Both authors shared a common hierarchical tradition of Christian patriarchy which appropriated theories about nature to rationalize gender disparities. Their social ordering was largely informed by Church Fathers, Bishops, Abbés, and Philosophers who attributed superior reasoning faculties to men and inferior body functions to women. Eve, the sinful temptress, originating as Adam's rib-companion, was cast in their moral portrayals.[86] The mind-body dictomony was the gendered base that Cabet consistently deployed in his designs for communauté.

Researchers generally regard Cabet as a systemizer but not an original thinker.[87]This could be expanded to describe him as a unique synthesizer, for Icaria was a phenomenal ideal, both in theory and in practice. He intimated that he was a philosopher even though he was not primarily concerned with introducing original ideas. Instead, he sought validation in the historical past for his rediscovery of the concept of the communauté of equality and fraternity, which he incorporated into a redefined society. With the image of philosphers in mind, the second part of the Voyage contained page after page of statements by famous luminaries who agreed with him. They were the "persons that Humanity consults as its oracles," he asserted.[88]

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erred, either by committing some fault or by performing some duty carelessly, and beg pardon for their offense."

[86] Elaine Pagels, Adam, Eve, and the Serpent (New York: Random House, 1988), xviii-xix, 57-77. Pagels examined the gender and sexual relationship patterns that arose during the first 400 years of Christianity related to these Genesis passages.

[87] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 18-9. "Cabet remains in the pantheon of early socialists. The reason is not his originality but his influence. . . . Cabet possessed remarkable political acumen and immense powers as a propagandist."

[88] Voyage, 529. This was followed by proof from "the one that the Universe adores like a God who proclaimed, for eighteen centuries, that it is Equality and Communauté!"

> . . . I had a mission to organize a great society on the basis of equality . . . all this work I wished to do without books, according to my own meditations and my own inspirations. But, having finished my attempt and wishing to make a counter-attempt, I consulted all the ancient and modern thinkers of all countries. I ran through their works (more than a thousand volumes) . . . No one has ever made such an examination (devoting to it eighteen and often twenty hours a day and in the quiet of exile), added to thirty-five years of former studies and some experience in political and social affairs.[89]

The evidence Cabet found on communauté provided a model which he compared to that of Christian monasteries:

> If the religious Communautés had been better organized, if they had joined families, and if each had a large number of members, they would probably have established the Communauté on earth: but these Communautés were composed of men or women only and in small numbers. They were always a form of individualism, and Communisme was arrested, because they scorned the commandment of Jesus Christ. . . . The Communists today are the Disciples, the Imitators, and the Continuators of Jesus-Christ.[90]

Thus, Cabet cast Icaria in a mold that equated Communists with Christ's Disciples. He updated their original version with his belief in the progressive capacity of men's genius to make use of technology and legal institutions to establish universal happiness.[91]

(Jesus Christ).

[89] Piotrowski, Etienne Cabet, 57. Found in Cabet's, Comment je suis communiste, 3-5.

[90] Voyage, 567. This pronouncement placed at the end of the Voyage attests to the religious nature of Icarianism although it has often been described as a secular system because of its basic toleration and lack of rituals. This lenient policy changed in 1850 when the Nauvoo Colony established Admission Conditions and number 39 stated that new members must "adopt for their *Religion*, the Vrai Christianisme, and for their *worship* the practice of FRATERNITY." See Voyage, 214-5. Icar's "meditations" on the christian prayer, "Our Father,"inspired him to consider all brothers equal. Icar visited a "vast monastery" where everyone "worked and lived in common."

[91] Nancy Tuana, The Less Noble Sex (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 82-3. Cabet's internalized masculine reasoning capability reflected what Tuana described in a section on "The Marriage of Reason and Morality." She found that, "Philosophical conceptions of morality in the 18th and 19th century were directly influenced by the

Cabet's preoccupation with ancient religious texts during his research likewise may have fortified his youthful fears of women. He set out strict codifications for women's activity in Icaria but concealed it with flattering phrases. Like the prominent men of the 1789 revolution, he did not countenance unrestrained public activity by women, nor did he favor the levelling image of men performing domestic chores like the Saint-Simonians at Mémilmont. In Icaria, women and daughters do all the household tasks.[92] He also had to disassociate his vision of women's equality from the taint of "free love" that ruined the Saint-Simonians.[93] Icaria's pleasant female characters act charming and demure in patriarchal family shelters.

Laws governed nearly every aspect of daily life in Icaria. To render these rules more palpable, Cabet appropriated common platitudes like "do unto others as you would have them do to you." His choice of moral dictates simulated dogmatic religious precepts. A brief sketch of his informal theological views present in the Voyage was extended in Le vrai christianisme suivant Jésus-Christ (1846). The confident, offensive pomposity vented in these moralistic writings escalated his self-identity toward that of a prophet. Cabet embraced a mission to lead others to the truth.

In the novel, Icarian guides pointed with pride to the happy people and the marvels

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Cartesian view of rationality, with its privileging of masculine characteristics. . . . reason as the sole, or at least primary source of moral action: moral principles came to be viewed as universal . . . knowable by any rational agent." Cabet's reason/moral divisions in the Voyage were driven by a magnified spiritual imperative to establish a 'Kingdom of God" on earth by the late 1840s.

92 Voyage, 103. "In each family, the women and daughters execute together all the domestic work from five or six o'clock in the morning until eight thirty; and at nine o'clock dedicate their time to their professions at their workshop."

93 Johnson, Utopian Communism, 116.

of their country which men advanced under the communauté system. Aside from More's (and Babeuf's) inspiration, many questions about Icaria and its characters remain. In particular, did Denise offer Cabet advice about women's roles? One obvious impact on his mind-set was family economics. Denise and his daughter's presence in London increased his expenditures, although they may have earned some money sewing or performing domestic tasks. Men's family burdens in Icaria were lightened, for they were relieved of material concerns. A passage in the Voyage provides evidence that Cabet understood marital money matters, for he sympathized with merchants who "were tormented by bills to pay at the end of each week or month, and experienced terrors associated with their wives (who, in those conditions, knows all the affairs of her husband, and who doubles his worries and his égoîsme and reminds him incessantly of his childrens needs)."[94] While he readily recognized that money worries drove men's égoîsme, did Denise provoke "terrors" about bills for him? Did she know about his money "affairs" or remind him of his child's needs? If so, the dream of More's economy was a useful form of psychic relief.

Cabet's utopian novel was written during the period of his family's most dire economic straits. The Voyage records two dates that connect his 1836 letter about money with its production. "Today in 1836," he wrote at the beginning of the Voyage, and repeated it twice near the conclusion.[95] A second clue was the return of Lord Carisdall

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[94] Voyage, 563. Although there is no evidence Cabet had formed any such close, intimate family household, surely his parents and friends were concerned about domestic costs.

[95] Ibid., 4, 534. Lord Carisdall left London on Dec. 22, 1835. He arrived at a port called Camiris on April 24, 1836 and returned in June, 1837. Carisdall was 22 years old and already knew seven languages. He spent four months getting to Icaria, four months exploring the country, and four months returning.

from a year long visit to Icaria on "last June 21, 1837."[96] This date was placed prior to the final sequel. These deductions point out that Cabet spent about a year and a half of his exile writing the Voyage. If, as he claimed, he devoted eighteen to twenty hours a day to studies in the British Museum, the drain on his time left him with few hours to spend with his family. In like manner, Icarian fathers dispensed wise opinions in short but enjoyable family settings. Family comforts either added to or replaced fraternal allegiances. Nonetheless, Cabet expected that his former associates would challenge his discovery of a "remedy to all the evils of Humanity."[97]

The Berrier-Fontaine couple also lent support to Icarian ideas.[98] They exchanged letters with Cabet in the 1840s and he often asked Berrier-Fontaine's advice about his projects.[99] Very likely, the friends discussed the ideal layouts for Icarian society, especially its health projects. Cabet had studied medicine for a short period and shared Doctor Berrier-Fontaine's interests. The commendable hygienic practices in Icaria typified the latest medical advances.[100] The potency of the couples' friendship was also confirmed on

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[96] Ibid., 532, 534, 545.

[97] Ibid., 548.

[98] Dict. biog., Tome I, 207. Berrier-Fontaine was born Oct. 6, 1804 and Cabet, Jan. 1, 1788, a 16 year age difference. In London, both he and Cabet met with Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte (born 1808 - 20 year age gap). Berrier-Fontaine became the physican of Louis-Napoleon in 1851. Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 101-2. The couples lived at Cirencester Place in London.

[99] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 45. Sutton, Les Icariens, 152n2. There are 39 letters from Cabet to Berrier-Fontaine between 1843-48 in Cabet Collection, folder 2, no. 29 CIS SIUE.

[100] Hausheer, "Icarian Medicine," 418, 410, 431-2, 435, 523-5. Hausheer evaluated many medical aspects of Icaria including mid-wives, baths, autopsies, cremations, and eugenics.

March 25, 1839 when Berrier-Fontaine witnessed Cabet and Denise's wedding in an Anglican Church ceremony.[101] Denise was forty-nine and Cabet was fifty-one. His exile expired three days later on March 28, 1839.[102] Why did Cabet decide to legitimize their relationship after so many years? Although he left no written explanation, it seems likely that he wanted to demonstrate his faith in Icarian marriage law.[103]

Many things changed about Cabet's world-view during his exile. The breadth of his measures to advance equality for women in the Voyage were as startling as his marriage after a half-century of peripatetic living habits. The arguments presented by feminist ideologues during 1830-1834 account for a measure of his new attitude.[104] Yet none of his earlier writings had even hinted at a concern for women's equality, nor had he registered any interest in a communal, money-less society. On the contrary, Cabet seemed blind to women's conditions and he upheld individual property rights as did the moderate

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[101] Icaria, 1975 Reunion, CIS, 4. A printed copy of the license in this publication noted that besides Berrier-Fontaine, Robert Carswell was a witness at the District Church of Trinity, Parish of Saint Marylebone, London on March 25, 1839. Banns were published by Burrell Hayley, Curate with rites according to the Established Church.

[102] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," 189.

[103] Voyage, 546-9. Cabet understood his colleagues likely response, "Many of my friends are surprised to hear me preach the doctrine of Community" . . . "My friends will disavow me!"

[104] Moses and Rabine, Feminism, Socialism, and French Romanticism, 21. Along with women's work in the Saint-Simonians cooperative workshops, health programs, and education efforts, Moses recorded their view that "inheritance should be abolished; and that property was a public trust rather than an individual right . . . They viewed sexual equality as a natural consequence of their project to reorganize the globe by replacing the rule of "brute force" with the rule of "spiritual powers." . . . the "new age" would open public life to both. In addition, their "missions" to other places included one that was active in London when Cabet was in exile.

bourgeois liberals he associated with in Paris. Certainly his unhappy exile in strained economic circumstances in combination with the ideological influences of radicals like Berrier-Fontaine and to a lesser extent, of feminists stand out as factors motivating this intellectual shift. His works on the French Revolution and his interest in the ideas of Robert Owen and Buonarroti were other aspects of his equal communauté designs.[105] In addition, Cabet's future employment prospects dimmed after his humiliating treatment by the French courts. Stripped of his coveted deputy rank, his efforts to reform France's government were rendered meaningless. His melancholy mood was assuaged as he dedicated himself to writing the Voyage. Icaria was a therapeutic attack on France's political, religious, and social organizations. His literary project was not only a psychological catharsis, but a forum for instructing others with much wider potential than garbled speeches as a deputy.

In the opening scene of the Voyage, the major character Lord Carisdall was depicted meeting with friends in Lafayette's salon. This setting evoked memories of conversations Cabet had with his era's illuminati. In addition, appending the patronage of

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[105] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 44-48. Members of the Societe des droits de l'homme and the radical, socialist, and fanatics from the Association libre who were exiled with him, contributed to his transition to communism. "Cabet's path to communism combined the influences of More, Owen, and Buonarroti and was catalyzed by a mood of frustration and depression and his personal relationship with the neo-jacobin activist Berrier-Fontaine." Sutton, Les Icariens, 20-1. Sutton reported that Cabet read Owen's New World Order after settling in London. Pierre Leroux credited Owen with a strong influence on Cabet who later "confessed Owen's principles were 'perfectly the same' as his own" although he criticized Owen for his "partial and too-small communities." Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 133-39. Prudhommeaux explored Owen's influence and found it to be less important than Leroux did. He pointed out the complex impact on his thinking by More, the men in his historical and philosophical research, exiled companions, and Buonarroti.

Lafayette to his text functioned to blur class divisions and lend credibility to its material. After the introduction, Cabet urged readers to follow the adventures of an English nobleman, Lord Carisdall, who had just returned from a year-long visit to a country called Icaria.[106] Regrettably, Carisdall was "consumed with sorrow, brokenhearted, and nearly dead." No explanation was offered for his malaise and the focus of the novel shifted abruptly to details about Carisdall's travels that he recorded in a journal which was soon to be published in a French translation.[107]

Taking a cue from More's travelogue, Cabet wrote that on December 22, 1835, Carisdall left England with his friend John to study Icaria, a society he heard about that had existed without money for the last fifty years. It was "a new world," a country of wonders where the people even "travel in balloons."[108] The men were all "vigorous and handsome, the women enchanting and divine." Its social and political institutions were characterized by "reason, justice and wisdom - crimes were unknown." It was said that Icaria was a "second Promised Land, an Eden, an Elysium, a new Earthly Paradise."[109]

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[106] I have two speculative referential sources for Lord Carisdall. One is the Englishman, Robert Dale Owen (1801-1877), who journeyed to his father's American Owenite colonies (New Harmony 1825-8 and 1832), taught school, and edited New Harmony Gazette. He was associated with Frances Wright in publishing the Free Enquirer. Wright was a friend of Owen and Lafayette and her name was in the Voyage. Another possibility is Robert Carswell whose background is unknown to me, but has an intriguing name and witnessed Cabet's marriage.

[107] Voyage, 1-4. Cabet's sudden transitions offer insightful glimpses of his thought processes and connections. For example, he introduced the components he deemed important like the enormous print shops early in the novel. Political and legal divisions were presented in great detail, whereas, other features with which he had little familiarity, like the layout of workshops for the mass of men, were neglected.

[108] Ibid., 3. This is the first hint about balloon travel, a component of the Icarus metaphor.

After his trip to Icaria, Carisdall planned to return to England and marry a beautiful heiress, Miss Henriet. Although he was engaged to her, they were never seen together for she was not yet fifteen, and he resigned himself to carrying her portrait.[110] He was able to learn the Icarian language on his way there. Unknown to him, Icarian undercover agents were checking on his moral background. They found that he was good and had a pure heart. However, before entering their country, Carisdall had to pledge that he would "conform to the laws and customs" that were explained in the Guide de l'étranger en Icarie and "sacredly respect their wives and daughters."[111] This early espionage incident foreshadowed the degree of totalitarian protection that existed, however benignly, in Icaria.

Cabet also explained his use of a romantic story in describing the society rather than a political treatise.

> Hey! yes, I created a novel to expose a social, political and philosophical system, because I am profoundly convinced that it is the simplest, most natural and most intelligent way to understand a difficult and complicated system; because I do not want to write only for scholars, but for all the world; because I really want it to be read by the WOMEN, who could indeed be persuasive apostles if their generous minds were convinced about the true interest of Humanity.[112]

Cabet's choice of a novel however, was more than a humanitarian tactic to persuade

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109 Ibid.

110 Ibid. Carisdall's prior engagement to marry aided readers in understanding his efforts to ignore the "tremblings" and subtle sensory clues of the romance. Perhaps, an arranged betrothal.

111 Ibid., 6. Historically, character investigations were common practices imbedded in legal, religious, masonry, and secret societies. Defamations of one's character resulted in duels, etc. Court affidavits were used as sworn proof of a person's good character.

112 Ibid., 550.

women's "generous" minds; it was a moralistic contrivance that legitimized the prevalent dualisms: rational/male - emotional/female and public/male - private/female. These skewed gender convictions framed Icaria's social divisions. Even the type of reading done by men and women was mind/body differentiated. In his youth, the country's benevolent dictator Icar had a

> . . . passion for books. He devoted all the time to reading that other children and workers of his age, sacrificed to their play. When he began to read a book, he read it to the end. He read it while walking along or in the streets. He read during the night, despite the anger of his father who forbid him to. It was the philosophy books that pleased him most and he devoured them like young girls devour the romantic novels.[113]

Cabet mixed the novel's romantic details that would be 'devoured' by women with magnificent descriptions and philosophical ideas that interested men. The tale's development of a triple love affair had a classic 'surprise' ending. The characters' courtship activities were models for appropriate male and female relationships.

In his study of the Voyage, Sylvester Piotrowski S.J. dismissed Cabet's "silly love story" as a simple device added to amuse female readers. Piotrowski found that the "romantic element in the Voyage en Icarie - the various friendships and love affairs outlined in its pages - appear of no sociological consequence and have therefore been omitted." In accord with the Catholic University teachings Piotrowski adhered to, he went on to challenge Cabet's proposed 'equality of sexes' and argued that

> Such a conception of womanhood contradicts all the facts of physiology, psychology, economics, and social science. The physiological differences between men and women, besides the obvious ones, are so persistent that no law can wipe them out. These differences of function, the result of natural law, imply essential differences in rights and duties. . . . these factors are innate: they make woman different from man but not inferior to him.[114]

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[113] Ibid., 214. Icar's personality lends itself to characteristics selected from Cabet's own background. He envisioned himself as a philosophical intellectual and read profusely.

While 100 years separated Piotrowski's views from Cabet, there was little change in his orthodox opinion of women's 'essential' and 'inate' diferences. But, by deliberately ignoring the "romantic element," Piotrowski had overlooked the most didactic message in the text, for Cabet's entire utopian world was premised on man's achieving 'true manhood' where his mind triumphed over his body, which was set forth in the romantic script.

The first hint of the tale's romance was the passion aroused in Carisdall by a mysterious veiled girl, a passenger seated near him on his trip to the capital.[115] She and her mother conversed aimably with Valmor, his Icarian guide. Carisdall strained to hear their talk and catch a glimpse of her hidden features. He hadn't heard such a voice "since Miss Mars had made me cry with tenderness and pleasure," he noted in his journal. The beautiful sound of the girl's voice suddenly caused him to "tremble." It stirred his heart.[116] As the mystery identity of her hidden face unfolded in succeeding chapters, Carisdall felt more discreet trembles at the slightest touch of other feminine hands or the sound of sweet songs.

Valmor's sister, Corilla, joined them. She was one of the beauties of Icaria and like

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[114] Ibid., 550. Piotrowski, Etienne Cabet, 73n27, 118.

[115] Gerda Lerner, The Creation of Patriarchy (New York: Oxford University Press,1986), 135-8. Ancient laws designated "veiled" women as "respectable" and unveiled women (slave) as "public women" who were not under a man's protection.

[116] Ibid., 16. Jacotot, Enseignement Universel, 98-9. This is the only reference to Miss Mars in the Voyage. Jacotot had a character named "Miss Mars" in his book who functioned as an inspiring, encouraging music teacher. This coincidence suggests "Miss Mars" was probably a recognizable muse-like analogy. See Constance Wright, Daughter to Napoleon: A Biography of Hortense, Queen of Holland (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), 325, 333. Miss Mars may refer to a French actress, Mademoiselle Mars. (Theater scripts were in Voyage.)

all the women, had a profession. Corilla was a "charming dressmaker . . . and good-looking" who engaged the visitors in talk and laughter.[117] Initiating impromptu songs, she encouraged them to sing along with their family's "delightful entertainments." Carisdall was assured that he would soon be introduced to the "aimable, invisible" young woman and her brother, the historian Dinaros. But before finally meeting her, Carisdall almost lost his head over charming Corilla.

It was not until the end of seven descriptive chapters that the veiled figure re-entered the novel. In a farcical scenario, Carisdall found himself embarassed for an earlier, clumsy remark to the effect that she probably wore a veil to hide an ugly face. Corilla introduced Dinaîse as the girl "who hides a devil under the face of an angel."[118] In the story's context, perhaps, Corilla was just joking. But Cabet chose the angelic-devil label for Dinaîse which signaled her image as a mystifying love object. She "timidly" sang along with the others in her "divine" voice. Valmor's mother was hoping to set a wedding date for the couple soon. She praised Dinaîse for her spirit and knowledge, insisting that she would be as "likeable" as the vivacious Corilla if it were not for her "shy, timid, and melancholy" character.[119]

Valmor's mother, unlike the young women, was characterized as "one whom Nature had very badly apportioned by way of appearance. It seemed that it (nature) wanted to compensate for what she lacked in graces with goodness, because she appeared

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117 Voyage, 28-9.

118 Ibid., 61-2.

119 Ibid., 98. Dinaîse made and served "les bons petit gâteaux" (good little cakes).

to be the principal object of everyone's affection."[120] In this and other female character descriptions, Cabet drew distinct images of beauty that separated an ungraceful but 'good' adult mother image like that of Valmor's and other 'good' mother characters in the text, from the 'divine' and charming, unmarried women.[121] His use of an asexual motherhood lens sharpened the focus on proper mothering roles that eliminated extra-marital intrigues common in many romantic novels.

In Corilla's four-generation household, there was also a sister Célinie, "not yet eighteen," who mixed playfully in the family gathering. Young Célinie had a small role in the novel as a polite, obedient child. However, her significance rests as a character who was very likely an imitation of Cabet's own daughter. The similarity between the names of Céline and Célinie, as well as between Dinaîse and Denise, are provocative.[122] Both

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[120] Ibid., 26, 148-51. The mother's 'goodness' engendered everyones affections. This literary ruse distinguished mothers' staid roles from the flirtatious beauty activity of daughters.

[121] The other mothers in the novel, like the farm wife, Mrs. Mirol, were bustling background figures who have very few lines and serve refreshments to please the guests who were conversing with the men. Mrs. Mirol does the haymaking, gathers grapes, vegetables, flowers, and fruits.

[122] Ibid., 26-9. Célinie had "beautiful blonde curls bouncing on her shoulders." Céline Cabet married Firmin Favard who died in 1847. Cabet wrote to Favard in 1841 commending him for his display of the virtues that men of the "new era" needed - civil courage, patience, circumspection, dignity, devotion, morality, union, tolerance, fraternity, and concluded that "I have no doubt you are practicing all these." If Céline was 'not yet 18' in 1836, then she would have been born about 1819-1820 (the years when Cabet moved to Paris). Johnson, Utopian Communism, 42, 208-9. Johnson found the 1820s to be her probable birthdate and noted Céline's husband Favard was part of Cabet's commission. "He became Cabet's son-in-law in 1846." A microfilm copy of a printed scrap (n.d.) reads, "Madame Veuve Favard de Lisle a l'honneur de vous faire part de mariage de son fils, Monsieur Firmin."CIS SIUE, Folder 7. Gazette des Tribunaux: Journal de jurisprudence et des débats judicaires feuille d'announces légales, July 27, 1851, IISG., 732. This newspaper reported Cabet's exhortations at his Cour d'appel de Paris trial for escroquerie (swindling, cheating followers out of their money). In this instance, Cabet

profiles may have been drawn from real life and portray two of the "allusions" that Cabet confessed to placing in his text. "Perhaps one will want to find some allusions in my work," he noted at the end of his book. "I declare to my friends and enemies that, in all the critical parts of the work, I have never had any other goal than to point out all the vices of the social and political organizations without wanting to make any personal allusion."[123]Apparently, Cabet realized that his contemporaries would notice "personal" similarities in his characters. Whether his portraits were drawn from genuine people or not, the role of Cabet's romantic 'muse' - Dinaîse - becomes more intriguing with his development of her "divine" qualities.[124]

Charming Corilla and mysterious Dinaîse alternatingly triggered sleepless nights for Carisdall who had left his fiancée in England. Not only was he struggling with his conflicting emotions about these women, but the clairvoyant narrator foreshadowed the approach of a jealous male relationship between Carisdall and Valmor. It would be the source of "regrets and suffering," he warned.[125] A third male character, Eugène, an exiled

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used Céline as proof of his lack of interest in acquiring wealth. He told the jury that if he wanted to have money he could have married his daughter Céline to a rich man, but instead "gave her to a manual worker. He [Favard] was a man without a fortune, but with plenty of intelligence and experience." Since in Cabet's ideal Icarian world, marriages were performed without dowries, it would be interesting to know if Cabet's fatherly gift of his daughter in the 1840s included a dowry.

123 Voyage, 565.

124 Moses, French Feminism, 48-9. Carlisle, Proffered Crown, 143. 1833 was the "Year of the Woman" as Saint-Simonian missionaries left Paris in a spirit of apostolic, mystical feminism to search for the Woman Messiah in Constantiople, Egypt, and the East. Others went to Germany, Belgium, and England. Cabet very likely knew some of the Saint-Simonian "missionaries" in London's French District. Hints about Dinaîse's 'divine' characteristics abound and will be explored shortly.

125 Voyage, 17.

French artist, joined Carisdall and Valmor in their adventures. Eugène wrote detailed letters about Icaria to his brother Camille in France. Like Denise and Cèline, Camille could be an "allusion" to Camille Berrier-Fontaine. Although he was a minor character, Eugène had an important function as Cabet's spokesmen for praising France's revolutionary ambitions and satirizing its bad social organization. Eugène's letters to Camille urged French politicans to institute Icarian-type reforms.[126]

Besides the identities of Cabet's characters, researchers continue to be puzzled by his selection of the Voyage en Icarie as a title.[127] The name Icarie was reportedly adopted by the nation after that of their savior Icar who had led the revolution which overthrew the monarchy. Its capital city was renamed Icara at the same time.[128] If one applied a strict interpretation to the title, its origin ends at that point. But it is the determination of this research that Icar had a classical precedent in the Icarus myth which Cabet metaphorically concealed in the text. The Icarus tale has usually been discounted as a direct source, but a

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[126] Ibid., 18. Eugène was exiled from France after the July Revolution. The setting was a blend of the fictional era of Icaria after 50 years and the current scene. Cabet hastened to explain the compatriote nature of the men's friendship by fusing the English and French landscapes. Eugène was the friend who was translating Carisdall's English journal into French at the beginning. Carisdall used Eugène's letter to record details of Icaria when he was tired and upset.

[127] Piotrowski, Etienne Cabet, 77. Piotrowski offered his interpretation that the song, "Ça Ira" of 1789 meaning "it will be" was "transposed" to read Icara, and the "twists" of it Icar, Icaria, and Icara were from Cabet's "much beloved boyhood melody title." In lieu of his classical, philosophical and political background, I don't think this was Cabet's intent. Icar and Icarus, were both great men. Cabet also made a comparison of Icar, who established a new social system, to George Washington: the American "dictateur" (Voyage, 499).

[128] Voyage, 218-9. Many people wanted to adore Icar like a God, a second Jesus Christ, but Icar never presented himself as a God and his admirers were content to venerate his memory as that of a "Genius benefactor of Humanity."

passage about balloon flight indicates that Cabet did derive his title from the famous metaphor. The winged-flight of Icarus was a well-known symbol of man's heroic effort to penetrate the secrets of the universe. Cabet's title was less confusing to his contemporary readers who were schooled in classical myths and understood that the French had conquered the mysteries of air-flight with balloons. The metaphorical Icarus scene contained important messages for men but it had negative signals for women about their 'equality.'

The tales' popularizer Ovid, was unjustly exiled on an island as were his two characters, Icarus and Daedalus. Cabet had undoubtedly thought about these men and identified with their loneliness. Like them, he was on an island far from friends, family and country.[129] In Ovid's version, Daedalus and his son Icarus attempted to fly off the island of Crete where King Minos had banished them.[130] The prisoners could not leave by land or sea. The open skies were their only escape route. Daedalus, therefore, let his

invention range,

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[129] Frank N. Magill, editor, Masterpieces of World Literature (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), 518-20. Ovid was born in 43 B.C.and exiled in 8 A.D. by Augustus to Tomi, a small town on the Black Sea, for the content of his writings which "flouted" the Emperor's "moral reforms." Without his wife, friends or civilized comforts, he was lonely and unhappy. Ovid had commanded the destruction of his Metamorphoses. However, at least a single copy remained. His 15 books contained the mythological history of the world from the Creation to the time of Augustus. Book 8 had the story of Icarus. 'Moralized' Ovid works were produced during the 14th and 15th centuries in France. The allegorical inferences and admiration for Icarus, "a young man who dared to fly too high and became immortal in his dying," is one of the themes in John H. Turner, The Myth of Icarus in Spanish Renaissance Poetry (London: Iamesis Books Limited, 1976). Turner included patterns from French works in this tradition as well. His study supports my analysis.

[130] Turner, Myth of Icarus, 14-16. The earliest references to this myth are in The Illiad by Homer who mentions Daedalus and the Icarian Sea. Strabo's Geography and Arrian's Anabasis of Alexander refer to part of the Aegean Sea called Icarian or to an island today named Ikaria where a young Greek fell from the sky and drowned.

Exploring arts unknown,
and sought to change
Man's very nature.--
Feathers large and small
He set in rank,
from smallest up to tall.
This
craftsman,
fastening with threads of flax
At base and center,
sealed the joints with wax;
and then
bent the finished fabric, copying
The slight curvation
of the natural wing.
After testing these wings, Daedalus
schooled his son,
While fastening
the strange equipment on.[131]

Despite his father's cautionary warnings, Icarus was thrilled by his winged feat and he flew higher than him towards the sun. When the heat of the sun melted the wax on his feathered wings, his father watched as Icarus fell and "perished in the sea that bears his name."[132]

Like Ovid and Cabet, many writers derived messages from this timeless tale. Daedalus was admired for his inventive creativity in constructing wings and Icarus for his courageous, fatal flight.[133] Aside from personally sharing Icarus's exiled dilemma, another similarity with the tale was the early nineteenth century effort to solve the technological problems associated with flying balloons. The Icarus myth also prompted a number of general themes in the Voyage such as faith in progress, science, technology, and man's

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131 A.E. Watts, The Metamorphoses of Ovid (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1954), 169-72. Turner, Myth of Icarus, 16-21.

132 Ibid.

133 Turner, Myth of Icarus, 10. Renaissance poets and scholars picked up these ideas.

genius. In particular, Cabet constructed an intriguing Icarus metaphor in a passage captioned "Balloons" that championed men's flying success.[134] The scene began with a party of balloon travelers who, although disappointed to learn that neither of the novel's young women, Dinäise or Corilla, would accompany them on their balloon trip, started off together. The conversation between the three men, Carisdall, Eugène, and Valmor, turned to the question, "How is it possible to direct a balloon in the air?" Valmor replied that this was the same problem which troubled men before the discovery of boats, compasses, vaccines, lightening rods, steam engines, and a million other things as well as balloons themselves.

They discussed the difficulties inherent in finding an absolute point of bearing in the sky to direct such a craft. At this point, Cabet introduced a strange contention about whether if because one cannot see the sun, "one would be blind to say there is no sun;" and therefore, "I believe, one could not say that it is impossible to direct a balloon." The insertion of this awkward logic was seemingly intended to make a connection between the sun as a point of bearing in the sky for flying and the balloon vehicle. Eugène brought the conversation back to the topic of steering in the air and commented that it was not a problem today. They were about to have a demonstration of how a balloon worked. Valmor recalled that balloon flights were not always safe:

> There were many accidents at first, as with the steam boats and the first carriages. Many of the balloons caught on fire, or they were struck by lightening, or they descended too precipitously, where they fell on the peaks or into the sea and a lot of aéronautes perished. But our scientists were so convinced that they could succeed that the Republic put all its means at their disposal to repeat these

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[134] Voyage, 71-72. This passage was placed after the details on housing and furniture where Cabet illustrated Icarian legislators' paradoxical methods of reconciling variety with uniformity.

> experiences. Finally, after lots of tests, they were beginning to believe that it was impossible when by chance, they discovered a way. Scientists found the means of resolving all the difficulties and for two years, air travel is not only the most rapid and pleasant, but even more, it presents less accidents and dangers.[135]

Moving from this history of air travel with its aéronautes who fell into the sea (like Icarus), Cabet depicted fifty enormous balloons in a thousand colors, each with forty or fifty passengers waiting for "the signal to depart, like fifty postmen or coaches." At the sound of a trumpet, the balloons "rose majestically" amidst the farewell cries. They took different directions and disappeared with the wind, but could be followed with a telescope.[136] Valmor explained that today balloons could be directed high or low, left or right, and made to go faster or slower. They could descend into villages along the way to let off passengers or take on others. "One says that they will soon have letter service and deliver telegraphs." His speculation about the practical uses of air travel was interrupted by the sight of "Mora's balloon overhead, descending slowly into the yard to deliver its travelers and packages."[137]

The men's dialogue was taking place as they rode aloft in a balloon. Later, Lord Carisdall reflected that he would "never forget the impression caused by the sight of balloons arriving and leaving; thinking about it brought on a mood of ecstasy: it seemed like a dream, and I surely had an enchanted look." Valmor agreed with Carisdall's feelings, for at first the "novelty produced the same effect on us." But today, the sight of balloons "does not surprise us anymore than that of steamboats or cars without horses. In a few

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135 Ibid., 72.

136 Ibid.

137 Ibid., 72-3.

days," he added, "we will have an aerial feast."[138]

In the paragraph that followed, Cabet offered several analogous points relative to this scientific achievement. Underwater travel, he theorized, was derived from air travel. Since man had imitated the birds that fly with balloons, the fish that swim had also led to travels in submarines. The sea presented as many marvels as the sky and the earth. "You will be equally astonished," Valmor boasted, "when you understand all our other discoveries and all the products of our industry in the last fifty years." In this key balloon section, Cabet had ingeniously appropriated the myth of Icarus' winged flight into a version of the earliest balloon flights by Icarian aéronautes. Their balloons caught on fire and they "fell into the sea" as Icarus did when his wings melted from the sun. Cabet exploited this passage further to demonstrate how the almost impossible steering problems in the air were solved by Icaria's scientists whose research was funded by the Icarian state. Having "all the means" of the Republic "at their disposal" made it possible to keep trying until they found the solution. In addition to weaving his title into the body of the text, these details exhibited Cabet's faith in science to advance man's mastery over land, sea, and air.[139] State-sponsored research thus gave substance to the age-old admonition that one should keep trying even when the task seemed impossible. This message had wider implications for the task of establishing an Icarian society.

French readers knew about the first Balloon launched from Paris (in 1783).[140] It

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138 Ibid., 73.

139 Voyage, 3, 247, 262, 266. Icarians travel in balloons. Valmor races around the country in balloons and 100 brightly colored balloons climaxed a festival.

140 Dick Wirth and Jerry Young, Ballooning: The Complete Guide to Riding the Winds (New York: Random House, 1991), 26-33. Animals were the first air travelers in

was a major news event. Not only were Frenchmen the first to fly, but the first to parachute out of balloons, and they set altitude records. By 1836, precisely the year that Cabet began writing the Voyage, balloon ascents were popular sights in London's Vauxhall Gardens. "In September 1836, the pleasure park's spectacular entertainments reached a new height: 13,000 feet." Two months later, aeronaut Charles Green traveled further by air than anyone before him - 480 miles. An avid news habitue like Cabet could hardly have missed these record setting balloon events as he gathered details for his utopian work. The awe-inspiring dialogue points to the likelihood that Cabet witnessed balloon flights in London or earlier ones in Paris, and was as moved by them as Lord Carisdall. Contemporary readers shared his conjectures about future air-travel and many no doubt recognized the essential metaphor: human striving for perfection - unlike the fate of Icarus - could be achieved with proper social organization that made possible the full development of modern Science.

In relating this episode to Cabet's portrayals of Icarian women, it is vital to note that the flight was taken by men only. Balloon travel had been made safer for nearly fifty

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1783. From Henry Cavendish's discovery of hydrogen, the 'inflammable air' in 1776, until the solution to the technological problem of making a fabric to contain the gas, scientists worked on this problem. The Académie Française developed a rubberized silk to contain the hydrogen, yet the fire drawbacks and sparks were dangerous. After demonstrating the apparent safety with animals, the first manned flight was make by the Montgolfier brothers on November 21, 1783. They were airborn for 25 minutes and most of the people of Paris turned out to watch, including Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette. The second ascent on January 19, 1784 was in a balloon of 700,000 square feet with a passenger capacity in excess of 30 - the largest balloon ever built! On September 15, 1784, London became the first place outside France to duplicate balloon flight. In tune with Cabet's lifetime were flights across the Channel, a parachute jump by a Frenchman in 1797, and a balloon used to celebrate Napoleon's coronation. A Frenchmen established an altitude record for American spectators in New York to celebrate the arrival of the Marquis de Lafayette.

years, but Cabet wrote Corilla and Dinäise out of the event. Their position as marginalized romantic actors was sustained by the acute disappointment the three men experienced when they learned they could not go with them. But the hint that they might have gone, leaves open the possibility that women in Icaria were permitted to travel in balloons. Nonetheless, women were excluded from the trios' excursion and had no role in men's scientific research or its development.

Cabet's heroic myth had other serious ramifications for Icarian women. The sun was a male creation symbol like the sky or a supreme being.[141] Cabet repeatedly used the sun in the text to symbolize men's reason and selected phrases to promote this such as, "Reason is the sunshine of humanity."[142] The sun imagery was appropriated to link reason with men's minds in a very specific setting in the text. Valmor, Carisdall, and Mr. Mirol were seated on the top of a mountain one morning as the sun came up, engaged in existential talk about the atelier de l'univers (workshop of the universe). The heat and light from the sun's rays nourished the flowers, plants, birds, and animals. After speculating on the "innumerable suns" created by "one God, Creator, Père, Architect of all the universes," Valmor compared the Creator's vast designs with "my own imperfection and inferiority." He was unable to understand why an "all-powerful Divinity" allowed innocent beings to suffer or if "his justice would recompense the good and punish the wicked in another life." Then, Valmor shared his "pleasure of thinking" about the nature of mind. It was like "a divine émanation" to consider the "power of reason, intelligence, and of genius placed in

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141 Peggy Reeves Sanday, Female power and male dominance: On the origins of sexual inequality (London: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 58.

142 Voyage, 524, 166-168. This excerpt was from Condorcet.

one small head and in such a weak body."[143] In these men's profound exchanges, Cabet exploited the sun as a symbol for men's reflections on the universe and 'genius.' Women did not participate in their musings.

In Icaria, women were not included in the balloon travel, scientific investigations, research, or in exchanges about the universe, reason, and genius. They were relegated to supplying the mundane support structures that freed men to carry out their herculean feats. Icarian legislators arranged their roles and activities accordingly.

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[143] Ibid., 165-68. Woven into this dialogue was his "unhappiness." Valmor questioned "Why [the Divinity] caused him to suffer today?" His "emotion" caused him to "hide his face in his hands." Mr. Mirol placed his arms on his friend and they went on to visit a cave on the hillside.

CHAPTER THREE

WOMEN IN THE VOYAGE EN ICARIE

The lives of thousands of French women were changed by the emancipatory images Cabet described in the Voyage en Icarie. Readers were delighted by its ideal communitarian environment and many believed it could become a reality. Without the Voyage, there would have been no Icarian workers' movements in France and other countries, nor would thousands of people have migrated to the United States to live in the seven Icarian communities from 1848 to 1898.[1] When Cabet's followers erected their American Icarias, they revered the principles in the Voyage like a bible.[2]

This study has examined several immediate historical forces that motivated Cabet to imagine the country he called Icaria. But in order to understand its attraction for women, the specific changes in its gender system must be explored. Icaria's family structure was framed by precise laws that regulated each member's daily routine. And despite its egalitarian underpinnings, paternal divisions conditioned women's familial duties, workdays, and leisure activities. Cabet was very concerned about the health and vigor of the communauté's inhabitants and he not only extended Icaria's gender boundaries to include women as physicians and priestess-counselors, but he promoted a version of "Republican Motherhood." Every Icarian woman had a profession outside of the home, but she did not work alongside men and could not circulate alone in public. Likewise, separate schools were set up for boys and for girls to receive 'equal' yet, sex-restricted

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[1] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 353. The Voyage was translated into Spanish (Barcelona, 1847); German (Paris, 1847); and English (London, 1848). The US Icarian colonies were composed of members from many countries.

[2] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 129.

educations. Youthful courtships were closely chaperoned by parents. Even beyond youth, Icaria retained sex-divided patterns. Husbands and wives worked apart but were re-united to dine together at a daily communal banquet. In the evenings, families interacted with relatives and neighbors in extended households, except for periods every six days when men fulfilled their citizens' obligations at Assemblies. Icaria's legislators set forth reasonable decrees that brought order and peace, and consequently, its law-abiding people had no use for penal institutions or police. Crime disappeared, for their conscientious citizens watched each other. Observant 'eyes' (particularly, mothers) are an important element in this work that merits special note.

Cabet used symbols frequently. In particular, they helped him express the character of women. He exemplified the persona of the shy heroine Dinaîse with an amorphous 'divinity' appellation. Queen Cloramide, on the other hand, fit the archetype of a corrupt woman who abused political power. Another woman aptly named Icaria, crowned the dictator Icar in a ceremony reenacting women's approval of his regime. Many of the arguments present in the dialogues substantiated Cabet's mind/body dualism that was predicated on the primacy of men's reason over women's emotion. In one striking scene captioned "Femmes," a social stratification scheme surfaced in a conversation between Icarian men and their visitors about women's appearance in public. The decorous model the Icarians defended cleverly disguised their gallant supervision over women's liberty. Although the Voyage can easily be read as a political satire, one cannot ignore Cabet's subtle attempt to subjugate 'romance' and free men's 'reason.' This impalpable shift in the gender system was integrated into the details of the 'love story.' It established the

Icarian moral infrastructure.

At the start of a typical day, visitors Carisdall and Eugène observed that everyone awakened at 5AM.[3] Men went to their respective workplaces where they ate a snack at 6AM and had breakfast provided for them at 9AM. Wives and children remained home to eat, clean, and organize their efficient households. The Republic had removed nearly all the fatigue and repulsion associated with housekeeping, so women had no servants to assist them.[4] Yet, the Republic had brought in more than a million foreign workers to help men outside the home.[5] Regardless of these inconsistent gender policies, women's household chores were markedly reduced. Everyone's clothing was made in large workshops and the family washing was done in National laundries. Women, however, still performed all this work but not alone or at home. They were the seamstresses and laundresses who labored in huge plants.[6] Domestic tasks were simply moved out of the home as were business boutiques and small workshops. Families were no longer a separate unit of economic production.[7] Food preparation was also made simpler. Besides fixing

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[3] Ibid., 107-8. The "regular movement of the population" included going to sleep at 10 PM.

[4] Ibid., 28-30, 66. Cakes, beverages, etc., were "served by the pretty hands of the young girls, everything is presented with enchanting smiles by the children" to guests.

[5] Ibid., 367. More that a million foreign workers were allowed to come to work, live, and marry in Icaria, but "they would only admit good men or men of talent, in order to improve industry and their population at the same time."

[6] Ibid., 138. Mention about women as the workers in the National laundry was separated in the text by 72 pages. Laundries had patterns of silence and songs like the milliners' workshop.

[7] Ibid., 107. Louise A. Tilly and Joan W. Scott, Women, Work, and Family (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), 43-60, 49. Women's economic work in the family economy often involved craft production along with their husbands in home shops.

breakfast for the children and herself, mothers only needed to prepare a light meal in the evening. Students were fed at school and adults ate at banquets. "Because of our good Icar and our beloved Republic," the narrator boasted, "all the imagination of our men will labor to bring happiness and to simplify our domestic work."[8]

Women finished their household duties by nine o'clock as the children left for school.[9] Idyllic descriptions of the morning scene included details about the children's attire. They were dressed in colorful uniforms classified by age and school. The troupe marched "like a little army" into their school buildings which were decorated with statues of the outstanding men who had rendered the greatest services to education.[10] They were intended "to inspire children with a kind of religious respect for Education and for the Republic which gives it to them."[11] There were no corresponding statues for women educators.

With her children in school and the house in order, mothers were able to join the collective workforce. Many of them were seamstresses and laundresses, but there were other types of professions for women. One outstanding woman was an inventor of an

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But France also had "all-female corporations" (independent of husbands) where women hired apprentice seamstresses, dressmakers, combers of hemp and flax, milliners, embroiders, fan, wig, and cloak makers.

[8] Voyage, 60, 28, 66.

[9] Ibid., 89.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid., 87-91. At home, the eldest children supervised the younger ones. At school, "the sole distiction of the children" was to be chosen capable of instructing others under the guidance of the maître. This method was similar to Cabet's early teaching career at the age of fifteen.

odor-reducing process for waste. Her unique distinction was honored by a small statue enclosed above every 'charming' water closet in each private home.[12] This was the only tribute to women's inventiveness and it is significant that her statue was not displayed in public with men's statues. The latent humor in Cabet's depiction of a female scientist's statue located above the lavatory water closet might well be viewed as a vulgar derision of women's potential scientific abilities as well as an indication of how their domestic skills could be applied.[13] The inclusion of this particular scene symbolized Icaria's public/private dictomony as well as its gender inequity.

Many women labored in the country's mammoth clothing workshops. When the guests visited the modistes (milliners, hatmakers) workplace, the women who had been working silently for the first hour of their day had just begun a period of singing. "Two thousand five hundred pretty mouths opened to sing a magnificient hymn . . . in honor of the good Icar who had recommended the cult of women to his compatriotes, as one of the divinities on which their happiness depended," Valmor explained. He had just finished praising the "perfections" of Dinaïse's "divinity" to Carisdall. She was the source of "his love and happiness."[14] Now, as they listened to the singing, Carisdall "seemed to

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[12] Leslie J. Roberts, "Etienne Cabet and his Voyage en Icarie, 1840." Utopian Studies: Journal of The Society for Utopian Studies Volume 2, Nos. 1 & 2 1991, 77-94., 87. Following a description of a sewage disposal (66), Roberts interpreted this passage: "The Icarian lavatory is a model of perfect plumbing; above the door of every 'charming' little water closet, there is a statue honoring the woman scientist who 'invented a process to chase away all fetid odors'."

[13] Surtz, St. Thomas More, Utopia, 153. This may be Cabet's subtle counterpart to Thomas More's "gold chamber pots." Regardless, it was ribald humor at the expense of women.

[14] Voyage, 135.

distinguish the voice of mademoiselle Dinaîse."

The visitors' talk did not disrupt the milliners for they were able to watch them work "without being seen" from the "salon des Directrices, which dominated the workshop. . . . What a view! 2,500 young women working in a single workshop," Valmor exclaimed.[15] These lines suggest (but do not fully describe) a means for observing workers from a station comparable to a Bentham-like panopticon. Order and direction in the workshop was maintained by the chefs who were elected from their own ranks by the women. The opportunity to elect their heads was an attractive aspect of the women's system when compared with contemporary factories where workers had no voice in choosing their directors. The regulations for the milliner's workshop were also discussed by all the workers. Every woman, even the wife of the "chief magistrate" of the capital, carried out a single task, "like a well-disciplined army."[16] Any faults committed by the women were judged by a tribunal of their peers in the workshop.[17] The "charming" milliners all wore work uniforms described as "elegant dresses and aprons." Their hands held "silks and velvets in brilliant colors, laces, ribbons, flowers, feathers, superb hats, and gracious bonnets."[18] Carisdall was so impressed with the "grace" of the women and the

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[15] Ibid., 137-8, 61, 136. The men were also silent in the morning for two hours and then they sang. Men ate déjeuner (breakfast) in silence while someone read the morning paper aloud.

[16] Ibid., 136-7.

[17] Ibid., 134. A fault committed by a woman outside the workplace was judged in their family by the eldest woman. If a serious offense, she had to appear before a people's Assembly.

[18] Ibid., 136. Philippe Perrot, Fashioning the Bourgeoisie A History of Clothing in the Nineteenth Century (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996) Richard Bienvenu translator of original Les Dessus et les Dessus de la bourgeoisie: Une historie du vêtement

"spirit of pleasure in the workshop" that he wanted Valmor to take him to see the workplaces of the "dressmakers, florists, linen makers, laundries, etc." That would not be necessary, he was told, "for they all resembled this one."[19]

When the adults' workday ended at one o'clock, they changed from their work clothes to finer garments. Cabet was concerned with appearance and he used many dress distinctions in Icaria.[20] Researchers of fashion have found that in the years following the 1789 Revolution, French men, whose ranks and wealth had previously been defined by dress, gave "up their right to all the brighter, gayer, more elaborate, and more varied forms of ornamentation, leaving these entirely to the use of women, and thereby making their own tailoring the most austere and ascetic of the arts."[21] Fashionably attired wives

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au XIXe siècle (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1981), 203n7. "Because clothing is a powerful symbol," the Revolution marked a "debate between silk and plain cloth." Silk items were depicted pleasantly here in the Voyage, but in the Nauvoo colony, Cabet forbid women to bring silks with them.

[19] Voyage, 137-8. This list reflects the range of work activities for women.

[20] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 217. Johnson noted this attitude towards dress by Cabet. A brick-mason, Martin Nadaud, recalled an incident at his residence in 1842. Cabet complimented his working-class visitors for being dressed so nicely "your appearance, your demeanor are those of the best brought-up people . . . his face (Cabet's) was radiant with satisfaction." See Perrot, Fashioning the Bourgeoisie, 20. On 8 Brumaire, Year II (29 October, 1793), the Convention decreed "No person of either sex can force any citizen, male or female, to dress in a particular way . . . everyone is free to wear the garment or garb suitable to his or her sex that he or she please." (However, an ordinance passed in 1800 forbade Parisian women to wear trousers and has never been abrogated.) Cabet's dress 'distinctions' identified Icarians at work, leisure, and festivals.

[21] J.C. Flugel, The Psychology of Clothes (New York: International Universities Presses, Inc., 1969), 111-117. The ancien ornate noble clothing was less flexible as well. When manual work was no longer demeaned, men's costumes reflected the wearer's comfort. In using Flugel's insights related to "one of the most remarkable events in the whole history of dress," I disagree with his projections about the 'natural' divisions of women's labor and the female's "greater narcissistic and sexual competition." In addition, the 'brotherhood' men displayed in dress was itself a form of class distinction, at least a

and daughters, however, continued to serve as symbols of men's prosperity. Against this background, Cabet designed women's fashions conspicuously to reflect Icaria's success by exhibiting their equal, virtuous appearance.[22] Uniform, simple patterns were sparingly adjusted to enhance women's features by offering blondes or brunettes suitable color choices. Such refinements give rise to the speculation that Denise, who was a seamstress, advised Cabet on women's dress codes. Regardless of the rationale for this minor appeasement, the generous use of adjectives that described the beauty of young women were an integral element in the romance scenarios and would seem to work against curbing men's passion. And, it should be noted that there were no parallel style guides for men's clothing nor adjustments for their hair color. Dark-suited French republican men had already donned fraternal clothing to symbolize their equality.[23]

When the workers were all appropriately dressed in their finer fashions, men and

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consciously leveling exhibit. That this did not happen with women was a consequence of the Revolution's denial of equality and liberty for them. Female dependency not only continued but was reinforced in the Napoleonic Codes.

[22] Perrot, Fashioning the Bourgeoisie, 34-5. Cabet's designs for women's apparel in Icaria contrasted sharply with that of bourgeois men who "displayed their glory or power in an oblique way, not through what they were but through what they owned." Women's splendor and opulence "signified the social status and monetary power of their fathers, husbands, or lovers, who amassed wealth but did not exhibit it." Men's dark attire served as a foil for women's brilliant dress.

[23] Perrot, Fashioning the Bourgeoisie, 23-31. Perrot expertly noted the French Revolution's transformation of men's clothing which did not "really affect women's dress." After "destroying royal absolutism and winning the right to sit in Parliament, the bourgeoisie espoused the elimination of color to repudiate the multicolored splendor of fabrics and finery identified with aristocratic idleness and sumptuousness. . . . It also signaled the onset of a new ethic based on will, self-denial, thrift, and merit." Revolutionary clubs attempted "to level pretension in clothing by proposing a variety of national costumes, but they never caught on." (Icarian costumes did.)

women gathered at banquet halls from 2 to 3 PM. Their children ate at school and arrived home at 6 PM after a nine hour day. The Voyage depictions of daily routines were offset by elaborate details of their annual three-day National celebrations. Festival planning committees composed scripts that were "instructive while amusing."[24] Icaria's performing arts were unabashedly stylized propaganda. The variety of stimulating, educational, and unifying forms of social and political pomp secularized and replaced religious pageantry.

Women Doctors and Surgeons

Universal sanitation, order, cleanliness, and health provisions were among the finest features of Icaria that Carisdall wrote about in his journal. Valmor urged him to admire a "great innovation" in their medical practices. Icarians had "established that there would be as many women as men among the doctors and surgeons, and that women alone would visit, deliver babies, operate, and treat women, whereas the care of men would be reserved exclusively for men [doctors]." This striking professional change reflected the slow trend in France toward permitting women access to medical degrees. In the 1830s, French women were being trained as mid-wives, not doctors.[25] La Maternité was the teaching hospital in Paris where student midwives observed and assisted at deliveries. Newborns and mothers remained in the hospital for a week up through 1900. When complications occurred, male physicans were brought in to help them.[26] A review of the

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[24] Voyage, 226, 171. Chapters 30, 31, 34, and 35, attest to the high value placed on these public celebrations which will be discussed shortly.

[25] Doctor Berrier-Fontaine worked at the Hôtel Dieu, a welfare hospital in Paris and had first-hand knowledge about the harsh conditions of pregnancy and childbirth for poor women.

[26] Fuchs, Poor and Pregnant in Paris, 117-8. Fuch also noted the terrible conditions at la Maternité where pregnant women contended with rats, epidemics of puerperal fever,

conditions for women who aspired to be doctors in France at this time illustrates the radicalism of Cabet's proposal for them in the Voyage.

Thomas N. Bonner's comparative study of nineteenth-century women's search for medical training in European and American Universities examined the difficulty French women were experiencing in their efforts to become full-fledged doctors. Although medical schools in Paris allowed limited enrollment for a few women from Russia, Zurich, America, and elsewhere, French women were numerically under-represented in their own facility. Bonner attributed this to their lack of access to secondary education and the prevailing attitudes toward women in medicine.[27]

Paradoxically, Fourier's liberating theories about women were being read abroad and promoted by women like Elizabeth Blackwell, the first female doctor in the United States.[28] She went to Paris for clinical experience at la Maternité and wrote home that French physicians "are determined not to grant the slightest favor to a feminine M.D."[29] It

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and cholera. Women feared giving birth at la Maternité and tried to avoid the place. A mid-wife could be hired to deliver at home, but many women were unable to accumulate the fee to pay one.

[27] Thomas N. Bonner, To The Ends of the Earth: Women's Search for Education in Medicine (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 53. While foreign women were allowed to substitute the equivalent of a lyceé education and be admitted to Paris medical studies, French women had almost no opportunity to prepare for secondary study in their own country.

[28] Carl Guarneri, The Utopian Alternative: Fourierism in Nineteenth-Century America (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 245-7. Blackwell came from a reform-minded family with Quaker connections and was attracted to transcendentalists like William Channing who was an avid Fourierist. She read Fourier and subscribed to their US journal, The Harbinger. In 1845, Blackwell's sister lived at Brook Farm (a Fourierist phalanx after 1842). Blackwell joined a Fourierist female auxiliary, the Woman's Associative Union, and spent two years proclaiming Fourierism as "the hope of the world." When rumors about "free love" doctrines intensified, she began distrusting Associationists for "their way of discussing some subjects."

seems Fourier's theories had less impact on the advancement of women as doctors in France than elsewhere.[30] It was not until after the 1871 Parisian uprising that a French woman, Madeleine Brès, was awarded an M.D. degree.[31] The number of women in medicine in France rose slowly for women had to overcome more problems. Externships and internships were at the heart of the French system of medical education and the numbers who entered the competition were rigidly controlled. Women, including Brès, were systematically excluded from the competition. They protested. When male students were questioned about permitting women to enroll in medical classes, a Paris physician reported they "all responded with disgust. . . . The [medical] women were losing all their grace, all their charm, all that was attractive in their sex." Another doctor concluded his tirade against women by calling upon "the laws of physiology, the woman doctor is a . . . hermaphrodite or without sex, in any case a monster." Another pointed out the "moral danger of promiscuity when women were placed in the same lecture halls and clinics as

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[29] Bonner, Ends of the Earth, 11. Blackwell saw her Paris hospital term as "prison life." She was treated like a midwife-in-training with a regimen of communal living, frequent night duty, constant menial assignments, and "virtual imprisonment on the grounds of the hospital." She returned to the US and founded Medical schools to train other women.

[30] Guarneri, Utopian Alternative, 246. Blackwell's "Fourierist ideals and connections played a prominent part in her subsequent medical career and her role as publicist for Christian Socialism in England."

[31] Bonner, Ends of the Earth, 52. During the seige of Paris in 1870-71, Brès had a temporary assignment in the Pitié hospital where she worked tirelessly during six Prussian bombardments. "By her ardor and her zeal in the service of the hospital, Mme Brès had justified the opening of our courses to students of the female sex," Dean Wurtz announced afterwards. However, she was still denied permission to enter competition for the externship. It would be another decade before full equality for women to compete for the externships and internships in France was established.

men."[32] Finally, in 1881, the medical board relented and admitted Blance Edwards and Augusta Klumpke.[33] The daily tumult directed at Klumpke and Edwards eventually subsided and by 1882 the two passed the externship exams. But the internship competition was suddenly closed off to them. A battle followed as opponents charged that it was "unthinkable to imagine a woman residing in the hospital, sleeping in her clothes as male interns did, catheterizing a male patient or performing a rectal examination." Arguments about women's emotionalism and weakness were raised alongside warnings about the effects their working out would have on families. A breakthrough came when the Minister of Education, Paul Bert, intervened and imposed the requirement that women be allowed to compete for the internship. Klumpke passed the exam and became the first woman to win the internship, followed by Edwards. By 1900, 87 women were practicing medicine in France while over 1,000 women from other countries had been permitted to study in Paris.[34]

Cabet's early advocacy of women in medicine thus went far beyond the mainstream

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[32] Ibid., 53, 100 (photo inserts). This was not an isolated protest. Medical students demonstrated in large numbers against women in the United States and at Cambridge during the 1890s. Zurich cartoons caricatured the ugly female medical student compared to the "How they should be" beautiful ladies.

[33] Ibid., 71. "As was the custom in polite French society, both were escorted each day to the lecture hall or clinic by a relative or friend, and then, by Dean Vulpian's order, they were accompanied by the professor into the building." Such refined entrances were greeted by students' shouts, invectives, and sometimes bits of paper and confetti.

[34] Ibid., 71-5. Edwards served her internship in a maternity hospital and became a pioneer in gynecological surgery. Both women were told they were not welcome in the interns' quarters. Between 1886 and 1908, only seven other women were named as interns in Paris hospitals. The 1840s female education champion, Ernest Legouvé, initially opposed training women doctors but later changed his mind.

opinions of French medical practitioners. Its premise as a field limited to women patients fit the emerging doctrine of separate spheres. Confining their practice to other women and children reduced moralists' fears.[35] Cabet's program was also welcomed by women whose inhibitions regarding their bodies prevented them from discussing serious feminine disorders with male doctors. Suzanne Volquin, the director of the Saint-Simonian Tribune des Femmes, related that her mother had died because her modesty caused her to hide vital symptoms from her doctor. Volquin acquired a mid-wife's diploma and demanded that women become doctors. "To women and women alone, the right to aid their sex, not only in the divine work of maternity, but also in all illnesses from which chastity has so much to suffer in divulging them to men."[36] Volquin, as well as Cabet, recognized the need to open the medical profession to both sexes. Promoting women doctors to care for women patients was hailed as an important and desirable reform.

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[35] Thomas Laqueur, Making Sex Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 194-6. Laqueur's medical history of sexual differentiation noted sex was a "major battleground of the French Revolution." Its revolutionary promises for all mankind gave birth to a "new feminism, but also to a new kind of antifeminism, new fears of women, and to political boundaries that engendered sexual boundaries to match." See Hausheer, "Icarian Medicine," 404. Hausheer's series of articles included comparative medical practices in France. He asserted that after the appearance of Cabet's Voyage "treatises on hygiene appeared and the subject was popularized."

[36] Moses and Rabine, Feminism, Socialism and French Romanticism, 151, 113-14, 272-80. Rabine deconstructed Volquin's Memoirs. Letters related to her midwife diploma were translated in the appendix. Volquin explained to Enfantin that she sought her diploma as a means to help women, expecially unwed mothers, free of charge. But since she had to take in her "old father" she made "this noble task a trade" for a time. She would "fulfill her family duties" but hoped to buy a homeopathic pharmacy to aid women. By June 1, 1838, Volquin told Enfantin that she had organized a "Maternal Society Founded in Favor of Unwed Mothers" where each associate [28 ladies and 6 men] contributed a small sum each month to help the poorest and most abandoned. She delivered their babies free.

The Icarians maintained that they had undergone a "medical revolution" that improved the well-being of their society. Carisdall was asked to "imagine that women could have as much intelligence and instruction as a man" without his 'prudishness.' In addition, women were seen as more patient, gentle, tender, and aware of the particular sicknesses of their sex. They did not lack courage and were accustomed to suffering and seeing suffering, and thus better able to sympathize with and comfort the sick. "In rare cases, the intervention of a man becomes necessary," he added. In this passage, Cabet once again exhibited his hesitations regarding a woman's intellect. Even though women doctors and surgeons had filled an important void in the medical field for fifty years in Icaria, they were not presented as fully competent and might need to consult with a male doctor who presumably held greater skills.[37] The reverse of such a dilemma was not even considered. On the other hand, since Icaria no longer needed male obstetricians, it could be argued that women displaced the men who governed this medical specialty in the past. Women doctors even took over the autopsies of female bodies, which accorded with Icaria's sex-segregated social order.[38] Each hospital, subsequently, had two similar but separate buildings for men and for women patients.[39]

Another Icarian innovation was the delivery of all babies in hospitals. This standardized and simplified the confirmation of births. At least three mid-wives were

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[37] Voyage, 115. There are as many men as women among Icarian doctors and surgeons.

[38] Ibid., 118. Cabet added that "the Republic wanted to overcome the prejudice against autopsies." The "prejudice" was directed by the Catholic Church which forbid autopsies.

[39] Ibid., 115.

present if a baby was born outside the hospital. Infants were cared for by mothers at home, but older children had access to small infirmaries at their schools. The elderly were treated at home or in the hospital.[40] Icaria's medical facilities had well-kept, spacious grounds and "magnificient" hospital buildings. Palace-like interiors were well ventilated. Modern kitchens, linen rooms, baths, pharmacies, and laboratories were equipped with the latest advances in medicine and technology.[41] An "invisible machine" played soft music in rooms where relaxing colors and "pleasant fragrances" soothed patients. Amidst the exterior images of pastoral greenery, flowers, and brooks were the many "statues of men who have rendered the greatest service to the art of healing."[42] But, once again, no women.

To become a doctor, a girl had to pass tests in order to qualify for medical studies at the age of 17 (boys, 18). Students spent five years at a school for general medicine. After passing their final exams they merited the title of Doctor or National Surgeon and began practicing their profession.[43] Icarian medical practices also included vaccines, dissections, autopsies, anatomy museums, and journals. Because of the many remarkable ameliorations in public health, there were no unhealthy workshops, excessive work, and nearly no accidents, poverty, or unpleasant ailments. They had ended drunkenness and consequently had no gout. Insanity was reduced because violent passions were eliminated.

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40 Ibid., 116-7.

41 Ibid., 109-123.

42 Ibid. 112.

43 Ibid., 117. They chose either surgery or medicine after passing the first year exam. Further testing narrowed their specialties towards dentists, eye doctors, the mentally ill, or obstetrics.

And, without licentiousness, those "shameful illnesses which caused so much secret devastation" were disappearing. Finally, "the enemy of youth" or those "fatal habits which from childhood, enervate the body, deaden the intelligence, and wither the heart and mind, and are perhaps worse for humanity than the plague" had nearly disappeared.[44] These accomplishments were due to the Republic's committee on education and health whose agendas were supported by fathers and mothers. Taken together, all of these measures were improving the Icarians' longevity and soon could almost double the size of the population in Icaria and their human lifespan.[45]

Nurses

Garde-malades (nurses) were also provided with the necessary education to care for the sick. "This profession is generally exercised by individuals whose bad health prevents marriage, and who are unable to give citizens to the fatherland," the narrator explained. Nurses consecrated themselves to the preservation of those that the Republic possesses while it "spares nothing to procure all of the other means to be happy. The sick venerate them as ministers of the Divinity."[46] This portrait was unlike the reality of public

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[44] Ibid., 120-1. Cabet does not stipulate exactly what was done to eradicate the 'enemy of the youth,' probably masturbation. See Laqueur, Making Sex, 227-8. Laqueur argues that in the nineteenth century, masturbation was seen as a social pathology that "visited destruction on the body." Both sexes shared the "underlying pathogenesis of masturbatory disease . . . Hence the supposed connection of tuberculosis and masturbation." A widely distributed booklet cautioned youths that indulging in such passions was the "road to ruin."

[45] Voyage, 121. Demographers noted that France had not increased its overall population like neighboring countries. Icaria's health programs would seemingly overcome this lag.

[46] Ibid., 119.

nurses in France who worked in a low status occupation. Large hospitals often employed untrained women who were poorly prepared to tend the sick and were paid low wages. A number of celibate religious nursing orders were dedicated to caring for the sick. This may explain why the nursing profession in the text was a palliative for infertile or unhealthy Icarians who were unmarried. Their reward was the image of gratitude among patients as 'ministers of the Divinity,' much like that of the 'angel-of-mercy' religious orders.[47] Cabet however, omitted details about the criteria to be used for determining what sort of "bad health" would qualify one for nursing. While this system eliminated the loathsome stigma associated with lay nurses, at the same time, it preserved a celibate, spiritually-rewarded care for the sick. The nursing duty in Icaria shifted the work done by religious orders to the secular Republic's substitute care by lay people who were unable to give 'citizens to the fatherland.'

Despite all of these sex-divisions and reservations, Icarians had introduced advanced opportunities for women to move beyond domesticity to careers in medicine. It was undoubtedly hailed by many readers as a wonderful "medical revolution."

Republican Motherhood

The role of "Republican Motherhood" that emerged for women after the French and American Revolutions was carried into Icaria. All mothers held this quasi-public designation. Icarian citizens were very solicitous about pre-natal and maternal matters.

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[47] Hausheer, "Icarian Medicine," 422-24. Hausheer deduced that because Cabet had no use for the religious orders' nursing professions, he wanted to use people deprived of the happiness of marriage. However, Hausheer held that people not "enjoying good health" would not be good prospective material for nursing professions. His insights prompted my extended analysis on the transfer of the sacred celibate nurse's duty to the secular celibate nurse.

Children were protected, not only after their birth, but during the mother's pregnancy:

> Immediately after their union, young spouses are instructed in all that they must know in the interests of mother and children. The Republic composed works on anatomy, hygiene, etc., etc., and opened courses to that effect.
>
> New instructions for pregnancy, indicated all the precautions that the mother must take for herself and for her unborn child.
>
> Childbirth takes place in the presence of family members, and almost always with several midwives. [Afterwards] New instructions, drawn up by doctors, indicate all that is required for the health of the mother and the physical appearance of the child.
>
> Not a single woman is ignorant of what she must know. To create children for the Republic as perfect and as happy as possible is considered the most important of all public functions, the Constitution neglects nothing in education that would render mothers perfectly capable of performing this function.[48]

Cabet deftly recast childbirth and nurture as a mother's "public function," but circumscribed her under the guardianship of the masculine Republic. It provided the education needed for mothers to create perfect and happy "children for the Republic." As the dialogue continued in this vein, the narrator explained that citizens' laws "obliged" women to take maternity courses taught by trained mothers. No man could attend except the expectant woman's husband. The instructors took up "thousands" of related questions. Proper "nursing, weaning, teething, food, baths . . . and oversight of organ development" would mold infants "like certain vegetables and certain animals. . . . The limits of perfecting the human species were still unknown."[49]

These comments on human perfection were followed by the specification that "mothers alone" had charge of educating their child until the age of five and were exempted from workshop labors during this time. Nonetheless, a child's early learning period was "directed" by fathers. Mothers were given ongoing education in a Journal des

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[48] Voyage, 75.

[49] Ibid., 76.

mères (mother's journal) printed by the Republic. Childcare was an important assignment, for in the past, "women and men were only big children incapable of raising others, [whereas] our mothers and fathers today are women and men deserving of that name and perfectly capable of beginning the education of their families in order to make true men and true women."[50] Inherent in these condescending remarks about "big children" was the transfer of women's childrearing jurisdiction to the Republic where expert men not only voted laws that mothers were 'obliged' to follow, but printed a journal for the mothers who taught and cared for their child at home until the age of five.

The committee of public education decided all the expert instruction plans for girls and boys. Its members consulted all the ancient and modern systems and wrote laws that determined the "contents of education, the time and order of study, and the methods of instruction." All students learned the basics and then took up special requirements for their professions. They were taught by ordinary professors who "easily acquire in the normal school all the knowledge and desirable skills," a system, it seems, that was intended to transmit standard lessons in an atmosphere devoid of academic aloofness. Professors always instruct their students "with patience, gentleness, and paternal goodness." Likewise, education was a constant process as mothers taught daughters, fathers taught sons, and older brothers and sisters taught their younger siblings. It was considered easy to teach others what they knew themselves.[51]

While everyone in Icaria was considered a teacher, mothers were assigned the

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50 Ibid., 103.

51 Ibid., 74.

largest share in the domestic training of young children. They always nursed their babies, devoted themselves to teaching their child all the physical habits they needed, never left them, and kept the children under their watchful eyes.[52] Even when playing with other children on the same street, they were "under mother's surveillance." The child's intense domestic education lasted five years. Mothers did not work at their professions during this period, thus childcare was upgraded as a substitute job, but one done at home alone by the mother and not in any organized pre-school form. By the age of five, their offspring had learned to speak, read, write, and other practical lessons. Cabet emphasized the value of this with a quote from the Roman Republic, "Each woman of Icaria has always responded, like the mother of the Gracchi showing her children: There are my jewels!"[53] Even though a mother resumed her place in the workshops after her 'jewel' reached the age of five, she was still responsible for guiding studies at home in the morning and after school. Under her daily "pleasureable direction," the child learned to hold the pen and write correctly, to speak clearly, and compose essays. At school, children studied math, science, history, literature, and hygiene courses. They did not learn 'useless' foreign languages. Only a few specially trained scholars acquired knowledge about other languages and they used their professional abilities to translate ancient manuscripts.[54] The long range goal of the Icarian

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[52] Ibid., 76-7. George D. Sussman, Selling Mother's Milk: The Wet-Nursing Business in France, 1715-1914 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982). 'Mother-nursing' vs. wet-nursing was a significant medical issue. Physicians (and Rousseau) were advising women to nurse their own baby so it would be healthier. 'Wet-nursing' gradually diminished during the 19th century.

[53] Ibid., 78-9.

[54] Ibid., 80.

Communauté was the universal standardization of their "language over all the earth."[55]

In the field of music education, Carisdall observed that everyone in Icaria, male and female, young and old, had acquired the skills of a musican. "You cannot calculate the happy effects of that musical revolution!"[56] These marvelous achievements were carried out without punishments beyond mild peer judgments resulting in censure or minor privations. Icarians established laws that were moral, for "the soul and the heart of man appear to us more important than the body and the mind." Here again, the mother was called upon to instill in her child the traits of "filial love and confidence without reservation, the consequences of which are a blind obedience which the mother herself knows how to prevent any excess."[57] A mother also taught her child to cherish his father. In turn, the father showed the child his love for the mother. In this manner, a child learned to adore his parents as "enlightened and sovereign divinities." Helping at home would be a pleasure for children loved to be hurrying about doing useful things. They sang and laughed as they learned to clean their clothes and rooms.

At school, the children sang hymns in Icar's honor, much like their parents did in workshops. The young men's civic education began when they were eighteen. It was very important that each student "learned the entire Constitution by heart." All "knew the election concerns perfectly, the candidates, the national representative body, its

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[55] Ibid., 2, 5, 369. The new universal language project began during the transitional era. It was designed to have the least amount of rules possible and "was the simplest, the most laconic, and the easiest to learn." Cabet's rather extreme cultural nationalism reflected his agreement with Jacobin concepts and the homogeneity of France.

[56] Ibid., 81.

[57] Ibid., 87.

representatives, the popular assemblies, and the national guard." They also understood "what a magistrate does and everything the law allows or forbids."[58] A man's civic education should not be neglected for he could be deprived of his citizenship. Although women in Icaria were not voters, of course they were "citizens" before the law and needed to be instructed about politics. "Women understand the elements of civic education in order never to be a stranger to all that which interests them, and which occupies the concerns of their husbands."[59] This spousal justification for educating women about politics (civic) did not explain why women were excluded from political decision-making and voting privileges. They were merely to be acquainted with "all that interests them" so that they would know the laws they lived under. The secondary purpose of providing women with civic education was to enrich conversations with their husbands about his "concerns."

Scientific Breeding for 'Perfectly-Beautiful-Icarians'

Icaria's 'equal' education programs for women and its generous attitudes about healthy republican mothers, were perilously magnified with human engineering projects. The Voyage guide explained to his visitors that there was a need for Icarians to "mix the blood, mingle the families, to make better generations." Brothers and sisters or close relatives could not marry. Endogamy, the French nobles' practice of marriages among noble families, had been discouraged in France by Napoleon I.[60] The exogamy custom of

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[58] Voyage, 80.

[59] Ibid., 95.

[60] David Higgs, Nobles in Nineteenth-Century France: The Practice of Inegalitarianism (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 192-3, 200. "Napoleon I attempted to oversee the arrangement of marriages to encourage the fusion

marrying outside the clan or social unit was also present in this era.[61] Icarian couples chose partners from their "neighborhoods," which could be considered a social (not economic) unit.[62]

However, the profile of possible mates described in the following Voyage passage, suggests a wider range of future unions:

> . . . the Republic, the good Republic, the popular Representation, the Commission of perfection, the People themselves, think and work continually toward the amelioration of the human race; brunettes choose blondes; mountain men choose plains girls; and often a man from the north chooses a girl from the south; the Republic negotiated with many of the most beautiful foreigners in order to have a great number of beautiful children of both sexes that they adopted, raised, and

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of the pre-1789 noblesse and the notables who had emerged from the Revolutionary and imperial interlude by ordering prefects to draw up in each department a list of the nubile rich girls over fourteen years of age with whom matches might be encouraged." Higgs also examined the communauté family forms which meant "an equal sharing of profit or losses from the management of joint fortunes, including the dowry." In a study of 106 marriage contracts from 1814 to 1830, the trend toward the communauté de biens rose to 66%, but the nobles continued to prefer the regime dotal which kept money and property in the hands of those who had received them from their own family.

[61] Higgs, Nobles in Nineteenth-Century France, 193-4. Parisian residents practiced exogamy more often than those in the provinces. From 1835-1840, marriages between nobles and commoners of "equally substantial wealth" became more frequent, indicating a "class endogamy" comparable to that recently studied by David Warren Sabean, Property, Production, and Family in Neckarhausen, 1700-1870 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 244-5. "Class endogamy" in the villages in the nineteenth century resulted from a "strong, positive urge to match wealth at marriage." This was due in part because "marriage inequality itself declined." Neither spouse was "dominant" as their labor situation underwent change when "women were increasingly drawn into agriculture. Equality of fortune, balance of power, and cooperation in agricultural production seem to have developed together." For a similar "class endogamy" development in Britain, see Davidoff and Hall, Family Fortunes, 216-21. "Boundaries of kinship were fluid" and marital ties of kin, friends, business were significant in forming business partnerships. The most common business forms were male kin, but sisters' husbands often bound two family fortunes together. "A minority pattern of sibling and cousin marriages" were another form of security in financial affairs.Quaker networks across Britain promoted spousal equality.

[62] Voyage, 139. Young boys and girls of mariage age were free to talk and promenade with each other under the watchful eyes of parents who were to instruct and counsel them. Parents would not oppose their children's marriages for "personal interests."

> married with their own children . . . I hardly dare to tell you the hopes of the scientists of Icaria on the physical and intellectual perfection of Humanity.[63]

This full-blown portrait of mixed-breeding directed by Icarian scientists to create "physical and intellectual perfection" was not devised nor approved by women who would be the care-givers of the foreign children (and mates). On the contrary, a "Commission of perfection" managed by citizens were the negotiators for foreign children with beautiful traits, that they would adopt, raise, and mate. This bizarre, Commission-sponsored selective breeding would undermine the principles of Icarian equality, although its focus was on diversity, amalgamation, and integration. Nonetheless, its logistics posed a danger for women for it could conceivably result in coercive laws to regulate their body/wombs.

In a more admirable strain, Icarians anticipated the normal range of birth defects and provided first-rate care for all children, hoping eventually to eliminate imperfect beings. If the child is born infirm or deformed, all his needs are lavishly supplied by doctors

> in the home of the mother or in a special hospital when necessary; and there are few cases of infirmity or deformity that the art of medicine could not succeed in curing or correcting with the aid of ingenious instruments that have been recently discovered. Regardless of the expense, the Republic always furnishes such care.[64]

These were sincere, generous, humanitarian visions. On the other hand, a conspicuous display of beautiful, perfect people whose parentage was planned by the "Commission of perfection" was simultaneously being proposed. Both projects would demonstrate the greatness of the Icarian Republic's improved social organization as well as their medical advancements, but they carried undertones of what later utopians would label "eugenics."

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63 Voyage, 122-3.

64 Ibid., 76.

The 'elected' Priestess

Besides the valuable opportunity to become certified doctors, women had another exceptional profession open up for them in Icaria. In a section of the Voyage titled, "Religion," women's work as priestesses was presented in a discussion about Valmor's studies for the priesthood.[65] Mr. Mirol informed Carisdall that, "like the job of priest for men, we have the priestess for women." The same rules "that apply for priests also apply to priestesses. . . . The sacerdoce (priesthood), like medicine, is a profession, or, if you like, a public function."[66] Priests, however, do not have any political power. They are "moral preachers, religious instructors, advisors, guides, and friendly counselors."[67] Carisdall learned that studies for the priesthood began at eighteen when a boy became an aspirant and continued until the age of twenty-five. After finishing the requirements, which included being married before he was twenty-five, the aspirant became a candidate for the priesthood. Then, instead of simply being certified a priest, the citizens in his quarter had to cast votes to elect him to the office of priest for a term of five years.[68] Presumably, the

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[65] Voyage, 165-174, 169-71. Religion was not taught to children in Icaria until a girl was sixteen and a boy was seventeen, when they reached "the age of reason." Then, a philosophy professor, not a priest, "exposed them for a year to all the religious systems and opinions without exception." They choose the best one at the end of the year. Despite permitting numerous 'sects,' the Republic eventually expected that education, reason, and discussion would naturally lead the majority toward unity where all would adopt the same belief. "Truth," Mr. Mirol explained, was "one" in politics, in religion, in morality, and everything.

[66] Ibid., 172. Valmor exemplified the Icarian married priesthood but no specific female character emerged as a model priestess.

[67] Ibid. Icarian priests "do not punish or absolve" [from sin] as the Catholic priests did.

[68] Ibid., 172-3.

same rules were to be followed by a priestess.

The requirements described in this priestly scenario for men like Valmor could easily be adapted for women. The unusual aspect was that a priestess profession allowed a woman to have a "public function" and be a candidate for an office determined by an election, the only such position available to them. Undoubtedly, it reflected the aims of Cabet to secularize and disempower the priesthood by placing it under political control. The priesthood was stripped of its traditional spiritual meaning and had a marriage requirement. While the role of priestess was a notable exception to the rule barring women from public office, it could also be surmised that it was made available so she could counsel other women, and thus it was another extension of Icaria's sex-role separation.[69]

A scene in the Voyage briefly described the kind of appropriate counseling that priests and priestesses provided unhappy marriage partners. Initially, the feuding couples' parents were expected to invoke "duty, or reason, and wisdom" to convince them to endure each other's defects. If this failed to bring harmony, the "priest or priestess joined their words to the tender exhortations of the family and encouraged the spouses to find happiness or at least peace in virtue."[70] Several things beyond counseling and divorce options were available for troubled spouses. As in the medical profession, when he created the priestess, Cabet displayed his empathy for the problems women might have in relating to male counselors. But in order to bring women into this 'elected' profession, he had to stretch the public-private boundaries. It is important to recall that the French revolution

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[69] Ibid. The priests and priestesses were only elected for five years which safeguarded the voters who had to approve of their performance in order for them to be re-elected.

[70] Ibid., 141.

changed the State/Church relations earlier, but the introduction of a married priesthood as well as secular clergy women, was anathema to the prevailing Catholic dogma. The Saint-Simonians, however, had many discussions about such positions, and Cabet no doubt learned from them.

Fraternal Freedom

Like many eighteenth-century philosophes (and franc-maçons) Cabet had no use for superstitious beliefs or antiquated rituals whether performed by spiritual or aristocratic men. He did not use the fear of an invisible power as a weapon to control behavior. Christ was a simply a great revolutionary philosopher who like the novel's leader Icar, directed his followers to create an equal, fraternal, and moral Communauté.[71] Cabet's narrative focused on strengthening fraternal bonds in the family unit and in men's external relationships. Among the obstacles to amplified rationality for men in the past were the emotional powers and restrictive personal needs of women and children. Such concerns were rectified by Icarian men who used their reason to regulate everyone's daily functions and material needs.

The schedules in Icaria freed men to work together at their jobs with little or no interference from wives and children. Men not only left their families to work together, but they attended regular citizen Assemblies en masse where they displayed their legislative abilities to one another and to an audience of women spectators.[72] On days when men had

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[71] Ibid., 417-8. After noting that Jesus announced "an immense reform or an immense Revolution," Cabet placed the quote: "I tell you truthfully, Jesus cried, you are all sons of the same father, who is God; you are all brothers, you are all equal; In heaven, there will be no great or small, rich or poor, men or women; only angels of God . . . Those who would be first among you will be the servant of the others. Then, love your neighbor as yourselves and God above all."

no Assemblies, they spent their evenings enjoying neighborly and familial pastimes.[73] Everyone relished the pleasant conversations, recitals, songs, music, dancing, laughter, and refreshments. Home was a place of relaxation in the late afternoon hours.[74]

Icarian men were esteemed for their reason and admonished to become "true men" by subduing their emotions. In Cabet's perfect society, men used their thinking powers to make the Icarian state a reality. Rational citizens imposed order on their environment. Committees composed of experts made all the decisions. They determined the size and furnishings for homes which left women without any power to design and order household goods.[75] One could also point out that Icarian women took on the work of displaced servants and tutors in the (bourgeois) interior household, while men concentrated on scientific and rational plans for the exterior landscape (yet, retained control over home materials, etc.).[76] Cabet imagined that the exalted production of men's worldly

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[72] Ibid., 193. There were no details on how female Assembly observers were selected.

[73] Ibid., 107-8. From "3 to 9 PM, people were in the gardens, terraces, streets, promenades, popular assemblies, courtyards, theaters, and all the other public places." More intimate talks, singing, etc., were displayed inside their homes with visitors.

[74] Bonnie G. Smith, Ladies of the Leisure Class: The Bourgeoises of Northern France in the Nineteenth Century (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 32-3. The home was historically being removed from its proximity with business during the 19th century. It meant reproduction - "and for men, relaxation." In the past, home was both productive and reproductive. Cabet severed this link for their were no boutiques or shops in Icarian homes (Voyage, 107).

[75] Voyage, 68-70. The quality and design of furnishings, space, etc. were all decided "by law." The citizens had drawn up "model plans" that encompassed standards of 'uniformity' with 'variety' for every room, cubboard, dish, glass, or piece of furniture. See Smith, Ladies of the Leisure Class, 6-7. Women in France's expressive supervision of their domestic habits and decorating artifacts was analogous to men's supervision of the exterior environment. This was not true in Icaria where men ordered both.

accomplishments followed from their expert supervision of reproduction, women, and children.

Eyes

In devising a monitoring system for Icarian society, Cabet recalled how his own youthful sexual inclinations were curbed by a fear of the constant 'Eye of God.' He adapted this concept to restrain undesirable behavior in Icaria. "Surveillance" that was formerly part of "that invention of Hell" or of that "infernal machine called the police," was carried out in Icaria by the 'eyes' of all citizens. "Nowhere were the police as numerous; because all our public functionaries, and all our citizens, are obliged to see to the execution of the laws, and to denounce the offenses they witness."[77] The invisible 'Eye of God' that checked youngsters' activity in the past was transferred in Icaria to the everyday 'eyes' of citizens.[78] Mother's 'eyes,' under father's directions, watched over the daily domestic scene. Fraternal equality was obviously not enough to totally eliminate misconduct. Thus, the invisible Godly eyes became real citizens' eyes. Initially, this might

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[76] Smith, Ladies of the Leisure Class, 10. Smith adds to this understanding about men's rational premises. The French women she studied had acquired "anti-scientific values" during their convent education. Men like Cabet felt that women had very little rationalism. Women remained committed to inaccessable mysteries like birth and death known only to the Creator.

[77] Voyage 131-132. A similar surveillance method occurred in Russia after the "Decembrists Uprising" in 1825. All Russians were obliged to report crimes and were paid for their espionage. It was a crime not to report offenses. France had no exact counterpart but government or police informers were paid.

[78] Piotrowski, Etienne Cabet, 3. This episode's relation to puritanism has also been noted by Roberts, "Etienne Cabet and his Voyage," 86-91. She reported that there are "no nudes or voluptuous paintings to please libertines (48) . . . women know how to keep quiet and even how to keep a secret due to their virtuous training (137)." Women sang hymns of praise and thanks to the rational man Icar who replaced the unseen Deity.

be regarded as a sensible transfer, but in practice ten years later, the Icarian's mutual surveillance fostered suspicion and mistrust in America. The fraternal principles Cabet advanced in the Voyage were subsequently destroyed by the creation of this vast spy network. Likewise, the regulation that mothers watch their children was hampered by the introduction of fears over women's limited integrity and their exclusion from political decisions.

Queen Cloramide

One of the most didactic examples that Cabet exploited to symbolize gender roles was Queen Cloramide. She was the negative stereotype of a woman in power. Her story uncovers his logic for keeping women out of politics. In the novel, pre-revolutionary Icaria was under the Queen's derelict reign. The country's budgets were little more than allowances for the Queen's two sons and a dowry for her daughter. Cloramide and her ministers issued laws that "favored the royal family, ministers, and aristocracy." Instead of deliberating about the happiness of the people, they spent two hours "gravely debating" whether flowers or feathers were best for the Queen.[79] These absurd portrayals characterized a women ruler who was negligent regarding serious matters of state and devoted to minor, frivolous issues.[80] During Cloramide's reign, the sessions of her ministers and the "servile" Deputies were described as schools of scandal and immorality

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[79] Ibid., 187.

[80] Lynn Hunt, Family Romance of the French Revolution (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 89-123. Christine Fauré, Democracy Without Women: Feminism and the Rise of Liberal Individualism in France (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 101-127. These were typical views present in the broadsides aimed at Marie-Antoinette.

which were likened to "a cave, a cavern, a center of plague, a house of aliens, and a smoky, evil place that had to be purified."[81]

Cabet's intentional application of dark, satanic language to Clorimade persuaded readers to share his coupling of demonic malice with Queenly power. Paradoxically, he described Clorimade as a beauty. The Wax Museum in Icarie had a life-like statue of her. The figurine was used to exaggerate the romantic emotions of Carisdall.[82] He discovered a resemblance between the "beautiful image" of Clorimade and Dinaîse, the object of his confused feelings. Carisdall secretly returned to the museum at night just to gaze at her statue. The beautiful Queen, he sighed, had the "traits of Dinaîse." This giddy scene reflected the moral ambivalence that Cabet associated with romantic passions as well as the hypnotic, conflicting beauty/wicked imagery attached to women.

In re-telling the story of the Queen's fall from power, she was initially described as magnificent, charitable, simple, and generous. Cloramide had captivated the Nobility, bourgeoisie, rich and poor. She was one of the most beautiful women in the land and merited the name of Divinity.[83] By contrast, her evil minister Lixdox was portrayed as horribly ugly and devious. Hypocritical Lixdox had the "expression of a demon or a thief" and he became the absolute master of "simple" Cloramide's mind. Lixdox cunningly manipulated her goodness.[84] This ruling comedy was a "gross farce which cost the people

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81 Voyage, 187-8. Deputies who voted their "conscience" or "against them" were ruined.

82 Ibid., 192-3.

83 Ibid., 211.

84 Ibid., 191. Lixdox's name was mentioned with "horror," much as the devil 's name would be. Lixdox was used as a metaphorical reincarnation of Satan's evil power over

dearly."[85] Lixdox's depiction as a "demon" who was able to control Cloramide exploited the common religious image of women as beings with inferior, weaker natures, which made them more susceptible to Satanic temptations.[86] After Icar led the Revolution that brought the Queen's downfall, Judges condemned Lixdox to death for oppressing the people. They shaved his head and exhibited him in an iron cage.[87] Cloramide, who was condemned to prison for life, asked for mercy from the governing body. Both sentences

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women.

[85] Ibid., 186-7.

[86] Nancy N. Barker, "Let Them Eat Cake' : The Mythical Marie Antoinette And The French Revolution," The Historian vol. 55 no 4 Summer, 1993. n.47. Barker analyzed the Queen image that Cabet reflected in his tale. In May 1770, 14 yr. old Marie was presented as a youthful goddesss of beauty and virtue and the object of a cult in which she was worshipped as a deity. This fits the pattern of Cabet's fictious Queen Cloramide. Marie-Antoinette was the Austrian-French luxury symbol of the faction-driven Court. She was characterized by deceit, seduction and her selfish pursuit of private interest in her three children. The Revolutionary press depicted legendary Queens of crime . . . Messalina, wife of emperor Claudius, Agrippina, mother of Nero . . . usurper and skillful poisoner, Catherine de Medici of the St. Bartholomew massacre, etc. In 1793, Marie became the "daughter of Satan." The powerful psychodynamics behind the imagery even convinced Thomas Jefferson that "had there been no Queen there would have been no Revolution," a view which few, if any, historians hold. Marie Antoinette's intrusion into the public sphere upset the patriarchal order in which the consort is obedient and submissive to the sovereign. The revolutionary and radical press used her as the scapegoat of a morality play which was xenophobic and misogynist. She was aristocratic, foreign, and female. The most lurid, indelible images were associated with her. Cabet studied these historical documents and absorbed them. Hunt, The Family Romance, 53-88, 89-123. Hunt's chapter, "Band of Brothers" on the execution of the King, examined the distress and ambivalence associated with ridding government of the "father of the people." Afterwards, the brothers looked to the culprit in their midst, the Queen. Marie-Antoinette's foreign, evil influences appear in Hunt's "The Bad Mother" chapter.

[87] Jane Dupree Begos, "'Icaria,' a footnote to the Peters Colony" Communal Societies: 1986, 84-91. The reality of scenes in the Voyage was later underscored by the treatment given to Gouhenant, a man Cabet suspected of being a traitor in July 1848 in Texas. Like Lixdox, Gouhenant had his head shaved before he was run off by the 'advanced guard' of Icarian men.

were commuted at the recommendation of the popular 'elected' ruler, the bon Icar.[88]

Immediately following this early history of Icaria, Cabet described the newly organized government of the people. The positions of men and women in public can be discerned by their arrangements in the political Assembly. They had a large National Palace that took twenty-eight years to build. It was the "most beautiful monument on earth." Every six days, at precisely "five minutes to four, the President, Vice-President, and secretaries, preceded by ushers and followed by 2000 representatives of the people, enter the Palace in superb costumes and take their seats in majestic silence." There were "6000 spectators, almost all female, in overhead galleries in elegant, glittering costumes." Smaller, "ordinary" sessions began locally at the same time.[89] The Icarian political order excluded women but it was not hostile to having them observe (and applaud) men's law-making pomp and ceremony. Regardless, the powerful, important people in Icaria were the male citizens who fixed everything by law. The contrasting scenes of the corrupted Queen's rule were juxtaposed with the citizens' perfected order, leaving readers with few doubts regarding the folly of women in politics. Lurking in most nineteenth-century Frenchmen's minds was the legacy of loathing for Queen Marie-Antoniette whom Cabet personified in Queen Cloramide.[90] He reincarnated her as a

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[88] Voyage, 348-51. Cabet was opposed to violence and as a Jacobin would not have executed Queen Marie-Antoinette. For him, women were "victims" of a bad society.

[89] Ibid., 191,177, 193-4. The 2000 representatives were men of 'genius' elected as deputies for 2 years. Women's "elegant, glittering costumes" were the opposite of their Nauvoo fashions.

[90] Cabet, Histoire Populaire de la Révolution française de 1789 a 1830, Tome II., 427-32, 566-7. Cabet referred to Marie Antoinette as "Queen" or as Louis XVI's "wife." She "dominated" the King. He related her "treasonous" conduct and "clandestine" communications with her brother, the Emperor of Austria. She wanted him to attack

'simple' but corruptible, Queenly model, complete with his ambiguity regarding her beauty.

Icaria crowns Icar

Majestic celebrations were a dynamic ingredient of Icarian society.[91] Women helped orchestrate the yearly three-days festivals composed of civic ceremonies, parades, sports, concerts, and plays. Scripts were prepared to instruct Icarians on the glories of their Republic. The first day's program reenacted Icaria's revolutionary events, battles, and victories. Then, all twenty-one year-old men were inducted as citizens and took an oath to uphold their laws and Constitution.[92] On the second day, everyone wore mourning dress to pay homage to the sacrifices of their revolutionary martyrs. A somber cortege of coffins was deposited on a pyre surrounded by a hundred altars with burning incense. The funerary activities included words cast in fire shining above the pyre proclaiming their

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France. Hunt, Family Romance, 106, 92-3. Barker, "Marie Antoinette," n7. Marie-Antoinette was the subject of more pamphlets than any single revolutionary figure and they were "more sustained in their viciousness." Voyage, 324-6. Cabet carried negative 'queenly' details into other sections of the book. Queens had multiple palaces, levied heavy taxes on salt, and influenced the Police, Courts, and Jesuits. Cloramide was a composite of the voluminous misogyny about women in political power.

[91] Mona Ozouf, Festivals and the French Revolution (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), x-xi, 19. The French Revolutionary festival planners recast categories of social experience to create a "new secular religion" as did Cabet. Among Ozouf's many excellent findings was the "indispensible element in a festival" - the presence of women and children brought into "public life." Sorting through Cabet's myriad festival scenes, one finds that women, overall, played few key roles. They were not among the military, oath-taking citizens, majestic deputies, etc.

[92] Voyage, 251-3. Each new citizen had a parrain (god-father, sponsor) who would counsel and aid him for life. Ozouf, Festivals and the French Revolution, 9,45, 54. Festival spectacle "combined politics and psychology, asesthetics and morality, propaganda and religion." Icarians reenacted battles with military fanfare before crowds gathered in the Champ-de-Mars. Beyond the splendor, Ozouf noted that spectators' "coming together" was a "prodigious moral conquest: the festival celebrated the passage from the private to the public." The "mingling of citizens" was the reverse of their former "partitioned world."

adoption of the orphans and wives, and paying honor to the wounded fighters. The flaming pyre spectacle was enhanced by the sight of 100 balloons circling overhead bearing a huge wreath.[93]

The final day had magnificient parades of costumed National Guards, political representatives, and groups of 30,000 girls and 30,000 boys carrying flags and banners.[94] There were 80,000 dancers performing ballets and rounds. Equally superb musical concerts employed the talents of 500 to 600 drummers, 500 to 600 trumpeters, and 10,000 other musicians. The highlight of these awe-inspiring events was the triumphal re-enactment of the coronation of their Dictator Icar. In contrast to the first day's caricature of the fallen Queen Cloramide, Cabet invented a dramatic female figure named Icaria. She was a statuesque woman who sat on a throne and presided over the ceremonies celebrating the glorious martyrs of the revolution.[95]

Unlike the familiar allegory of Liberty in the French revolutionary celebrations, Icaria was a woman chosen for the purpose of crowning Icar. This symbolic act indicated her acceptance of Icar's dictatorial rule. In Icarian society, the concept of liberty was restrained by law. According to Cabet, Liberty meant one's "submission to the innumerable laws of Nature, Reason, and Society."[96] In the festival scene, Icaria

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[93] Voyage, 261-2.

[94] Perrot, Fashioning the Bourgeoisie, 205n27. In the nineteenth century, uniforms acquired an unprecedented prestige. They made a brillant show but even "more important was the fact that the bourgeois had conquered the right to military glory and death, finally gaining an aristocratic privilege denied them since the Crusades."

[95] Voyage, 254-266. Almost all of Icaria: 60 communes, 100,000 provincials, 10,000 Colonists (about 8,000 black or copper-colored), and 25,000 foreigners, entered the great arena.

epitomized women's approval of Icar's regime. She had an elevated position amidst the burning perfumes of 100 altars, a scene certainly smacking of (pagan) worship. When Icar entered the arena, the huge crowd shouted repeatedly, "Dictator Icar! Dictator Icar!" He went up to Icaria who placed a crown of laurels on his head.[97] Then, the two ascended the throne to preside over the games and exercises. Icar seated himself on the step below Icaria, indicative it appears, of his worship of her divinity.[98] Cabet could have chosen to have the couple seated together as equals, but he didn't. This arrangement fulfilled the recommendation of Icar that his compatriots worship a "cult of women, like that of the divinities."[99]

This celebratory drama was Cabet's version of elements present in the French Festival of the Supreme Being held in the fall of 1793. At that time, the planners were criticized for using a "young woman to play the role of Liberty or Reason in the ceremony."[100] The detractors argued that

> the sense and imagination of the philosophers are shocked as much by the ideas of a *woman* representing *Reason* as by the youth of this woman. In women, this pure faculty is identified as it were with *weakness*, with *prejudices*, with the very *attractions* of this enchanting sex. In men, its empire is free from any error: force energy, and severity are linked together in them. Reason is *mature*, it is *serious*, it is *austere*, and these qualities cannot be associated with a young woman.[101]

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96 Ibid., 404. Cabet's definition provoked later debates about the principle of liberty.

97 Ibid., 264-6.

98 Ibid., 264.

99 Ibid., 137-8, 296-7. Woman was the "flower of the nation," and "adored" by the people.

100 Hunt, Family Romance, 154-6.

101 Ibid., 154. The artist David organized a new festival for June 8, 1794 with an abstract, sublime entity that "erased not only the idolatry implicit in worshiping an actual

Although Cabet agreed with such thinking indices regarding Reason and young women, in his pageant, Icaria symbolized a female Divinity who heralded the dictatorship of the man, Icar.[102] Icaria, it seems, did not represent either Liberty or Reason and vanished from mention in the text after the festival. The three memorable days ended with a brilliant display of thousands of colorful fireworks followed by the launching of 100 hot-air balloons, visible in the evening sky as the crowd returned to their homes.[103]

"Triumph of Reason"

The dualisms of mind/reason - body/emotion were an essential embodiment of the Voyage. Women's minds were absent from balloon flight, scientific feats, and politics, but more explictly, in a later scene captioned, "Triumph of Reason," women were the foil against which "true men" tested their ability to use reason to overcome emotions. Corresponding female characters were portrayed with emotions that were not only intractable, but overruled their reason.

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image of reason but also the association of that imagery with feminine qualities."

[102] Ozouf, Festivals and the French Revolution, 101-2. The use of women in festivals as "goddesses" of Reason and "innocent maidens" was sometimes rejected by local administrators. They were not always well received by the public - some saw them as "whores" and others regarded the female representations "inappropriate in such circumstances."

[103] Voyage, 264-6. See Eileen Yeo's essay, "Robert Owen and Radical Culture" in Sidney Pollard and John Salt, editors, Robert Owen Prophet of the Poor: Essays in Honour of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of his Birth (London: Macmillan, 1971), 84-114, 98-9. Yeo captured smaller-scale British celebrations that sometimes used hot-air balloons between 1834-1839 in the Owenite branches. Their secular delights deliberately coincided with Sunday religious rites. Owen's London Institution put on a series of concerts and balls during Lent. Branch 16 held scientific demonstrations in which a "model of the Montgolfier balloon ascended in the hall twice during the evening" to the delight of the 280 persons gathered on Good Friday. Cabet's journalist eyes would probably have noted this lively mix of popular scientific, secular, and socialist events.

The novel's love story neared its romantic climax when suddenly Dinaïse surprised Valmor by refusing to marry him. "She tearfully declared that she could not accept any spouse," he reported, "this angel of innocence and beauty, this angel ordinarily so modest, so timid, and always ready to yield to the desires of those she loves. She sometimes unites her affectionate compliance and her angelic timidity with the firmest and most inflexible character."[104] Carisdall extended his sympathy to Valmor over the loss of Dinaïse and tried to calm his host's grief by appealing to his reason and strength. Likewise, Dinaros urged him to "take courage. Is it that you are not a man! Is it that you would no longer be the wise Valmor!"[105] Yet, none of these men knew that Carisdall was in love with Dinaïse, nor did he, until his French friend Eugène recognized the symptoms of his unknown malaise - love - and told him. Neither had understood their mysterious emotions.[106]

After Dinaïse rejected Valmor, he engaged in a frenzied, heated exhibition of 'courtly' love-sickness that weakened his physical body and ruined his ability to concentrate.[107] After meandering about in a daze (even by balloon travel), he paused to hear the wise counsel of a grandfather, Mr. Mirol, in the countryside.[108] Determined to

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[104] Voyage, 143-4. Passive 'angelic' characteristics - modest, timid, mild, eager to yield to others desires, were embodied in Cabet's model heroine Dinaïse.

[105] Ibid., 145.

[106] This curious scenario resembled the psychological sessions employed by Saint-Simonians who helped each other to know themselves and understand their passions.

[107] Voyage, 247.

[108] Ibid., 147. The account of this transformative state began with despairing Valmor's restful visit at the Mirol farm and continued for another hundred pages. The intervening chapters described agriculture, commerce, national representation, marriage celebrations, funerals, festivals, dramas, and delivered copious amounts of Cabetist wisdom.

overcome his sadness, he talked about "the qualities and perfections of the one his love had made into an angel."[109] As Valmor's recovery process unfolded, children emerged in the backgound to serve refreshments to their family elders. They enjoyed carrying out agricultural chores. A young girl recounted with "charming grace" how she did the haymaking, the harvesting, grape-picking, and assorted fruit and vegetable gathering.[110] Other youths recalled pleasant picnics and dances under the 'eyes' of their parents.[111] Their picturesque, orderly countryside had been transformed by men "who reasoned everything, who bring perfection to all things. Farms resembled superb gardens."[112]

Despite the rustic calm and beauty, Valmor remained tormented by his love for Dinaïse. She refused to reconsider marriage and secretly concealed her feelings, as women were believed to do. Her mother, along with other family members, ostracized her. Their coercive pressures caused Dinaîse to suffer for her 'constant' feelings. In an exchange of letters with her friend Corilla, Dinaîse confessed that although she had loved Valmor since her childhood, and William (Carisdall) was a foreigner, her reason led her to Valmor, while "an irresistable power pushed and pulled" her toward Carisdall. In analyzing these feelings, Dinaîse maintained it was not her fault that she could not be "master" of her heart. She recalled that the first time she saw Carisdall, she "had concealed herself, as if

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[109] Ibid., 153. True to Icarian philosophy, Valmor worshipped Dinaïse as an angel (divinity).

[110] Ibid., 159.

[111] Ibid., 160.

[112] Ibid., 157. The countryside was purged of dangerous animals and had uniform fields, drains, and roads. Since there was no private property, there was no need for fences.

some secret presentiment warned me that an enemy advanced himself in order to enchain me." Dinaîse saw herself as a "weak and puny creature," but continued to acknowledge her love for Carisdall. She felt a "spirit of fire, an energy capable of braving misfortune."[113] Although Dinaîse's "reason" led her to Valmor, an "irresistable power" pushed her to love Carisdall. She was not the 'master' of her heart. Thus, Dinaîse's "heart" (emotions) dominated her "reason," the reverse of the feat prescribed for Valmor.

Corilla began a letter to Valmor about Dinaîse with her apology for being "only a woman" and then advised her brother to "consult your own reason: remember your reflections, your courage, your resolutions to conquer yourself, your vow to Mr. Mirol, your battle, and your victory!" Barely a week went by after Valmor received Corilla's letter when his "reason" finally triumphed. He wrote back that he was now "resolved to gain my happiness in seeing their happiness (Dinaîse and Carisdall)."[114] Valmor, the hero, was at last able to control his feelings with his reason. However, Dinaîse's emotions were impossible for her to overcome. The sex-role designs in this dualism brazenly privileged reason in males and emotions in females.

Soon after recovering his rational senses, Valmor magnanimously gave up his desire to marry Dinaïse and instead chose to marry a young cousin of Dinaîse named Alaé who had always loved him. It would please Alaé, fulfill his marriage obligation, and free Dinaîse to marry Carisdall.[115] All women, it seems, were equally suitable partners for a man of reason. Valmor's sacrificial happiness would be gained by giving happiness to

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113 Ibid., 243-46.

114 Ibid., 250.

115 Ibid., 251, 294. Icarians were forbidden by law to marry foreigners.

others. This situation also exemplified Valmor's duty to serve his community by completing his chosen profession, the married priesthood. Priests had always been encouraged to aspire to a nobler love and Valmor realized this dual outcome by using reason to transcend his feelings.

With Valmor's marriage to Alaé easily resolved, the elated group embarked on a boating excursion. As they moved along the river banks, the party observed that "Art disputed Nature" for prized embellishments. The scenery had been beautifully designed by the Republic which "like a rich proprietor" had artistically arranged the countryside for their enjoyment.[116] The lighthearted boaters landed on a flower-filled island and held a "great council on their loves and future destinies." They were concerned that Valmor's "victory over himself" and his "generous devotion" should not be in vain. Two letters from England helped assure them that their marriages would not cause unhappiness to either Miss Henriet or Valmor. A special dispensation to marry a foreigner was expected for Carisdall because Valmor's grandfather held that one of the greatest services to Icaria would be his promotion of Communauté in England. The felicitous conclusion of the 'love' council was that they would celebrate three weddings together in two months.[117]

Female Messiah

The novel moved toward a finale with the triple marriage ceremony. Just as the

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[116] Ibid., 293.

[117] Ibid., 292-4, 155. Chapter 39, "Mariage de milord décidée" concluded details of the romantic triangle in two and a half pages. The three marriages were Carisdall - Dinaîse; Valmor - Alaé; and Dinaros - Corilla. Excitement was added to the boat-island scenes with a near drowning mishap when a young girl fell into the water. As it turned out, she had learned to swim "without fear or danger." All boys and girls in Icaria were taught to swim.

wedding began, Dinaïse fell into an unconscious coma and appeared dead. Broken-hearted, Carisdall returned to England and languished near death himself until informed by a messenger that Dinaïse had been restored to life. "It is almost a miracle!" he cried.[118] The happy ending followed as Carisdall hurried back to Icaria to marry Dinaïse. Cabet foot-noted this near-death incident claiming that he was witness to a similar circumstance. The most likely source for this citation was his partner Denise's reaction to the false news of his brush with death in Belgium and her subsequent 'brain fever' (and Cabet's forthcoming marriage to her).

This scene raises a number of interpretive questions. Was Dinaïse's 'miraculous' return to life meant to re-enact a symbolic Christ-like resurrection by substituting a 'loving' woman savior? Was Dinaïse a female Messiah figure? It so, it could suggest a woman replaced the male God. If one recalls that Icarian men were specifically encouraged by Icar to worship women as a cult of Divinity, then Dinaïse personifies that deity. In itself, urging men to worship a "cult of divinity" was an irrational premise and a contradiction of Cabet's advocacy of men's Reason, but it may have had greater appeal as a device for winning feminine support. On the other hand, it could be seen as a ruse intended to draw upon women's spiritual nature and substitute women divinities for the cult of the Virgin. At the very least, 'divinity' phrases may have simply been a repetitive form of romantic flattery. Nonetheless, the traits of an 'angelic divinity' so profusely disseminated in the story were

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[118] Ibid., 546. When Dinaîse seemed dead, Carisdall's return to England explained his inconsolable condition at the opening of the novel. It was also a Romeo-Juliet motif. The Voyage love story has been noted for its resemblance to Rousseau's Julie. I find that Dinaïse's 'constant' love was characterized as purer. The foot-note could hardly refer to anyone but Denise.

those Cabet deemed valid for his heroine Dinaïse whose awakening strikingly resembled Denise's bout of 'brain fever.'

Icaria's 'cult of divinity' would increase the esteem held for women. All Icarian men were accustomed by education to respect women as their mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters. This attitude would suppress all immoralities and alleviate concerns that other men would pose any fear, threat, or jealousy about wives. Men's rational control would end emotional or sexual desires regarding women other than their true loves. Nonetheless, women's pleasing accomplishments contributed to men's enjoyments and to Icaria's perfected domestic order.[119]

As Cabet grasped later in life how his own disconcerting adolescent feelings were brought on by the sight of 'pretty' girls, he attempted to negate such disruptive sensations by creating the 'triumph of reason' scenario. Thoughts acted upon emotions. Icaria's complex set of rational controls eliminated affective disorders generated by women. Men gained rational space apart from women. They correspondingly regimented and re-enslaved Icarian women and children. This result was established in the descriptive scenes in the first part of the Voyage.

Icaria's uniform systems of press, politics, and law-making were prominently displayed for they were Cabet's spheres of interest. A single standard of political knowledge was dispersed from enormous printing centers. Extensive information about political structures, educational facilities, environmental controls, efficiently-engineered workshops, food distribution centers, health care, and modern transportation systems that

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[119] Ibid., 296-99.

had been devised by male experts, voted upon by citizens, and implemented, were presented in these press reports.

Simultaneously, unusual encumbrances emerged which sharply diminished women's freedom to circulate in Icaria despite their advanced education, health care, and professional opportunities.[120] No woman had any official role in policy formulations, but according to the tale, women happily embraced their remodeled chains which were lovingly tightened in one revealing dialogue.

Prisoners of Gallantry

Cabet had completed nearly three hundred pages of ideal family and communauté settings in his novel when he captioned a section, "Femmes." In a socratic-styled exchange between several foreign visitors and Icarian men, he exposed the fact that Icarian women never left their private homes without their husbands to escort them. The guests were told that men in Icaria "love their women, adore them, idolize them, embellish them, perfect them, and work for them all day to make them happy in order to then receive from them all of their happiness." The skeptical visitors accused the Icarian men of being a little egotistical or jealous for not wanting their women to go to a show or into the world without them. The men replied that they "never go out themselves without being accompanied by their wives" and "since they don't have any separate pleasures and share

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[120] Roberts, "Etienne Cabet and his Voyage," 87-88. Roberts noted the equal education of girls and boys where "women are not citizens and men do not perform household chores." She located one point of Cabet's ambivalence when referring to this equal education where "In almost everything, girls rival boys" and then, "the law proclaims "equality between spouses, with the husband's voice merely the preponderant one (Voyage, 299)." Roberts observed that after 13 years of education the female, educated for a productive, enlightened future, was greeted by the opposite, for she has no social or political responsibility outside the domestic sphere.

all of their joys with them, the men place their happiness in making them happy. [therefore] They are one hundred times better [than the French or English]." When it would not be possible for a husband to accompany his wife, there would be no harm in

> You my dear friend, you will be my substitute and her escort; you will waltz at the ball with her; you will run and gallop with her; you will innocently engage her in harmless games; you will defend her against the gallants who want to bother her with their gallantry; you will escort her for me as you would do for yourself; you will do it with pleasure, as well as for me who desires nothing other than your happiness . . . And what danger would that be for her with you, my best friend? [121]

Despite this passage's provocative allure of substitute partners, unescorted women in Icaria could not appear in public.[122] This standard positioned women in a state of permanent male dependency. Adult women were no freer than children.

Fortunately, husbands did not go to cabarets or clubs in Icaria and simply enjoyed family gatherings. Yet, in the event that a husband was unable to escort his wife outside their home, a male friend could substitute for him.[123] The logic for this arrangement exemplified the level of reasoned trust and fraternity shared between men. Reason, it seems, had successfully eliminated all adulterous fears about other men with their wives.[124]

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[121] Voyage, 298.

[122] There is a slight inconsistency here, for women left the home to work along with other women, and some women remained outside the Assembly halls in public streets. In both cases, men were already away at work or in their Assembly. The Victorian woman whose travel was increasingly restricted, very likely influenced this. See Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Family Fortunes Men and women of the English middle class, 1780-1850 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 403-5. There were "growing restraints on the physical and social mobility of women." Wives were "becoming restrained by canons of respectability." Layers of petticoats and skirts added to this containment. Young women needed to be shielded from exposure to the sexual and social hazards of public travel and "accompanied by an older man or older woman." Women in earlier times had a certain freedom, but "solitary ramblings, much less longer journeys, came to be out of the question and girls were increasingly closely guarded."

[123] Voyage, 297-98.

Even the language of rape and adultery had disappeared from their vocabulary.[125] Under the guise of gallantry, women in Icaria were prisoners of their husbands.

Subjugated Romance

As a liberating, feminist writer, Cabet falls short even by the standards of his era. Like the men of 1789, he allowed divorce, which of course women hardly ever needed since they were happy and supplied with necessities. But it is hard to imagine that no woman could appear in public without a male escort. And who could believe that any government would decree that all must marry? Or, if unable to marry for health reasons, then one would automatically become a nurse. What governing system would expect to devise laws regulating everyone's daily life? Leslie Roberts aptly perceived that even women's equal education was not geared toward professions beyond domesticity.[126] Clearly, Cabet did not believe that women could achieve the rational control of men. Or, one could speculate that Cabet harbored a wish to be like the hero Carisdall, who was the recipient of 'divine' Dinaîse's 'constant' love. Men in the novel flourished amidst these gender contradictions for they were free to circulate without escorts, to work on

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[124] Bonner, Ends of the Earth, 71. As noted earlier, the escorting of unmarried females in the 1880s to their medical school was an established "French custom." However, Icaria was to be a law-ordained society beyond "custom." Escorting women was undoubtedly a class ritual that Cabet hoped to institute and many women may have wanted male escorts. Regardless, Cabet's rule kept women at home and required a male sanction for their movement in public.

[125] Voyage, 143.

[126] Roberts, "Etienne Cabet and his Voyage," 87-8. Roberts found that the goal of women's education "becomes that of a finishing school for daughters of the haute bourgeoisie . . . singing, dancing, playing musical instruments, acting in plays, and conversing intelligently for the pleasure of male family members and their friends."

marvelous inventions, gain political prominence, and have their families provided for. A strict system of sex-segregation belied the glib banter of equality. Women's non-participation in the political process was compensated for by permitting them a place as adoring spectators who applauded the legislators' elegant ceremonies and laws. A paternal age-hierarchy in families was dutifully respected by women and children who joyfully sang songs, gave praise and thanks to Icar, but not to Icaria who vanished after the festival.[127]

In the Icarian society of equality and fraternity, neither sex was free; however, women were legally powerless and totally dependent on men. While they remained keepers of household cleanliness and order, they lost control over their time and the appearance of their homes. Even their former claim to seditious sexual powers had been stripped away, for men used reason to overcome women's cupidity, coquettery, and flirtatious desires. They had no way to sway politics although it could be surmised that conversations with their husbands could give them a 'voice.' The lives of women and children were under the direction of men's laws.

Cabet's efforts to resolve the gender problems that he believed property and inequality among men had created resulted in a reformulation of static gender roles for Icarian women which chained them more tightly to patriarchal controls. The exceptional professions that he created for women doctors and priestesses, while advanced for their era, simultaneously relieved men of the need to care for female patients. The sexual

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[127] The thanks, duty, and praise given the Christian God figure were re-established with the statues, songs, festivals, and homage paid to the secular dictator, Icar. Icarian ancestors who aided Icar were appropriately thanked and remembered for bringing about the equal and just Icarian society much as the 'saints of God' were worshiped. Religious awe was transferred to political awe, orchestrated by paternal men of Reason.

difference theories whereby previous philosophers rated women's 'nature' and 'abilities' as weak and inferior, aided Cabet in surmounting fallacious gender dualisms. Such ideas had pernicious effects on women's thoughts as well.

In the second part of the novel, Cabet anticipated objections to his system. Questions and refutations were directed by and for men's interests. The descriptive romance narrative consumed 302 of the 603 novel pages. Even for women who read profusely, the lengthy parade of philosophers and geniuses in the next 300 pages hardly related to their educational backgrounds. Cabet cited scores of renown predecessors who supported egalité and Communauté. Like him, they were guided by Reason.

CHAPTER FOUR

CABET'S POLITICAL-PHILOSOPHICAL ANTECEDENTS AND WOMEN

Part II of the Voyage en Icarie began with historian Dinaros recalling Icaria's past to an audience of foreign visitors. He announced that, "My plan is not to present lengthy details of Icaria's history. My goal is to inform you about how the community was established among us, the obstacles that it had to overcome, and the means used to overcome them."[1] Within this textual setting, Cabet inventively refashioned details from France's revolutions into a fantasized 1782 revolution led by Icar. The fictional aftermath ostensibly produced more favorable results for women in Icaria than either of its predecessors had in France. Nonetheless, the measure of equality prescribed for women by Icar and his citizen cohorts was limited. Their freedoms and those of children were circumscribed by men's laws. Cabet's method for assessing the gender determinations in Icaria followed the age-old convictions about women set out by the monks and philosophers that he consulted. A cursory examination of their views accounts for Icaria's dual meanings of equality and freedom. Underpinning these disparate inferences about women was the inflated concept of masculine 'reason.' Following his erstwhile communauté guides, Cabet stripped the Icarian family of property and material affectations. However, based on his understanding of men's reason, he retained their privileged power over women and children. Ignoring this paradox, he blithely forecast that 'equal' and 'fraternal' relationships would emanate from his restructured, but inherently unequal, patriarchy in Icaria.

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[1] Voyage, 305.

The power wielded by men had been established by Icar. Dinaros recalled stories about the life of their benevolent dictator for the visitors. As a child, he gave away his clothes and bread to beggars and was beaten for it by his brutal, poor father. Icar once rushed into the flames to rescue a child. He loved to read books on philosophy and often meditated on the Lord's Prayer. When he visited a monastery, he was impressed by the monks' common life. The many injustices that he saw in society upset him. He became indignant about the suffering of workers, the insensibility of the rich, and the vices of the social organization. The Christians' degeneration caused him to leave the Church. Icar published writings to protest the Church's abuses. A brochure that favored the Communauté led to his arrest. Like the first Christians, Icar was accused of conspiracy, provoking a regicide and civil war; and he was treated as an anarchist, a drinker of blood, enemy of the people and humanity. When presented with death, his persecutors offered him liberty if he would retract his words. But Icar responded that he preferred to die like Socrates and Christ rather than deny the truth. Half of his judges acquitted him but they declared his doctrines crazy. When his rich uncle from the oriental Indies died and left him a fortune, he vowed to use his new wealth to bring about the regeneration of humanity. Icar was always frugal and wore simple clothes. Like Christ, he was a revolutionary and a propagandist. After instructing young people, they helped him in his writings and works. Then, he began researching all the ancient and modern opinions, foreign and national, for or against the Communauté, and was overjoyed to find the list of opinions favoring it were those of the greatest names in the history of law and philosophy.

Dinaros's portrait of the fictional hero Icar was an amalgam of elements taken from

the lives of Cabet, Campanella, Morelly, Buonarroti, Christ, and other men like Socrates or Thomas More. After Icar became the recognized chef of the reform party in his country, he gave the signal which ignited two days of insurrection on June 13-14, 1782. The outcome of this was the fortuitous founding of Icaria. Communauté was declared with equality among all citizens who subsequently voted for their political representatives.[2] The French term citoyenne, did not appear in Dinaros' account of the Icarian revolution, although its usage was widespread during the 1789 French revolution.[3] This notable deletion was an important, conscious choice, for Icarian women in the novel were not designated citoyennes with political rights in their country.[4]

After Icaria's traumatic revolutionary events, a fifty-year transitory regime was

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[2] Ibid., 214-19, 217. "Two bloody days of rioting" (in Icaria) were on June 13-14, 1782. Cabet used dates sparingly, but they had deliberate associations. By moving ahead to 1832, (when Cabet headed a "reform party" in the French Chamber or "reform" in the Association libre, the date could be linked with the aftermath of the June 5-6, 1832 funeral riots and his arrest. Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 61-3, 65. Johnson found that Cabet became a foe of the monarchy after the riots and worked rapidly to publish his work on the 1830 revolution. Cabet was later proud to be called a "radical voice of democracy" by Fourierists. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 49-51, 65-66. After Lamarque's funeral and the police raid, Prudhommeaux noted that "at this point" Cabet believed that the regime was attempting to "get him." This 'persecution' "sealed his total break with the monarchy." The two June 1832 dates do not strictly coincide, but the real 13th and 14th may have marked the turning point in his politics. Cabet was also present at discussions with Buonarroti during 1832 on communauté ideas.

[3] Melzer & Rabine, Rebel Daughters, 79-101. Applewhite and Levy refined the term citoyenne in "Women and Militant Citizenship in Revolutionary Paris." See Landes, Women and the Public Sphere, 121- 151, and Samia I. Spencer, ed., French Women and the Age of Enlightenment (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 64-83.

[4] Mary P. Ryan, Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880 (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1990), 19. Ryan discussed women's public roles related to politics. She showed how public festivals were organized as masculine banquets and women demurely left the site after completing the preparations.

proposed to gradually bring about the elimination of private property and constitute equality. These changes were to be guided by three priority levels: 1) the necessary, 2) the useful, and 3) the agreeable.[5] The population's enthusiasm and rapid response to their citizens' policies succeeded in bringing about the definite establishment of communauté during the thirtieth year of the country's regeneration.[6]

Dinaros' lectures to the foreign dignitaries included details about Icaria's political and social reorganization replete with constitutions, principles, religion, war, and peace that continued for seven chapters.[7] After these accounts, he invited his audience to participate in a question and answer session to demonstrate how conflicting opinions and problems were resolved by Icarians. The audience challenged Dinaros to explain Icaria's 'equality' of persons, property, and community. They were particularly curious about how the Icarians reconciled equality with Nature's visible differences between men.

"Men are not unequal," Dinaros replied, despite "differing appearances in size,

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[5] Voyage, 41. This axiom was in the Nauvoo logos and an important aspect of budget allocations. It was ennuciated by Abbé Morelly in Gilbert Chinard, notes, Morelly Code de la nature ou le véritable esprit de ses lois (Paris, 1755, reprinted, Paris: Gilbert Chinard, 1950), 286-7, 289-290, 123-4, 7-8. Chinard identified many of Cabet's borrowings from Morelly and others used by Owen, Babeuf, Fourier, and the Saint-Simonians. Tommaso Campanella, translation by Arnaud Tripet, La cité du Soleil (Geneve, 1972), 11, 17. Campanella distributed "according to need" and "according to types of work."

[6] Ibid., 305-371. This happened after thirty years, but Carisdall's visit was fifty years later.

[7] Ibid. Barbara Goodwin and Keith Taylor, The Politics of Utopia: A Study in Theory and Practice (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 22-28. These Voyage pages resembled several of the major utopian categories identified by Goodwin and Taylor. Icaria was both an idealization of the past and criticism of the present. Cabet's critical format strongly reflected category five, e.g. "Constructive criticism of the present via an ideal alternative (future or present)."

color, physical strength, etc."[8]

> Reason if not equal in all men at least is sufficient in general that it guides the feeble to unite with others of strength to have the Quality of strength. Reason is the principal weapon that Nature has given to man in order to guide and defend himself. One can really say, in the most general sense, that Nature has made men equal in strength.
>
> It has even made them equal in intelligence.[9]

Reason, Dinaros argued, induced the weak to unite against the strong, which eliminated individual differences in men's physical strength. It was Society that made men unequal in intelligence and training, not Nature which had given "Reason" to man. Although women were not mentioned in Dinaros' interpretation of equality and reason, both his argument about strength and the one about intelligence, could have been extended to women. But they were not. Nor did the dignitaries question him about effecting equality between men and women.

After his reply, Dinaros adroitly turned the query session into a challenge directed at christian emissaries who wanted everyone to

> adore God as the infinite goodness, as the supreme justice united to the all-powerful; you call him the Father of the human race: you say that all men are his children, of the same species, all of the same race, all of the same family, all brothers; and you pretend that this infinitely good and just Father, instead of mingling all his children in his love, instead of sharing all his benefits equally among them, instead of giving to all the same intelligence, the same desires, the same passions, the same means to satisfy them, and the same rights on the globe that his goodness created for them, would have divided them in categories and in castes of masters and slaves, of despots and subjects, of aristocrats and pariahs, of proprietors and proletariat, of rich and poor, of consumers and producers, of happy and unhappy![10]

This list of unequal power relationships could have included categories of men and

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[8] Voyage, 384.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid., 386.

women, or sisters and brothers, but the narrator chose not to broaden his pool. Dinaros contended that anyone who held views opposing equality committed a blasphemy against Providence. God "had made men different among themselves, but equal in power, and especially in rights." But "above all He

> . . . gives them all Reason . . . Reason . . .Why did not Providence make all men equal, but the same in everything, in shape, in beauty, in color, in physical force, in intelligence? Why? . . . but has he not given them Reason? . . . And Reason is it not sufficient in order to indicate to men the means of exercising his rights and of assuring his happiness in establishing Equality?
>
> Is not Reason sufficient in order to properly organize Society, in order to create Equality of education and by consequence of capacity, the Equality of work and of fortune, the Equality of social and political rights?
>
> Yes, Reason is a secondary Providence which is able to create Equality in everything. And as Reason is a favor of Nature or of the Divinity, Equality finds itself, as well as I have already said, the indirect work of Nature or of God himself.[11]

In this passage about men's rights and Reason, Dinaros' repeated stress on Reason as a favor of Nature or Divinity, took on the magnitude of "a secondary Providence." Accordingly, Icarian logic substantiated the position of "Reason" as a facsimile for God / Providence / Nature.[12]

At this point in the novel, few readers would doubt Cabet's absolute faith in man's "Reason" to order the human community. It followed from his evocation of philosophers from the Greeks through Descartes to Rousseau. The climax of ideas about rational government with participatory citizen equality was marked by the First French Republic in 1792. As was the case with this entire tradition, Cabet's conception of reason was purely instrumental and purposive, best illustrated perhaps in his portraits of Icaria, where hills

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[11] Ibid., 387.

[12] Ibid., 387, 594. The Voyage index defined Raison as a "Seconde PROVIDENCE pour l'homme - elle lui conseille l'égalité politique et sociale."

and valleys had been transformed into orderly, flat surfaces, rivers were channeled, dangerous animals exterminated, cities constructed with proportioned, beautiful, healthy habitats, crops expertly grown, etc. Prompted by his belief in Nature's Reason, Cabet designed a perfected world, a feat comparable to that of Prometheus. Indeed this classical symbol was drawn for an edition of Cabet's Mon Credo Communiste.[13]

The complete affirmation of the abstract social contract underpins Cabet's community. Whether such a system ever existed in history, lawyers like Cabet were attracted to the idea. Women, of course, fit beneath this sweeping conception, although excluded by nature in political determinations according to writers like Locke, Hume, and Rousseau. In particular, Rousseau in "The Social Contract" wrote on how the "civil state produces a remarkable change in the individual . . . substitutes justice for instinct . . . the voice of duty replaces physical impulse . . . he must now consult his reason and not merely respond to the promptings of desire . . . and [reason] turned him from a limited and stupid animal into an intelligent being and a Man!"[14] The Contract's discourse on women's inferiority distinguished them by their characteristic activities of bickering, boasting, uncooperative self-abandonment, blasphemy, and frailities of sickness, love, and labor.[15]

In the Republic, Plato also wrote that women were inferior in intellect. This was starkly apparent in his Timeaus passages which recounted the origins of man wherein the

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[13] Cabet, Mon Credo Communiste, (original Paris: Prevot, 1841) single copy illustrated by Glatigny in 1851 and dedicated to Mme Cabet. IISG., 6.

[14] Barker, Sir Ernest, introduction, Social Contract: Essays by Locke, Hume, and Rousseau (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), 185, xlii-xliii.

[15] Voyage, 443. Cabet's remarks related to the impartiality of philosophers on women were: "See that you are men and not children, or disinterested spectators and not women."

earth originally contained only men who conquered their passions and lived virtuously until they returned to the happiness of the stars from which they came. Any man who failed on earth by being cowardly and unrighteous was punished by being reborn as a woman. Thus, the lowly woman was created in Plato's myth. Likewise, Aristotle ascribed various degrees of reason to members of the household. Slaves were entirely without the deliberative function, but women possessed it in an inconclusive form and children in an immature form. Closer to Cabet's era, Rousseau explained that women had a talent for detail and were intuitive but they were deficient in rationality and incapable of abstract thought. Their complaints about inequality were not due to prejudice, but the work of reason. Those to whom nature had entrusted children must answer to the other (man). Women had a kind of intellect different from and inferior to that of men, and lacked the capacity for abstract reasoning and creativity, according to Rousseau. "Everything that involves the generalization of ideas is not within a woman's province: their studies should concern practical things; it is their task to apply the principles discovered by man."[16]

The potential for combining men's reason with equality led to a serious discussion by the Icarian visitors on the possible "incompatibility of community with liberty." In the words of Abbé Morelly regarding the promulation of the original Social Contract, the "wise men" must have "full liberty to attack the errors and prejudices supporting the spirit of property" but this liberty was not the same for everyone.[17] "Liberty," Dinaros explained to his audience, was the submission to the "innumerable laws of Nature, Reason, and

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[16] Susan Moller Okin, Women in Western Political Thought (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), Ch. I, "Plato and the Greek Tradition of Misogyny," 26, 91, 100, 107, 131-2.

[17] Voyage, 512.

Society." It was not the right to do anything not forbidden by Nature, Reason, and Society. Reason showed people that "Liberty is neither license, not anarchy, nor disorder, and it must be limited" in cases where society's interests demanded it.[18] Dinaros compared the concept of liberty with examples drawn from two ruling systems: one of Communauté and the other of Propriété (property) under the Aristocracy or Monarchy. The restraints on liberty in the Communauté system were mild, he explained, when compared with the "grave, capricious, unreasonable, vexing, and tyrannical" ones of Propriété on the side of Monarchy.[19] In response to his guests charge that the Communauté had many laws and constricted "liberty," Dinaros claimed that Icarian laws were designed by "Nature and Reason" in the interests of the people and had their "general consent."[20]

For centuries, Dinaros continued, humanity has made progress toward Democracy and Equality. He culled events from the past that were democratic, equal, or community centered, to support humanity's advance towards the Icarian communauté. The zenith of historical progress was the 1782 Icarian Revolution which he deemed the daughter of the American Revolution. The word 'liberty,' however, was absent from his recital. Even when talking about an American constitution based on the rights of man, democracy, and equality, Dinaros omitted the word "liberty."[21] This neglect was consistent with Cabet's abhorrence of unrestrained liberty present in riots, bloodshed, and revolution. Yet, this

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18 Ibid., 405.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid., 404-6.

21 The word Liberty was in the opening lines of the Preamble of the American Constitution (1787): "We the people . . . secure the blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

pacifist characteristic was passed over in the genesis of the Icarian communauté which had succeeded a bloody revolution. In its aftermath, Icarians presumably initiated changes with peaceful, reasoned, decision-making programs that fostered happiness without liberty.

Women in the Voyage Pantheon of Reason

And something else was missing from Cabet's lengthy section on the "Progress of Democracy and Equality." Virtually nothing was said about women. There was one clause denigrating incompetent Queens - "the childishness of Isabella, the caprices of Christine and Dona Maria, since it is so easy to make oneself adored whenever one is a Queen, a young Queen and a pretty Queen." They were part of the negative insinuations in a register of crimes perpetrated by popes and rulers which vilified the massacres of Charles IX, the debaucheries of the Regency, Louis XIV's despotism and bigotry, treasons of the King of Poland, and other instances of intolerance, cruelty, and immorality.[22] The mother of Christ was denied her role, as Jesus, Cabet's chief symbol of equality, was simply "conceived by a poor girl before her marriage with a poor carpenter."[23]

There were three positive references to contemporary women in the text that appear to have been prompted by their affiliations with important men. One was a "famous Lady Esther Stanhope (niece of the famous Pitt, retired on Mount Libon)," who had reportedly asked French diplomat, Viscount de Marcellus, what he would go to see in Europe. Her query led to a quotation about nations who deserved their chains and whose Kings were deceitful. These nations' aristocracy yielded to a vicious bourgeoisie while its

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22 Voyage, 407- 435, 462.

23 Ibid., 462-3.

laboring people still had their virtue and character. Cassandra-like Lady Stanhope functioned as a useful ploy for critiquing continental politics. The Viscount concluded his reply to her with a warning for all Europe to "tremble" if it ever experiences the peoples' force.[24] In addition, the inclusion of remarks by Lady Stanhope to Marcellus in the text, can also be understood in light of Cabet's appropriation of Lamartine's prestige as a supporter of his ideals.[25] Like the Viscount, Lamartine had journeyed to visit Lady Stanhope at Mt. Lebanon as part of his travels in the Orient. Lamartine's, Souvenirs pendant un voyage en l'orient was published in 1834 (noted by Cabet). He also served as a deputy in the Chamber with Cabet before his exile.[26] But Lamartine was only one of Lady

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[24] Ibid., 463.

[25] Ibid., 463. Lamartine's ideas in his Voyage en Orient (1834) were cited prior to Lady Stanhope's, linking the two personalities despite her conversation with the French diplomat, Marcellus. Lamartine viewed "Revolutions" as gigantic movements in Europe, America, and Asia. These "irresistible impulsions" were the effect of a cause that was evident to a Philosopher's eye. It was one common idea, conviction, social law, truth that "involuntarily entered into all spirits," even into the spirit of the masses, working to produce deeds with a "Divine truth, that is to say with an invincible force. That law is Raison Générale. Speech is its organ; the press is its apostle; it spreads over the world with the infallibility and the intensity of a new religion." Reason wants to make religions, civilizations, and societies in its own image with égalité and fraternité.

[26] H. Remsen Whitehouse, The Life of Lamartine (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918), vol I. Lamartine was born in 1790 at Mâcon and as a youth made visits to aunts and uncles at nearby Dijon. His uncle, Abbé de Lamartine, died in 1826 and left his estate near Dijon to him. In a pensive mood during a severe health crisis, Lamartine wrote his reflections on Religion, Meditations, which made him a literary celebrity. In 1832, he left on a 'pilgrimage' to the Orient and met Lady Stanhope. Wearing an oriental male costume, she showed Lamartine the stables where a "milk-white mare was kept in sacred state, awaiting the advent of the Messiah she is to carry to Jerusalem." His 16 month eastern trip ended on a somber note when his only child died. Shortly after taking his Chamber seat on December 23, 1833, Lamartine published his travel account which Cabet cited. Both men admired the Abbé de Lamennais. It is possible to speculate that they knew each other locally. Also, the Saint-Simonian's quest to discover a "female Messiah" may somehow be related to Lady Stanhope's prophecies.

Stanhope's many French visitors. Diplomat Marcellus had traveled to the Levant and discovered this "Venus de Milo" before Lamartine added glory to her name.[27] Despite Lady Stanhope's partiality for Napoleon and his for the Bourbons, Lamartine called her the "circe of the desert" and wrote "panegyrical impressions of the discourse of this extraordinary woman. . . . lofy, mystic, well-sustained, connected, [and] forcible."[28] In the index of the Voyage, Cabet wrote that Lady Stanhope "prophesied that Aristocracy will be erased from the world."[29] When her uncle, Pitt the Younger, a bachelor Prime Minister of Britain died, Lady Stanhope received a pension from the government.[30] She traveled to the Orient and wore Turkish clothing "not only because it was more convenient for riding but so that she could venture, disguised as a man or boy, where women, except in the seraglio,

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[27] Doris Leslie, The Desert Queen (London: Heinemann, 1972), 253-4. The Vicomte de Marcellus was attracted to this "sexless, epicene, a beauty not of this world with her exquisite fair skin and those wonderful blue eyes." Marcellus was as enchanted as Lamartine with her "discourse" and listened to her accounts of the religious beliefs of the Arabs before Islam. She assured him she was not a Mohammedan although she read and delighted in the Koran. Nor was she a Jew but a believer in one almighty God who sent her to fulfill the mission to ride at the side of the Messiah on His second coming. Marcellus saw her as a "visionary with sublime grace" and accepted her gift of two pure-bred Arab mares and the escort of two servants when he left to continue his diplomatic trip to Jerusalem.

[28] Leslie, Desert Queen, 252-3. When Lamartine called upon her, she told him bluntly, that she had never heard of him.

[29] Voyage, 597.

[30] Leslie, Desert Queen, 49, 234. When invited to go back to England with her doctor, Lady Stanhope refused to return to "that miserable island inhabited by fox-hunting drunks and the hell-rakes of Carlton House . . . swarming with the poor wretched down-trodden slaves of the Haves who batten on the starved flesh of the Have Nots . . . my father was regarded as a lunatic because he upheld the French republic . . . I will never return to England . . .they have had no Government since my uncle, the great Prime Minister Pitt, was lost to us."

were not permitted."[31] She had various lovers, but never married and eventually made her residence in a refurbished convent, calling herself "the nun of Lebanon." She took on a quasi-mystical identification as a female "Messiah" and pronounced forecasts upon Europe.[32] Her unseemly exploits were the talk of Paris. One could speculate that her "Messiah" imagery entered into the Saint-Simonians' search. But Lady Stanhope's name and views in the Voyage seem less surprising when understood in conjunction with the use of Lamartine as a current authority. Nonetheless, unlike Cabet, Lamartine supported property. In his view:

> Charity is socialism; egoism is individualism. Charity, like politics, commands man not to abandon a man to himself, but to come to his aid, to form a kind of mutual assurance based on equitable conditions between the possessing Society and the non-possessing Society. It says to the proprietor: You will guard your Property, for, despite the beautiful dream of the Community of Goods, attempted in vain by Christianity and by philanthropy, Property appears up till today the necessary condition of all society."[33]

Cabet explained that Lamartine had rejected Communauté "without circumspection,

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[31] Leslie, Desert Queen, 86, 239-246. After her friend, Colonel Boutin, one of Napoleon's officers, was robbed and murdered by a pillaging tribe in Syria, Lady Stanhope convinced Soliman Pasha of Acre to give her command of an army to avenge the Colonel's murder. Calling herself, the "Ambassadress in Syria" she mounted her white stallion dressed in the elaborate robes of a Turkish chief and stormed the savage Ansaris stronghold. She experienced an unknown exhilaration and the frightened natives prostrated themselves in the dust paying homage to their deliverer. After the Ansaris leader fell, she ordered their village ransacked and recovered Colonel Boutin's stolen property. In all, fifty-two villages were razed and 300 Ansaris men and women killed. Lady Stanhope's fame as "protector of the unfortunate" spread across Syria. The French Foreign Office in Paris sent her a congratulatory letter, for her 'spirited and dignified conduct.'

[32] Leslie, Desert Queen, 251. Visitors also called her the "Queen of the Jews." She was "obsessed with astrological mysticism," and "surrounded by bogus 'magicians' and soothsayers . . . cashing in on her belief in their humbugging persuasions that she was divinely inspired in her mission to lead and to convert the pagan Arab tribes from heathenism to the Lord Jehovah."

[33] Voyage, 525.

without supporting evidence and without conviction calling it a beautiful dream. . . . But he proclaims Equality, Fraternity, Charity and the absolute duty for the rich to employ their abundance to give to the poor their part in the goods of Nature. That is to say he wants that which leads irresistibly to the Communauté."[34] Cabet's use of Lady Stanhope's remarks shrink in comparison with the many lines quoted from Lamartine.

Frances Wright was another exceptional woman who drew Cabet's praise in the Voyage. She was described as the "celebrated Miss Wright, disciple of Owen and one who preached reform like him." This tribute was followed with two paragraphs of quotes from her Journal and Lectures. The selections dealt with Wright's opinion that Americans had a vain declaration of independence where "all men were free and equal" yet, slaves and indians were still oppressed. Cabet was careful not to include any of Wright's strong feminist statements but quoted her views about those who were "slaves of their priests and superstition." Nor did he identify her as a female founder of a Community called "Nashoba" in 1825 with a mission to liberate slaves in the United States which had failed to meet its objectives. Wright was exemplified because she called for "the equal division of property and universal free education."[35] She was a favorite of Lafayette and may have

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[34] Ibid. Cabet had three pages of excerpt's from Lamartine's writings in the Voyage en Orient near the end of the section on "Philosophes." It seems that he hoped to convince him of the merits of his Commuauté system by showing how close their ideas were. Was there also an imitative literary aspect between the two writer's Voyages despite Cabet's Thomas More disclaimer?

[35] Ibid., 519, 580. Cabet did not index Wright's name alone. He included her in a listing for the Etats-Unis d'Amérique. A single line read,"Appréciés (assessed) by Miss Wright." This scant concern with the United States while writing suggests that Cabet was not planning to establish his Commuauté there when he composed the Voyage. Celia Morris Eckhardt, Fanny Wright Rebel in America (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984). Cabet may have met Wright at Lafayette's in the early1820s, or after she returned to Paris from America (1824-29). She went to London in 1834 as did Cabet. Wright was

met Cabet at his salon gatherings. Aside from being "Owen's disciple," Wright was also a wealthy Scotswoman and was proof that rich people supported ideas of equality and community. George Sand was another woman whose name was listed among an unlikely group of male proponents of Communauté.[36] While Sand had only nominal importance in the Voyage, Cabet's insertion demonstrated his early recognition of her propaganda value which he courted more intensely in the 1840s.

There is a puzzling aspect to Cabet's inclusion of these three famous and highly unconventional women. The historic record of their independent, international escapades was scandalous when measured against well-bred standards of womanhood, and essentially unlike the models Cabet prescribed for Icarian women. However, it could be

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acquainted with Owen, visited his US community at New Harmony, and had a romantic affair with his son, Robert Dale Owen. In 1824, she followed Lafayette to America and was a guest with him at Jefferson's home. Later, Jefferson wrote encouraging her to pursue her Nashoba plans. Wright's confidant, Mme Fretageot, taught at New Harmony, another link with Owen. After the death of her sister in 1831, Wright remained in Paris and married Phiquepal d'Arusmont in a ceremony witnessed by Lafayette in 1831, an event she wrote Owen about. Wright left Paris in 1834 to give a series of lectures in a London Freemason's Hall shortly before Lafayette died on May 20, 1834. A.J.G. Perkins and Theresa Wolfson, Frances Wright Free Enquirer. The Study of a Temperament (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1939), 67, 145. During the 1820s, as a favored friend of Lafayette, she was introduced to acquaintances who helped arrange a French translation of her Views on America (Probably her 'Journal' that Cabet quoted from). In America, Jefferson put Wright in contact with Gen.Andrew Jackson who negotiated the purchase of 640 acres of newly acquired Indian land near Memphis, Tennessee in October, 1825 for her Nashoba community. Her experiment endeavored to teach slaves the skills that would enable them to live in freedom outside the slave compound. After numerous setbacks, sickness, and discouragement, it ended rather unsuccessfully in 1829. Wright did free the slaves she had purchased and saw to their resettlement in Haiti where she visited them later. She then turned to lecturing and writing both as an abolitionist and feminist. Whether Cabet knew about or had met Wright in Paris or London, she knew many of his associates.

[36] Voyage, 526.

argued that they represented an expanded vista of radical possibilities for change in women's lives. Cabet did set forth new opportunities for women regardless of his paternalistic shadows.

The Voyage had a protracted array of masculine sources who, like these three women, received scant mention. The strongest influences on Cabet's ideas besides Christ, were Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, More, Campanella, Morelly, Rousseau, Condorcet, Robespierre, Babeuf, Buonorrati, and Owen. An understanding of their views on women helps to explain elements of Icaria's restructured gender order with its deformed equality. Condorcet was the only one on the list who believed women should have equal rights like men which would have involved them in politics. The theorists in Cabet's pantheon shared the view that man's perfection would be found in political power with other men, not with women. Wendy Brown in her study of Aristotle, Machiavelli, and Weber, traced the difficult, "subtle and often elusive" relationship between "manhood and politics" which included Plato's reasoned overthrow of his more "mystical," religious predecessors, an activity taken up again by Cabet. Aristotle was the one who most succinctly established politics as a male sphere.[37] While granting some educational abilities to women, none of these men offered them a public political determination over their life despite certain passages on differential equality. They believed that woman's potential was limited by her nature. The theorists' doctrines of universal equality, liberty, suffrage and opportunity

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[37] Wendy Brown, Manhood and Politics: A Feminist Reading in Political Theory (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1988), 5. Brown traced the myths of power associated with manhood that informed politics. Cabet carried this notion to its apex - placing men in power with total control over women and children's activity geared toward the service of a citizen-state.

excluded not only the 'masses' but women. Politics as an explicit self-conscious masculine endeavor was inscribed in analogous hypotheses that Cabet used to support Icaria's Communauté of reason, equality, and citizens.

Following these chapters on Dinaros replies to his visitors' objections and the historical Tableau, Cabet devoted fifty-seven pages to the "Opinions of Philosophers on Egalité and Communauté." His bombastic testimonials would easily overwhelm the average reader, male or female. But women readers were vastly disadvantaged since they lacked access to classical and philosophical studies. Even if they were able to identify a philosopher like Plato or Aristotle, there was little likelihood that they had acquired the training to effectively critique their views on women.[38]

Typically, women knew something about men closer to their time like Rousseau or Condorcet. In particular, Cabet made numerous references to Condorcet drawing support from his political ideas rather than his proclamations on women. Few Frenchmen, however, shared Condorcet's feminist sentiments. In her pertinent analysis of Condorcet, Lynn Hunt discussed the tensions surrounding his notions of freedom and equality for women and the revolutionary problem of granting women an equal citizen role.

> Women were by definition citizens since they were not slaves, but they could not vote or hold office. . . . the question of the status of women was still an open one. In 1790, Condorcet could argue that excluding women would fatally undermine the principle of equality of rights. "Either no individual of the human race has true rights, or all of them have the same ones; and he who votes against the right of another, whatever his religion, his color, or his sex, has from that moment abjured his own rights."[39]

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[38] Doyne Dawson, Cities Of The Gods: Communist Utopias in Greek Thought (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 87-85. Dawson presents a thorough study on the origins of Communist ideas. Plato's "Community of Goods and Women" was in a chapter on "The Platonic Utopia: A City Without the Household."

[39] Hunt, Family Romance, 43, xiii. Hunt's explorations of the revolutionaries "family

Nonetheless, Condorcet's views were set aside and he died in prison. Hunt's conclusions on the revolution's familial re-ordering, male/female representations, and the higher status accorded men's reason, parallel Cabet's Icarian world where equality and rights had gender codifications.

Another pertinent allegorical study of women's role during the French Revolution by Hunt, was based on a popular novel by Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Paul et Virginie, which appeared on the eve of the Revolution. The story was set on a fictional island paradise where two unrelated women were charged with caring for their son and daughter without fathers. They were raised as virtually brother and sister and held sentiments more tender than the blood bonds of a family.[40] Ideas in this melodrama fit well into Icaria where child-rearing tasks were allocated to women. Absentee men devoted the bulk of their energy to public labor and legislation. Cabet's detractors charged him with using models from "Virginie and Paul." Icarian fathers, however, were still good fathers and available, unlike those of Paul et Virginie.

Marie-Claire Vallois also examined Paul et Virginie along with Chateaubriand's novel, Atala.[41] Vallois related the textual events that led to a male citizen model for the

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romance" defined as Freud's neurotic's "fantasy of getting free from the parents of whom he now has a low opinion and of replacing them by others, who, as a rule, are of higher social standing." "Familial order" was a large concern of Cabet in Icaria where he proposed equality, reduced blood ties, legislated passage to professional adulthood, (by citizen-law), yet, retained patriarchal family privileges. The father (King) was replaced by collective citizens but continued to be nurtured, served, respected, and entertained domestically.

[40] Ibid., 29-33.

[41] Marie-Claire Vallois, "Exotic Femininity and the Rights of Man: Paul et Virginie and Atala or the Revolution in Stasis" in Melzer and Rabine, Rebel Daughters, 178-197.

Republic and identified these works as part of the repression of public virtue when real women were pushed off the stage and the allegorical fiction of woman as Mother Nature emerged. Feminine "virtue" was fixed as modesty, chastity, and fidelity. Like the "Roman" matron, she was a nurturing, nursing mother. Icarian society exemplified Cabet's absorption of these revolutionary female figures and community (over blood) bonds for children.

In the 1793 revolutionary debates, questions about women's visible public presence and their status had disastrous results. They were legally excluded from politics and all women's clubs were closed. Yet, the Voyage description of the revolution in Icaria, despite its similarities to the French revolution, had no debates about women's rights nor activity by club women. Deliberate strokes of Cabet's pen erased rebellious women and attached docile Icarian females to paternal authority.

Like Icar, Cabet had scanned historical treatises for proof beyond Christ that men in the past held similar beliefs regarding his Communauté system.[42] Any prominent writer who criticized private property or advocated equality was cited to support his proposals. Many of these sources were monks or religious men like Chancellor Thomas More, Abbé Campanella, Bishop Fenelon, Cardinal Fleury, Bishop Bossuet, Abbé Mably, Abbé Morelly, and Abbé Sieyes. Their clerical positions favored them with access to university education, writing, and publishing amenities. All agreed with Cabet that Christ was the greatest reformer.

Cabet's distillation of sources other than churchmen included Confucius,

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[42] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 46.

Zoroaster, Lycurgus, Agis, Solon, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, the Gracchi, Appolonius, Plotinius, Plutarch, Locke, Hobbes, Hume, Grotius, Condorcet, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Mirabeau, Smith, Turgot, Helvetius, Diderot, Paine, Franklin, Robespierre, Napoleon, Babeuf, Buonarroti, Owen, Fourier, Saint-Simon, Saint-Simonians, Buchez, Lamartine, and Sismondi.[43] This credible resumé in communauté strengthened reader's trust that Icaria's imaginary world had been desired by famous men for centuries and simply opposed by powerful, unjust rulers. Following his tabulation of authorities, Cabet claimed that if it were possible for these famous men to return from the dead and hold a Congress under the chairmanship of Jesus Christ, they would all proclaim equality and communauté for the human family. This was an ingenious conjecture and many of Cabet's correspondents in the 1840s referred to the names he placed in this register.

Cabet had studied Plato's Republic. He excerpted and revised certain portions of it to suit his schema as others had done for centuries. The Republic had a governing or guardian class of citizens who did not own houses or property, and whose upkeep was provided by the ordinary people who had private families and land.[44] The guardians had "all things in common" including wives and children who did not know their parentage.[45]

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[43] Voyage, 532. Cabet reviewed this list at the end of the chapter titled, "Future of Humanity." (I inserted a few names from other pages.)

[44] Diana H. Coole, Women in Political Theory: From Ancient Misogyny to Contemporary Feminism (Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books, 1988), 32-3. Women received the equivalent education of the men. They must have the same "training for mind and body and also be taught the art of war."

[45] Plato, B. Jowett translator with Louise Ropes Loomis introduction, Plato: Apology - Crito- Phaedo - Symposium - Republic (Roslyn: Walter J. Black, Inc, 1970), 332, 352-3.

They set up community houses where children were born, nurtured, and educated in common. The guardians enacted laws about the children's education so that they would not be affected by the "habits of their parents." Everyone they met would be "regarded by them either as a brother or sister, or father or mother, or son or daughter, or as the child of those who are thus connected with him."[46] The idealized relationships in the Republic could easily be construed as a variant of Icaria's fraternal bonds.

Cabet and his learned partisans knew about Plato's 'community of wives' and 'community of children, certainly sensitive topics in England and France.[47] The unusual social arrangements in the Republic were a critical facet in Cabet's construction of communauté.[48] He highlighted Plato's ideas at the opening of the philosophical section of the Voyage and offered readers an interpretation of their usefulness in the past.[49] Plato's Republic, he reported, had community in "everything: community of living together, eating, children, education, internal functions, [and] the perils of war." Cabet hesitated here and then inserted a distinguishing adverb, "almost" of women.[50] This critical point

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[46] Ibid., 343, 347, 428, 350.

[47] Coole, Women in Political Theory, 31-33. Women were in the guardian class, but Plato's scattered comments suggest "he generally found them weak, emotional, complaining and lacking in virtue."

[48] Ibid., 96. Plato perceived that lower classes were driven by bodily imperatives while personnel in the upper echelon used reason to control their corporeal desires.

[49] Plato, Republic, 332, 352-3. In Republic (Book V), a rationale for instituting a community of wives and a community of children in the governing or guardian class in Plato's state was, "friends have all things in common" and would have no need to argue about "mine and thine."

[50] Voyage, 473.

needed greater explanation. He went on to theorize about how it was that Plato "almost" wanted the 'community of women.' Although they established marriage as holy, and conjugal faithfulness as a sacred duty, the Guardian class wanted all marriages to be formed and renewed each year 'by lot.' Each female could have 15 or 20 successive, different husbands, and each man could have 15 or 20 spouses.[51] What was "improperly called a 'community of women;'" Cabet noted, "were marriages of short duration, accompanied by the most austere principles of chastity, purity, religion, and patriotism."[52] His moral disclaimer for Plato sought to dispel any lewd fantasies that the 'community of women' in the Republic meant that all women were equally accessible to all men at any time. Unwilling to allow voyeuristic imaginations to stray, Cabet continued:

> Although this idea appears strange today with our education, manners, habits and our prejudices, it was not shocking in a time when Humanity had different ideas about females, prudery, chastity, and decency; in a time when all the men and all the young girls appeared entirely nude in their gyms, games, and feasts. . . . Also, it was for their country and their epoch, and not for Europe today, that Socrates and Plato imagined their system of community; and if they lived today, they would certainly not propose the Community of children, nor marriages of short duration, no more than they would propose their slavery.[53]

While Cabet attempted to select useful references from the Republic and analyze their historical cogency, his chosen portrait of nude men and women frolicking together, although correct, was extreme. What he seemed to be struggling with was clarifying his ideas about how to change the family system of class-based marriages where couples had

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[51] Ibid., 474.

[52] Ibid. Plato, Republic, 345-7. The Republic held matrimony sacred and guardian pairs were selected "by lot" for marriage. Great care was taken in choosing only the best of either sex who were to be united during their prime of life.

[53] Voyage, 474.

little power over their selected partners, to a more egalitarian community model.

In addition, Cabet's statement that Plato might not have a "community of children" today was partly contradicted by what occurred in the novel during Icaria's 'transitory regime' when children were housed in common. Over one hundred Voyage pages separated Plato's 'community of children' exegesis from the details about Icaria's transitory common-educational housing for young children. Shortly after the Revolution, the Icarian Committee on Public Education decreed an educational system for their 'transitory' period which differed from the 'definite' system. Older boys and girls from 10 to 15 years of age were obliged to learn a profession of their choice and were instructed on the new Communauté organization. "All children of both sexes under the age of 10 were raised without cost in common until the age of 18 and completely habituated to the life of Communauté."[54] Besides educating children to conform to a communal lifestyle, adults from 15 to 30 years of age were supplied with lectures, writings, and other learning practices that were useful for workers and citizens living in the new society.

These short paragraphs in the second part of the Voyage could have been overlooked by women or anyone else. Apparently, the 'definite' system resembled the idyllic descriptions in the early section of the book which pictured happy children who

> . . . at five years began their common education, until seventeen and eighteen years, combined with their domestic education; since the children don't go to school until nine o'clock, after having lunch and returning at six o'clock, where they have their lessons and two meals at school.
>
> Like the rest of the family, the children wake up at five o'clock.
>
> Until eight-thirty, they are occupied under the direction of the eldest with their housework, toilette, and studies.
>
> In the evening, they return to their family and spend their time walking, at games, or in conversation and studies: but all this is combined so as to be

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[54] Ibid., 368.

instructional. [55]

This activity represented the combined domestic and communal education of children. Fathers were totally absent from children's lives from 6AM until 6PM each day and during the evenings when they were at weekly Assemblies.[56] Mothers had breakfast with their children but fathers never ate meals with their offspring in the 'definite' setting.[57] Neither would be with them in the 'transitional' period when they were communally housed away from parents. The scenario with happy children securely resting at home in the evening was deftly positioned in the initial chapters which portrayed them after fifty years. But Icaria's first generation of children under ten had been raised communally. Cabet did not present any information on how or when the legislators decided to shift the children from the "common" housing form to the combined system.

However, the discussion of Plato's 'community of children' was a less controversial topic at the time than that of his 'community of women.' A number of men in Cabet's generation were debating associated topics like arranged marriages, dowries, child-rearing, and divorce. Both the Saint-Simonians and Owenites promoted variations of Plato's communal arrangements. Logically, a fully matured communist society devoid of individual property would have no need for a patriarchal family unit. Communities of women and children as advocated in the Republic could be seen as a replacement for family. Combined with a community of goods, the protective purposes of family in the

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[55] Ibid., 79.

[56] Some fathers, of course, were teachers in the boys schools.

[57] Fathers were shown eating cakes, etc., with the guests. The 'light lunch' fixed by the mothers in the evenings may/or may not have been for the children too. Children had already eaten two meals at school plus breakfast.

past would no longer be necessary.

Cabet, however, disagreed with the marital and family premise of this logic and claimed that Icaria's communauté system would preserve marriage and the patriarchal family under State support. Therefore, he needed to differentiate Icaria from the shocking proposals of the Owenite, Saint-Simonian, and Fourierist ideologues. To avoid any 'free love' debacles, Icarians were cast as pure and moral married citizens who although able to divorce, rarely did.[58]It could still be argued that a casual exchange of spouses with easy divorce might produce multiple partner choices similar to the 'lot' exchanges of Plato's 'community of women.' In light of the highly charged atmosphere surrounding these ideas, Cabet could not ignore taking on a cautious discussion of Plato's ideas. Indeed, his candid consideration of the Republic with its de facto 'community of women' acknowledged his awareness of the disputes regarding its ultimate rise in an egalitarian milieu.

Cabet's attention to the topic also verified his unabridged review of the Republic and the corresponding talk and caprices of the Saint-Simonians. The Paris crowds who listened to their speeches, expected "to mock or to be scandalized or titillated by the notion of the 'community of women' [and] confirmed governmental suspicions of the movement."[59] This volatile mood dissipated after their trials and Cabet did not want to re-introduce such concerns and risk prosecution. Many of his associates undoubtedly recognized Icaria as a reaction to, as well as, a development from Saint Simonianism, as indeed it was in many ways.

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[58] Moses, Feminism, Socialism, and French Romanticism, 39-84, 43. Moses examined these scandals and their Saint-Simonian background in exemplary detail.

[59] Carlisle, The Proffered Crown, 171.

Nonetheless, creating equal marital relationships was a stumbling block for both groups. In the novel, Cabet described Icarians as people who had considered choosing marriage partners by 'lot' comparable to that of the guardian-rulers in the Republic. This was a radical approach and one wonders why Cabet used this unusual example. But 'lot' was a logical consequence of the non-emotional decision made by Valmor, whose reason caused him to settle for marriage to an available neighbor girl. All youth were equally well-brought up in Icaria and therefore, anyone would be the equivalent of any other. 'Lot' presumed any suitable mate existed irrespective of affectionate ties. However, according to Cabet, the Icarians decided not to use 'lot' but to allow youths to choose partners from their neighborhood acquaintances even though 'true' Icarian men used 'Reason' to transcend passion.[60] Valmor said as much for, "Icarians are nearly all philosophers who, from their childhood, know how to conquer their passions."[61] Cabet only mentioned 'lot' twice, but his speculative inclusion of this choice leaves open the possibility that such alternatives were not only being widely discussed, but could occur in a future ruled by Reason.

However, Cabet did follow Plato's property-less, citizen-governed pattern of the Republic without the guardian's distinct stratifications. In much the same way, those without the esteemed rubric of citizens, e.g., women, children, and hired foreign workers in Icaria, would be the ones who fulfilled the lawmakers' ordinary upkeep functions.

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[60] Voyage, 139. The exact phrase was "c'est que tous les garçons et toutes les filles étant également de bons époux quand même on formerait les couples par la voie du sort." According to François Denoeu, 2001 French and English Idioms (New York: Barron's, 1982), la voie means "track, way." and sort means "fate, lot," e.g., by way of lot.

[61] Voyage, 96.

Cabet's decision to keep the patriarchal family power intact facilitated this model. Leslie Roberts, in her discussion of the Icarian family, noted that a researcher, Paul Carré, had theorized

> . . . that Cabet did not abolish the family because this question was not of first priority. He cites Cabet's answer to an article in the magazine L'Humanitaire which attacked the illogicality of his position: "The question of the family is a secondary one, not an essential one. . . . The Community can exist in both cases (with or without families)." Carré concludes that Cabet must have supported abolition of the family but did not want to shock the public by this radical stance.[62]

Carré's opinion was correct, at least if based on Cabet's faith in men's reason and the later debates and quarrels in the American colony about child-care after Cabet set up full-time communal schools. In Le Populaire (1841), Cabet passed this issue on to future generations who might change the family system.[63] When the visible features of Cabet's life are examined, the evidence shows that he spent intensive periods reading philosophical, legal, and political texts, writing, publishing, and traveling. He exhibited no interest in married family life and shared the republican men's peripatetic bachelor existence for fifty years. Even after writing and arranging for the publication of the Voyage in 1838, he was not married. Two weeks before leaving England at the end of his five-year exile in 1839, he married Denise apparently to lend credibility to his Icarian world where all citizens married. (And, perhaps, to act out the final scene where Dinaîse revived and married Carisdall.)

Cabet's ambivalent view that Communauté could exist "with or without" the family

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[62] Roberts, "Etienne Cabet and his Voyage," 90. Roberts does not fully agree with Carré and directs attention to Cabet's increasing puritanism and praise of marriage in other writings.

[63] Le Populaire, September 5, 1841. "Future generations can do what they want!" This argument will be dissussed more fully in its context shortly. Its seeds were present in the Voyage.

does suggest that family might be abolished. Its selfish emotional attachments would disappear in Icaria without property which made members égoîste. Excerpts in the Voyage that bring attention to communities of women and children and scenes depicting Icarians considering marriage partners 'by lot,' support this thesis (Carre's and mine). Cabet's excessive insistence on overcoming passion and 'recovering manhood' coupled with his overwhelming faith in man's 'Reason' point to a futuristic existence where men progress to a perfected fraternal happiness free from individual material concerns regarding wives and offspring.

Despite this non-utopian prognosis, a far greater number of pages were devoted to scenes of happy family gatherings in the Voyage than the few lines spent on their transitional 'common' children's housing. In particular, Cabet's model of "Republican motherhood" had to take place in stable family conditions. If children were completely separated from their mothers' care, then mothers would be unable to instill Icarian education and laws to their offspring. It would have to be done by others in nursery settings and communal schools (as must have happened for those under age ten during the thirty transitional years). It is noteworthy that when the citizens regulated family and children in the Voyage, there were no protesting voices by women. Cabet imagined women would unquestionly approve of his system, and many did. One cannot lose sight of its many appealing features for them. Dissident women, however, were far more vocal in the American community than in the pages of the Voyage.

Sex-Roles and Male Domination

Cabet was slightly older than the men of the French Generation of 1820, recently

analyzed by Alan B. Spitzer. Nonetheless, his social networks overlapped with those of Spitzer's energetic men who held memberships in clubs, masonic lodges, political conspiracies, and were journal editors. The men were educated in the newly established lycées and grandes écoles of the national university system and displayed their merit by passing formal examinations. Reason, the rational nature of things, and philosophy in history, were themes of these scholars era which Cabet brought to his writings. The educated men in the 1820s shared an "essential problem." It was not how to restore some old regime but how to transform the legacy of the Empire. "The transition from a political and social system permanently organized for war, to the real and imagined possibilities of peacetime" lent a sense of infinite opportunity for them to determine the destiny of France.[64]

Cabet was part of the spirit of his age but he lost his place as Deputé and retreated into exile. Icaria was his solution to the disorders which confronted men of reason who wanted to organize society in a fraternal manner. Law was the base of Icarian society and its law-givers were men. Anthropologist Peggy Sanday studied sex-role patterns in male dominated societies.[65] She found that "sex-role plans determine the sexual division of labor. Whether or not men and women mingle or are largely separated in everyday affairs plays a crucial role in the rise of male dominance. Men and women must be physically, as

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[64] Spitzer, French Generation of 1820, 269. Cabet was born in 1788. Spitzer studied men born around 1792 and didn't mention Cabet. He studied Victor Hugo, Victor Cousin, Adophe Thiers, Jules Michelet, Auguste Comte, Pierre Leroux, Eugène Delacroix,and Honoré de Balzac. Cabet joined clubs in which these men held mutual friendships and certainly saw himself as a part of their intellectual coterie.

[65] Sanday, Female power and male dominance, 7,4. Sanday credited premises that were hypothesized by Sherry B. Ortner.

well as conceptually separated, in order for men to dominate women." The bases for sexual separation or integration at home and at work were "formed from a people's adaptation to their environment in pursuing the necessities of life." They are part of the "same cultural configuration that gives rise to masculine or feminine creator gods and an *inner* or *outer* orientation."[66] According to Sanday, women's powers are often merged with an *inner* orientation, that comes from giving birth and raising children. Men's *outer* oriented powers are sometimes derived from hunting, killing, and making weapons.[67] In exploring these two powers, two important variables for consideration in the rise of secular male dominance are: 1) the physical coercion of women and 2) the exclusion of women from political and economic activities.

In Icaria, the male citizens' regulation of women's daily schedules as well as their requirement that women have an escort in public, rate as forms of "physical coercion." Women were also absent from law-making and economic determinations. According to Sanday, cultural disruption in the form of severe social stress and fighting was another causal relationship for determining male-dominated societies. This marker fits the ongoing French political upheavals and revolutionary stress. "Instead of fighting the external oppressor, men band together and turn aggression against women."[68]A cursory review of the effect that revolutions had on Cabet and his compatriots reveals that the male body politic successively enacted restrictive laws against women during these periods.

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66 Ibid., 7.

67 Ibid., 5.

68 Ibid., 8-12.

Furthermore, "Male dominance results if adversity is blamed on matters having to do with women."[69] The Judeo-Christian tradition blamed Eve for Adam's 'sin' and countless women inherited Eve-identities comparable to the fictional Clorimade. While changing sex roles in a society involves "more than changing a few laws, the latter is clearly part of the process of change." Icaria's legislators enacted laws that increased male dominance. A summary of changes in separate sex-role divisions identifiable in Icaria, include women doctors caring for women, women's hospitals for women, priestess counselors for women, domestic work done by women and daughters, workshops for women, and all girl schools. On the men's side, there were similar all male workplaces, boy's schools, political citizens, and all male public statues. Icarian citizens confined women to community mores and the domestic realm more securely than before. While men were being urged to value their 'reason,' women were praised for steadfast 'hearts.' The changes in Icarian women's lives did not reflect the emancipatory terminology of equality, and communauté did not enhance their prestige as it did men's. Some women, as noted, were doctors and priestesses, roles that while segregated, were unlikely to be realized elsewhere. Male dominance was irrefutably the pattern of Icarian society.

Male dominance was not a new or unusual political style, especially in patriarchal Christian societies, but its degree was markedly, though therapeutically, increased in Icaria. After considering the background of philosophical ideas about women which impressed Cabet the most,[70] it appears that he was equally influenced by the recent

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69 Ibid. Cabet 'blamed' Cloramide (Marie-Antoinette) and other queens in history.

70 Besides Plato, Christ, More, Morelly, Rousseau, Condorcet, Robespierre, and Babeuf, Robert Owen's impact was apparent and will be analyzed in a later section. Owen's influence was strongly connected with Cabet's later search for a location in

republican arguments of men who rejected the revolutionary women's claim to equal rights, and the subsequent reappraisal of women's roles briefly provoked by the Saint-Simonian feminists. These men shared similar ideas about women (with slight modifications for Condorcet). When Cabet redrew the perimeters of politics to include all men, he kept his philosophical legacy about women intact, 'merely' recasting it to magnify the desirable attributes associated with 'divinity' to lure women to Icaria.

America and less with the Voyage philosophies, although they shared communist threads. I do not dispute the fact that Cabet knew and very likely met with Owen at some point during his exile. There were overlapping elements in their systems.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUPPRIMEZ CE QUI CONCERNE LA FEMME!

In the late Spring of 1839, despite her newly acquired status as the wife of Etienne Cabet, Denise must have left London with mixed emotions. Her rank as a married women elevated her to a norm of social respectability but her place beside Cabet marked her among France's political dissidents. Perhaps, life would improve now that Cabet's exile was over. Her family's departure was delayed for eleven weeks beyond the termination date of March 28 while Cabet met with exiled patriot, Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte. They discussed political matters but his Icarian proposals did not fit into Louis-Napoleon's political concepts.[1] When the Cabets finally sailed to France on April 21, they were no longer bound by French court restraints, but each had considerable trepidations regarding their native homecoming. Would marriage change Denise's former social relationships? What were Céline's adolescent thoughts about her future? And Cabet, it seems, was expecting another revolution. He confessed in an 1841 memorandum that at this time he sensed "divisions everywhere" and thus, he made "secret efforts to reestablish the

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[1] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 62. Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 189. The visits took place from April 4 - 20, 1839. They were too far apart ideologically. J.M. Thompson, Louis Napoleon and the Second Empire (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.,1967) original 1955, 30-63. In 1832, Louis-Napoleon wrote on regenerating France: "My own belief is that it can only be done by combining those two popular causes, Napoleon II and the Republic." He lacked the complete support of General Vaudrey's garrison at Strasbourg in 1836 when his uprising failed. After ten days in prison, he was hurried to Paris. Four days later, unpunished and untried, he was shipped out of the country to the US. He visited England in 1838 and in early 1839 made the rounds of factories and workshops in Birmingham and Manchester. It is at this juncture that he and Cabet held eleven meetings. Cabet, Toute le vérité, May 3, 1856, 21. Cabet recalled, "Louis Napoleon made many visits to me in London to engage me to his interests."

directorship most worthy of confidence and most capable of rallying everyone."[2] In case the Orleanist government fell, they needed to have a plan of action. The Cabet family had to be cautious as they resettled in Paris for a number of reasons, but heading the list was money. There appears to have been no discernable improvement in Cabet's finances, although a modest income could be anticipated from book sales. During his five year absence, the government had restricted the press activities of identifiable subversive editors like Cabet.[3] It would be hard for him to resume his newspaper for the 1835 Press laws doubled the required amount of cautionnement money.[4] Nonetheless, he took up the challenge for a newspaper was the surest way to propagate his ideas about communauté.

Only a few people knew Cabet had written the Voyage en Icarie in the summer of 1839.[5] Though allegedly a fiction, it contained polemics critical of the French government.

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[2] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 190. This is in Ma ligne droite (Paris: Prévot, 1841), 44.

[3] Wright, France in Modern Times, 152-4. Louis-Philippe survived ten assassination attempts.

[4] Paul H. Beik, Louis Philippe and the July Monarchy (Princeton: D.Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1965), 54, 137, 35, 146-7. The Le Chapelier and Napoleonic laws forbidding associations of more than 20 persons without government permission were still in effect when 21 new Press Laws were issued on September 9, 1835 after an attack on Louis-Philippe. Of consequence for Cabet's propaganda were numbers: 5) Any attack against the principle or form of the government established by the Charter of 1830 . . . when it has as its object to incite to the destruction or to the changing of the government; 7) persons . . . who adhered publicly to any other form of government . . . [or] in taking the title of republican or any other incompatible with the Charter of 1830 . . . in expressing the wish, the hope or the threat of the destruction of the constitutional monarchical order; 13) The bond [cautionnement] that the owners of every journal or periodical are required to furnish shall be deposited, in cash, in the Treasury, which will pay the interest at the rate set for bonds; 15) Each managing director responsible for a magazine or periodical must own, in his own private name, a third of the bond."

[5] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 190, 196. Among those who knew were Voyer d'Argenson, Lamennais, and Nicod.

A Parisian editor, L.A. Pagnerre, agreed to publish the two volumes of Cabet's Histoire populaire, but he refused to risk official penalties by printing the Voyage.[6] To avoid arousing the enmity of the censors, Cabet adopted a pseudo-authorship. He released a private printing in 1839 and a first edition the next year under the title, Voyage et adventures de lord William Carisdall en Icarie, traduit de l'anglais de Francis Adams par Théodore Dufruit. Francis Adams was Cabet's own creation but Dufruit was an authentic professional translator.[7] This deception enabled the text to circulate for six months without censorship. When the legal probationary time expired, it was re-published as Voyage en Icarie by Étienne Cabet.

Cabet and his family were hardly back in Paris for a month when Auguste Blanqui led the secret Society of the Seasons' abortive insurrection. He may have been informed about this by old friends or by Théodore Dézamy, a member of Blanqui's Society of the Seasons. Dézamy either took part in or helped plan the "coup de force" and he was listed as Cabet's secretary in 1840.[8] Blanqui and Armand Barbès founded the Seasons in 1837

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[6] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 62. Nicod responded negatively. He said that equality should never take place over liberty and "individual initiative would die." Nicod broke off all relations with Cabet. Sutton, Les Icariens, 31. Publisher Pagnerre refused to be associated with any book advocating the abolition of property. D'Argenson, Buonarrotti's friend, however, praised Cabet's "utopian dream." Primary documents are stored at the IISG. Whitehouse, Life of Lamartine vol I, 391. Like Cabet, Lamartine shared Lammenais' attitudes toward Catholic dogma. On August 15, 1832, Pope Gregory XVI condemmed the doctrines Lammenais presented in l'Avenir. See Voyage, 525. Cabet quoted Lammenais' views on the fraternal unity of men who share the same father as one family, asking, "Is it not the Communauté?"

[7] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 62n3.

[8] Dict. biog., II, 85. The uprising was on May 12, 1839. Le Populaire, May 8, 1842. In refuting Dézamy, Cabet wrote, "Although we knew nothing of M. Dezamy before 1840 . . . "

after their release from prison under the general amnesty of May 8, 1837 (to celebrate duc d'Orlean's marriage).[9] They recruited members from working-class tailors, carpenters, hat-makers, barbers, and others who were suffering from depressed wage conditions.[10] After Blanqui's unsuccessful insurrection, a new group of French political exiles in London formed the club, Société démocratique française de Londres.[11] Besides Dézamy, two other participants in the Seasons plot with links to Cabet in the early 1840s were Gabriel and Julien Marchand, brothers of Armel Alexis Marchand who became a dedicated Icarian leader in America.[12] Dézamy may have known the Marchand brothers, whose writings

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[9] Edgar Leon Newman, Historical Dictionary of France from the 1815 Restoration to the Second Empire M-Z (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 1006-8. Whether or not Dézamy trusted Cabet with Saisons' secret information cannot be shown. Blanqui created the designations of Année (year) for the head with 4 saisons (seasons) led by a printemps (springtime). Each saison had 3 mois (months) led by a juillet, and each mois had 4 semaines (weeks) commanded by a dimanche (sunday) with each semaine having 6 members, adding up to 357 members. Knowledge was limited to the upper levels and the Saisons structure succeeded in preventing the infiltration of police spies. The May 12, 1839 revolution plans involved small groups who met at 2:00 PM to get their arms. Under Barbès, one section marched on the Palais de justice. Blanqui led his company to take over the Hôtel de ville. Barbès group failed, troops were called, barricades erected, and 70 Saison fighters were killed along with 30 soldiers. Rebels were arrested and 15 found guilty. Barbès and Blanqui received death sentences, later communted to life in prison.

[10] Sarane Alexandrian, Le socialisme romantique (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1979), 350-6. Bourgeois and military men didn't join the Blanqui conspirators in 1839.

[11] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 367-9. The leaders of the older group were Camille Berrier-Fontaine and François Chilman, correspondents of Cabet's. By 1843, Berrier-Fontaine was the leader of the London Société démocratique which met frequently with the German exiles from the League of the Just who participated in Blanqui's uprising.

[12] Dale W. Ross, "One Man's Voyage to Icaria" in Lillian M. Snyder & Robert P. Sutton, eds., Immigration of the Icarians to Illinois (Illinois: Yeast Printing, 1987), 43-50. Armel Alexis Marchand was a member of the Icarian 'Advance Guard' that left France on February 3, 1848. He was born in 1813 to the blacksmith family of Claude Armel Marchand and Helene (Le Gal) in Ploermel, Brittany. His parents had five sons and one daughter and although both died before Armel was sixteen, he finished his secondary education at the College Royal-communal de Vannes where he was awarded "le Prix

were printed by Cabet in Le Populaire, and any of the three could have shared information about revolutionary plans with friends of Cabet or Cabet himself.[13]

Thus, three months after Blanqui's aborted uprising, Cabet's alarm over conspiracies that he knew were still circulating in secret societies prompted him to send his old friend and current deputy, Dupont de l'Eure, a "Note à X." The communiqué described Cabet's plan to form a dictatorial government in case of a revolution. At that moment, he cautioned, France would need "direction suprème, absolu, dictatoriale" for the safety of the "popular party." He added that, "it is known that the Bonapartists are ready to move, and the legitimists are actively plotting the overthrow of Louis-Philippe."[14]

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d'Excellence" in mathematics for the 1834-35 semester. Two of his brothers (and their friend, Citizen Dorgal) took part in Blanqui's uprising and were arrested. Armel may have participated in the coup, but there is no record of his arrest. In the 1840s Armel worked in Paris as a legal clerk for barrister employers and in 1848 volunteered to help launch the Icarian system in America. His two brothers, Gabriel and Julien took part in the June Days of 1848. Along with their Blanqui friend, Citizen Dorgal, the three workers were exiled to Lambessa, Africa where they remained until the 1855 amnesty. Armel Alexis Marchand was in the final Icarian group that dissolved in 1898. (He was Dale Ross's great-great grandfather.)

[13] Le Populaire, May 8, 1842, August 7 1842. Cabet printed a poem by M. Marchand de la Viéville, titled "Les Échelons" in Le Populaire May 1842, noting that it "eloquently" demonstrated the spirit of equality and fraternity. In August 1842, Julien Marchand's name was listed with 140 signatures on an "Address to Cabet" from the Le Populaire actionnaires. They agreed to adopt entirely the general doctrine of Voyage en Icarie along with "adopting the marriage and family [ideals] and separate ourselves from all ideas of violence, secret societies, riots and attacks, always so harmful to the people." See Johnson, "Cabet and the Problem of Class Antagonism," 410n2. Cabet's contacts resulted in support from the London Society of the Seasons by exiled French and German members in the 1840s, as evidenced by letter exchanges.

[14] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 191. On August 22 1839, Cabet wrote, "Note à X." He claimed "that a 'recent event' has demonstrated that the fall of the Orleanist government appears to be coming sooner than generally thought . . . a 'secret dictatorship' must be created."

Cabet's insider-Bonapartist information had undoubtedly been acquired in his Spring 1839 talks in London with Louis-Napoleon. Other conspiratorial friends of Dézamy or the Marchand brothers who were members of the Seasons were very likely his confidential sources for the sentiment that there were "divisions everywhere."[15]

While Cabet anticipated imminent revolutionary action, he still needed money. In October 1839, a month after penning his cabalistic fears to Dupont, he applied for official approval to teach a public course on "universal history." His request was turned down.[16] The government had no wish to grant him a professorial position based on his previous record of political agitations, arrest, and conviction. Nearly a year passed before the Bonapartists moved to overthrow Louis-Philippe on August 5, 1840.[17] They failed as they had in 1836 and once again Louis Napoleon was captured. After a quick trial on September 28, 1840, he was sentenced to life in prison at the Ham Fortress.[18] Dézamy, the

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[15] Ibid., 531. The threads that connect Icarians (or potential Icarians) with Blanqui are difficult to establish because of the secrecy of the Saisons. In 1847, Icarians were linked with Blanqui in Tours where they were arrested and charged with conspiracy after a protest centered around the price of bread. Houdin, the government witness, charged that Blanqui had organized these Icarians into a secret society. During this period, Blanqui was in the local hospital recovering from his prison-related health problems. This negative publicity disturbed Cabet who "wrote a brochure disclaiming his renegade followers" titled, Les Communistes de Tours; persècutions de police à Blois (1847).

[16] Ibid., 192-3. In Cabet's Ma ligne droite (44), it seemed that "his efforts were useless in face of the apathy of the most influential men, he gave himself over exclusively to the publication of his writings." Johnson concluded that Cabet had broken with his old friends by the end of 1839.

[17] Thompson, Louis Napoleon, 60. The Bonapartist "failure was indeed so complete that the French Government was said to have connived in the adventure, in order to trap the Pretender." Such entrapment was denied later by Remusat, the Minister of the Interior.

[18] Wright, France in Modern Times, 151-2. Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte had fought for Italian freedom in his youth as a Carbonari. Thompson, Louis Napoleon, 67-72, 85-91, 97-103. At Ham he spent his time writing on many topics and termed his prison, the

Marchand brothers, and Louis Napoleon were three important actors in the Icarian movement during the next decade. But for Cabet to propagate his Voyage ideas in this political atmosphere, he had to avoid being linked with conspirators and their foiled plots.

Cabet's Icarian system was not the only extreme proposal advanced as a remedy for France's deteriorating economic and social problems at this time. When the Voyage was finally published under his own name in 1840, it joined a number of significant labor and communist inspired texts. Louis Blanc's Organisation du travail; Proudhon's Qu-est-ce que la propriété?; Alphonse Esquiros, L'Evangile du peuple; Abbé Constant, La Bible de la liberté; J.-J. Pillot, Ni Châteaux, ni chaumières; and Perdiguier's, Livre du compagnonnage, were other books that had social alternatives for readers to consider.[19]

Two women also published substantial texts about workers that year. George Sand's Le Compagnon du tour de France extolled artisanal culture and called for a reform of apprenticeship abuses. Flora Tristan's Promenades in London documented her first-hand investigations of worker's deplorable conditions in Great Britain. A major difference in the focus of these authors was Tristan's explicit rejection of the patriarchal family based on her personal observations of the suffering it caused both men and women.[20] In contrast, the writings of Cabet and Proudhon retained the patriarchy with its

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'university' of Ham. His text, L'extinction de pauperisme (The Extinction of Poverty) had Saint-Simonian leanings and was praised by George Sand and working class leaders like Louis Blanc who had spent three days visiting him. They were persuaded that Louis-Napoleon was on their side. After six years in Ham prison, Louis-Napoleon escaped to England. He returned to Paris on February 25, 1848, where he was elected to the Constituent Assembly in June and Presidency in December, 1848.

[19] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 66-75. Johnson analyzed this list of authors' viewpoints.

[20] Laura Struminger, The Odyssey of Flora Tristan (New York: Peter Lang, 1988),

potential for abusive power relations. Cabet recognized the strains present in workers' marriages, but argued that his Icarian marriage and family forms would not suffer from the present problems caused by property and money.

The key to understanding the labor themes present in these disparate works was the French economy. The capital accumulation demands of France's industrial enterprises and railroad systems from the 1820s on, had "never been experienced before." There was "always a shortage of the working capital necessary, for example, to pay workers."[21] Since the supply of unskilled, uneducated labor was plentiful, employers were able "to maintain labor costs at as low a level as possible to permit rapid capital accumulation."[22] The divers authors' proposals in 1840 reflected the deteriorating social effects of industrial production changes. Intensive competition resulted in falling market prices. The employers' shrinking profits caused them to cut employee's wages and initiate unemployment. Workers' incomes declined at a time when France's population rose in a number of large industrial regions where working-class families were crowded together in makeshift, unsanitary housing.[23] The workers engaged in strikes despite Article 291 of the

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76-8. Fourierist Le Nouveau Monde praised Tristan's reports in her book on day-care centers in the Chartist movement. Owen's New Moral World was about to print chapters from her book that was being translated.

[21] Roger Price, An Economic History of Modern France 1730-1914 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975, 1981), 142-150.

[22] Ibid., 169-70. Persuading the workers to adopt regular work habits tuned to the needs of power machinery, and related forms of "industrial discipline explains the draconian character of factory regulations." Workers wages were "estimated to be at subsistence level" and their "abysmal living conditions" led to insurrections that were repressed by police.

[23] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 177-184. These workers' statistics were in Ernest Labrousse, Le mouvement ouvrier et les thèories sociales en France de 1815 à1848 (Paris:

Penal code which forbid gatherings larger than 20 persons.[24] Over 100,000 went out on strike in 1830, 1833, and 1840. The government called out the troops and arrested hundreds. But the strike weapon was too weak to combat government forces and workers searched for other means to remedy their material suffering.[25] During the depression of 1837-1839, living conditions worsened. A large number of job losses were due to the falling cotton prices in the clothing trades. The American and English economic crisis had decreased production in export textile centers like Lyon.[26] By 1840, apparel merchants were replacing custom tailors with low-waged women and children working at home or in sweated workshops. The construction industry also had subcontractors who hired gangs of inexperienced laborers at substandard wage levels. Overall, hourly workers in most trades experienced greater task divisions, speeds, and intensity in their jobs.[27] The cooperative proposals outlined by authors like Louis Blanc and Cabet offered readers hopeful solutions to the relentless competition and exploitation surrounding them.[28]

In the context of these dismal labor conditions, the associative panacea in the Voyage carried a heightened appeal to working class families. Icaria's equitable, classless

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Centre de documentation Universitaire, 1961). For example, in Paris, the workers' influx in the faubourg of Saint-Antoine increased its population 73% from 1817-1831.

[24] Ibid., 183.

[25] Bernard H. Moss, The Origins of the French Labor Movement 1830-1914 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), 40.

[26] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 67.

[27] Moss, Origins of French Labor, 40-1.

[28] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 67-8. Ministerial crises and the Eastern question compounded the depression which fostered the public appearance of Communism in 1840.

society guaranteed everyone attractive work, housing, medical care, leisure, and lifetime security. The circulation of the Voyage in this cultural milieu was a catalyst for bonding the first mass workers' movement in French history.[29]

But aside from publishing his book in 1840, Cabet had to deal with the haunting fear that he might be arrested along with other suspected conspirators and communist radicals.[30] He also had to raise a large cautionnement fee in order to begin publishing Le Populaire again. He was aided by a secretary named Dézamy, who shared his communist affinities and helped circulate copies of the Voyage.[31] Its readers were urged to "propagandize" the Communauté system. But, more was at stake than propaganda, for a public acceptance of the world of Icaria meant that it had to be both credible and respectable.[32] The issues of gender equality and the abolition of private property in the

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[29] Ibid., 297.

[30] Cabet to Charles, September 18, 1842, CIS SIUE. Cabet warned Charles to be careful since it could be dangerous to speak in Paris in the name of the Communists, but it might not be inconvenient to speak in the name of the Icarian Communists.

[31] Dict. biog. Vol II, 83-86. In 1839, Théodore Dézamy (1808-1850) wrote a 68 page brochure for the Académie des sciences morales et politiques on the question, "Les Nations avancent plus en connaissances, en lumières, qu'en morale pratique. Rechercher la cause de cette différence dans leurs progrès, indiquer le remède." This document exhibited Dézamy's knowledge of Philippe Buonarroti, Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, and communist ideology, although his atheism and materialism were displaced in this work by a doctrine of natural religion. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 72-3, 112. Dézamy helped organize the first communist banquet in Bellevue in 1840. (Cabet was invited, but did not attend.) He collaborated with Cabet in writings in Le Populaire until they split in 1842. Besides 31 year-old Dézamy, Cabet hired a 28 year-old named M.R. Lahautière who left Cabet before Dézamy. Lahautière wrote La Loi sociale and began publishing the La Fraternité journal which Cabet regarded as competition.

[32] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 237. Johnson also noted Cabet's "respectability" drive.

communauté became acrimonious topics.

During this inaugural period, it appears that Cabet had unwittingly engaged a secretary who turned out to be a formidable communist zealot. Dézamy's radical ideas threatened to discredit Cabet's work. Within two years of their fraternal affiliation, he found himself at odds with Dézamy's Babeuf-styled ultra-communism. The two men became doctrinal adversaries. When Cabet began publishing a monthly edition of Le Populaire in March 1841, his early articles reflected an effort to control the communist-sexual discussion spearheaded by Dézamy who was soon dismissed from the editorial staff.[33]

Within a year the format of Le Populaire was accommodating two distinct journalistic agendas.[34] On the surface, La Populaire presented political and world news, excerpts from both opposition and complimentary journals, refutations of critics, and timely book reviews.[35] The underlying focus of the latter accounts was geared toward

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[33] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 115. Le Populaire, May 8, 1842. Cabet explained how the "young writer" who had been "our lieutenant" and whom he planned to offer "lodging near us with a salary of 12 or 1800 fr." had been offered 100 fr. because the first issues of the newspaper had not sold well. Dézamy quit saying that he was leaving Paris and returning to his family to found a commercial journal. Instead he founded one foreign to the idea of communauté. This was the radical communist journal, l'Humanitaire, suppressed after two issues.

[34] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 83-88. Johnson correctly finds the paper divided into the "social" and the "political." My investigative splicing of the gender problems reflects the theoretical ambiguities of Cabet's determination to frame Icaria as an egalitarian-patriarchal society, and his ongoing attempts to deflect attention away from this unequal conjunction.

[35] Ibid., 83-5. Le Populaire was the "chief instrument of propaganda" reaching a press run of 4,500 in 1846. Four pages long, the paper had larger than average print and was composed in "simple language."

promoting the superiority of the Icarian system. However, a gendered subtext permeated Cabet's reactions to the vociferous criticisms directed at women, marriage, and family in his system. As attacks on these issues persisted with irritating repetitiveness, Cabet developed a concise resumé of responses. They were in place by the end of 1842. A review of his rejoiners reveals the nature of Cabet's illusory plans for women in Icaria.

Before turning to these gender issues, it is necessary to recognize that a greater portion of Cabet's ledger was a genuine reflection of his interest in fraternal affairs and politics, albeit linked to his 'pariah' status. Embittered by his exclusion from formal influence in the Chamber of Deputies, he followed its legislation closely and reported his opinions. A prime example of this was his intense, but futile opposition to the building of "bastilles" in Paris.[36] The pages of Le Populaire also carried 'truthful' accounts of current judicial affairs like Quénisset's assassination attempt on Louis-Philippe's family in 1842. News of sensational lesser crimes called attention to the widespread misery of the people and the need for systemic reforms. An admirably striking note was Cabet's sharing of his expertise as a lawyer with working-class readers to help them with their personal legal problems. Le Populaire printed information regarding the legal extent of their rights when confronted by police and urged adherents to practice 'civil courage' as opposed to emotional, violent responses to arrests or other forms of injustice.[37]

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[36] Ibid., 113-5. Dict. biog. vol II, 85. Before their break in 1840, Dézamy published two works. One was a 96 page brochure with his and Cabet's dual signatures on Egypt called, Patriotes, lisez et rougissez de honte (1840) and another on the construction of fortifications in Paris under Dézamy's own authorship, Consequences de l'embassillement et de la paix a tout prix. De population de la capitale. Trahison du pouvoir. The two men were closely allied during this period and Dézamy was the likely composer of many of the paper's early articles.

[37] Le Populaire, Sept. 27, 1841. Cabet explained how to behave in cases of domicile

This legal aid material appeared in the first issue of Le Populaire along with a review of the September 1835 Press Laws which many readers barely understood. No one could doubt that Cabet was the workers' friend and planned to provide a forum of useful knowledge for them, a laudable goal.[38] He soon gained the empathy of working-class readers with his vivid accounts of their long hours and oppressive working conditions. In Icaria, he noted, such human exploitation of man by man would disappear. The worker's slogan, "vivre en travailent ou mourir en combat (to live by work or to die fighting)," often appeared in his columns and fostered a shared patriot imagery. By 1842, Cabet had begun publishing letters signed by workers who had heard about, read, or wanted to indicate their support for his ideas. The content of their letters was carefully copied along with those of detractors which Cabet followed up with his scholarly refutations. Overall, Le Populaire was a newspaper designed to capture the interest of a working-class audience that was primarily masculine.

But Le Populaire's pages had a covert side which exemplified Cabet's determination to defuse the problems provoked by his gender equality ideals in Icaria.[39] In

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visits, arrests, and persecutions of workers (followers).

[38] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 173. The example of Dubeau, a cabinet-maker who had followed Cabet's guidance since 1834, succinctly demonstrated the bonds between workers and Cabet. This reputation cannot be denied when one has read the multiple issues of Le Populaire with Cabet's constant and sympathetic pages devoted to worker's conditions. This primary understanding gets lost at times as scholars are confronted with Cabet's irritating, dogmatic personality and his uncompromising, self-righteous opinions.

[39] "Community des femmes," anti-marriage, and anti-family charges surfaced in Le Populaire pages every year right up to their departure for America. Cabet's correspondents always vowed they did not want such an arrangement. Cabet refuted all attacks, but the necessity of repeating his disclaimer indicates the salience of such discussions in the population.

a rapid series of replies to critics, he succeeded in suspending the exacting agenda of defining women's equality. To compensate for sexual differences, he proposed that their equality would be determined "according to needs and abilities." However, Cabet lacked a theorized method to measure women's "needs and abilities" beyond the spurious abstractions of 'Nature.' The dramatic figure of an equal-free-woman was the frightening axis of these attacks and Cabet had to repeatedly deny the popular accusation that Icaria would result in a "community of women." Similar charges were leveled in the 1830s against Saint-Simonians and Owenites. The semantics of Cabet's critics implied that Icaria's equal Communauté would sanction immorality and sexual licentiousness. Self-righteous spokesmen of virtue lined up to support the status-quo woman who was a dependent, obedient, and inferior form of property. Their hatred of communist proposals for a property-less society was submerged in these assaults on women, an integral part of the property equation. The two issues were fused in the charges directed against the Icarian system.[40]

Cabet resisted being called upon to defend his proposals for women claiming that such talk would detract from the broader Communauté goals and risk scandal.[41] His preferred tactic was to emphasize that marriages and families in Icaria would be much happier than those in the present society. They would be "purified" and "perfected" and should not be measured by current examples where partners were "miserable."[42] This opaque argument was a primary element of Cabet's evolving response to gender questions.

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[40] Le Populaire, October 5, 1841.

[41] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 114-6.

[42] Le Populaire, September. 5, 1841.

For a brief period, Cabet and several radical communists were engaged in hospitable exchanges. In May 1841, Le Populaire advertised a recent work by Dézamy.[43] A month later, Cabet published an article authored by Désirée Gay, a former Saint-Simonian and feminist writer for the Gazette des Femmes in the 1830s.[44] At that time, Désirée (Veret) Gay (pseudonym Jeanne Désirée) vowed to "work for women's emancipation."[45] In the early 1840s, Gay and the Fourierists were occupied with a project to produce Anglo-French contacts and a co-operative journal with M. Doherty and the English Owenites. She and her husband, Jules Gay, headed a group which included the author, Flora Tristan.[46] They were part of a French "clique of devotees" of Robert Owen.[47] Désirée Gay had attended an 1841 Owenite Congress in England and Cabet printed her account of it in the fourth issue of Le Populaire. Titled, "La Communisme en Angleterre,"

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[43] Le Populaire, May 20, 1841. The ad read: "Par M. Désamy [sic] Price 50 centines: 4 pages, "Déterminèr pourquoi les nations avancent plu en connaissance, en lumières, qu'en morale-pratique, et indiquer le remède?" These initial editions of the paper also offered readers the opportunity to purchase copies of pamphlets on the bastille problem; J.-J. Pillot's, Ni Chateaux ni Chaumières; chapters of the Voyage en Icarie; Refutation de M. Lamennais; Refutation des ouvrages de l'Abbè Constant; Le deuxième Proces de M. Cabet contre Le National; and the first four of Cabet's Douze Lettres.

[44] Moses, French Feminism, 128, 65.

[45] Moses and Rabine, Feminism, Socialism, 97, 69. Désirée Gay (Veret) identified Fourier as the best source of theories on the reorganization of gender relationships. In November 1832, she wrote Enfantin that she would no longer use the Saint-Simonian name.

[46] Stéphane Michaud, Flora Tristan: Lettres: réunies, présentées et annotées par Stéphane Michaud (Paris: Éditions du Seuil,1980), 121-3. Besides the Gay couple and Tristan, the group had a list of twenty six coopérateurs sympathiques.

[47] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 205. Owen barely encouraged Gay's "French adherents" like J.J. May and Dézamy. He directed his energy toward his own "indigenous" communism.

Gay reported Owen's communal plans for education, agriculture, and fraternity at a new colony called Queenwood.[48] A month later however, Cabet's cooperative editorial relationship with Gay and Dézamy changed. The first edition of their communist paper, l'Humanitaire, co-edited by Gay's husband Jules, had been published. It was the "most radical journal of the July Monarchy" and the government acted to suppress it after the second issue.[49]Another communist journal, La Communautaire, appeared at the same time in Paris. The timing of these two papers coincided with Quénisset's assassination attempt on Louis-Philippe. The authorities increased their surveillance of publishers. Within a year, they prosecuted 187 press violations and 137 conspiracy condemnations.[50]

Things looked grim. For nearly two years, Cabet had surrounded himself with a crowd of avid communists like the Gays and Dézamy. Now, these affiliations threatened his newspaper and the future of his Communauté propaganda. He had to distinguish his Icarian format from that of the extremists. In an article on September 5, 1841, he presented readers with his arguments against l'Humanitaire's ultra-communist doctrines. Immersed in his defense of Icarian Communauté however, was a somewhat blasé attitude toward the shape of marriage and family. Cabet sidestepped any clear challenge to the ultra's rational arguments on its dissolution, and instead, he advised Communists to ignore the question of abolishing the family and marriage for the time being. "Future generations

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[48] Le Populaire, June 20, 1841. Gay was at Owen's May 10, 1841 Annual Congress.

[49] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 113-5, n16. Gabriel Charavay, Jacques Savary, Charassin, Page, Fombertaux, and J.-J.May edited this paper with Jules Gay. The two rare issues are stored at IISG where Cabet penned in the margin of l'Humanitaire - "excess of a good principle."

[50] Ibid., 114. Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 234.

can do what they want!" he declared, "And they will know more than we do." This good-humored response was neither a defense of his Icarian family ideal nor a refutation of Dézamy's ultra-communist predictions. Cabet had simply deferred the family-marriage question which left open the possibility that these institutions might disappear. Communists immediate efforts, Cabet insisted, should be directed at "making the Communauté loveable, desirable, [and] easy to understand. I ask that, on the abolition of the family, we pass it over to the order of the day!"[51] His current opinion was

> that a discussion about abolishing the family would not be inconvenient when the Communauté would be established, but today it is useless, harmful, and perhaps fatal. . . . discussing the question of the abolition of the family could retard and stop the adoption of the Communauté. Yes, with your folly [Dézamy and l'Humanitaire], you expose us not only to retarding the Communauté, but never to see it born! We commence, on the contrary, by vanquishing the prejudices which for centuries have arrested the ideas of the Communauté; we reassure those who are worried that our enemies are trying to frighten us; we avoid everything which could furnish a pretext for the accusation of debauchery and immorality; we grow stronger - we make our doctrine simple, clear, and easy to understand . . . and avoid the subjects of division and disputes.[52]

Thus, Cabet advised his readers to simply "avoid" such divisive gender subjects. A related clue about the topical interest in women's equality in this issue was the insertion of the names of Charlotte Corday and Marie Antoinette in another section.[53] These two women

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[51] Le Populaire, Sept. 5, 1841.

[52] Ibid. Voyage, 126. This example of Cabet's advocacy of "laconisme" e.g. the concise, succinct simplification of words, an idea derived from the Spartans known for the brevity of their speech, was present in the Voyage. In a section explaining the "perfection of the Icarian language" Valmor acclaimed "the habit of laconisme that each acquired from childhood [which] would augment their facility to write." Cabet scolded Chameroy for his lengthy detailed letters which he found tiring to read.

[53] Charlotte Corday's notorious assassination of Marat (with a knife in the bathtub) was painted by David and became the identifiable example of an 'emotional' female crime against the principles of the republic. Marat became a martyr of the revolution.

were well-known referential links to the abuses of power by women. While it may have been coincidental or unconscious, Cabet's attention to these resuscitated women of the French Revolution served as cogent reminders of the danger inherent in granting 'liberty' to women.[54]

But the problems surrounding Cabet related to his communist associates were not dispelled so easily. A few months later, on May 8, 1842, he felt it necessary to justify his connection with Dézamy to the public. Dézamy, he wrote, had a "zeal for the cause of the people" and although he was not a known author, Cabet had helped him to compose a political brochure. "The opinions of M. Dézamy on the Communauté had appeared to conform with ours . . . He aided in some numbers, analyzed journals and books for us, and drafted some secondary articles."[55] After this admission, he restated Icarians' support for marriage and family. The two men engaged in public debates and slanderous character assassinations.[56] Cabet claimed that Dézamy's communist theories in La Code de la Communauté, were taken from him, except for the sections on cities and family.[57] But

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[54] Le Populaire, Sept. 5, 1841.They were present in Cabet's article rejecting Abbé Constant's views in, La Bible de la Liberté. "We maintain that l'Assomption de la femme is, not only a fastidious harping on the same subject, but an obscene, inexcusable, senseless novel where the author divinise (made into divinities) Charlotte Corday and Marie-Antoinette, defends power, slanders and denounces Republicans and Communists who have admitted them in their milieu."

[55] Le Populaire, May 8, 1842.

[56] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 116. Dézamy and Cabet engaged in the "most scathing personal attacks in the history of polemical writing." Dézamy assessed aspects of Cabet's life and work negatively claiming he behaved cowardly in his Charbonnerie days, and refused to publish Dézamy's articles for fear he would be "out-shined." Cabet refuted him point by point.

[57] Ibid., 114-6. After following the charges and counter-charges, Johnson concluded that they separated Dézamy's "materialists" from Cabet's supporters. By choosing sides,

there were other striking differences in their competing communist vistas. There would be no family or marriages in Dézamy's communist world where sexual intercourse was a purely functional activity and all racial mixtures were permitted. Without a hierarchic pattern, there were no towns, cities, states, frontiers, or fixed occupations. These radical ideas diverged from Cabet's structures.[58] After Dézamy criticized sections of the Voyage for their inequality, he lambasted him in a brochure, Propagande communiste. Dézamy was a "young writer who did not understand the ways of propaganda," he noted. "One does not talk about minor issues like cities or, especially, such touchy ones as the family." Was it not, for instance, "the question of free love that killed the Saint-Simonians?" Cabet argued that the two primary rules for propaganda were "to simplify" and "to condense."[59] The twin foils of these polemics were Dézamy and women.

While their debates were taking place in the press, Cabet privately issued orders to his 'apostles' in the field about women. "Supprimez ce qui concerne la femme! (Suppress that which concerns the woman!) The publicity that comes to me is too dangerous. Be careful in your reports," he told Charles (Chameroy), " Supprimez. . . . You can recommend this communiqué to Chap. (Chapius); to Coign. (Coignet); to Cufit (?) and to

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the followers became more firmly attached to their form of communism. See Christopher H. Johnson, "Deux lettres inédites de cinq ouvriers lyonnais à Cabet et Dézamy" Revue d'histoire économique et sociale vol. XLVII no. 4, 1969, 529-539. These letters exhibit the "disgust of five workers for the acrimonious conflict between Cabet and Dézamy."

[58] Ibid., 114. Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 293, 296-9. Collingham and Alexander, July Monarchy, 372.

[59] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 115-6. The Dézamy-Cabet "confrontation developed into a wild bout of personal attacks and empty-headed arguments over doctrinal details."

the others.[60] Cabet's directive points out that he understood the extent that the nexus of communist equality and female equality in the public mind threatened his communauté. He had hoped to avoid the 'free-love' issues of the 1830s, but found himself caught up in similar attacks. Cabet did sympathize with women's conditions and wanted to better their lives. Nonetheless, discussions about women's equality were just "too dangerous." Soon after his letter to Chameroy, he brought forth his finest weapon, La Femme dans la société actuelle et dans la communauté (August 1841), the seventh letter in his series of Douze lettres d'un communiste à un reformiste.

This definitive brochure on women appeared a month after l'Humanitaire was repressed by the authorities.[61] La Femme presented Cabet's views on marriage and family and highlighted the rewards available for women in communitarian life. His arguments, premised on Nature, began with an impassioned praise for this natural being. "Woman," he wrote:

> I would represent her as the depositary of the creative power of Nature, the mother and nurse of the human race, forming, in number, one-half of Mankind . . . the first companion of man, his first partner, or rather as an integral part of his own self, towards which he is impelled by Nature, through an irresistable attraction; a part which alone can be the complement of his existence, and without which his lonely life would be incomplete and deprived of happiness.[62]

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[60] Cabet to Charles, Nov. 22, (1841?) CIS SIUE folder 12. The 1841 date can be inferred by Cabet's reference to "No 1 de la Fraternité" in the letter.

[61] Marguerite Thibert, Le Féminisme dans le socialisme français de 1830 à 1850 (Paris: Marcel Giard, 1926), 356. Thibert documented the fact that later editions had the title of La femme, son malheureux sort dans la société actuelle, son bonheur dans la communauté. It was translated into English and published as Woman; Her Qualities, Titles and Rights (Nauvoo: Icarian Printing Establishment,1855).

[62] Cabet, Woman, 3. I have copied the English translation in 1855, as it appeared. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 90-93.

After establishing Nature as the lens for viewing woman, Cabet added patriarchal prose claiming that he

> would depict her as the most beautiful of flowers; the most perfect of animated creatures; the masterpiece of nature; the source, for man, of his most sublime inspirations, and his sweetest enjoyments; charming him, from the cradle, with her first smile, her first caresses, and the ineffable graces of her infancy; delighting him with the beauty and graciousness of her youth; captivating him with her goodness; relieving and saving him in disease; supporting him in danger; comforting him in misfortune, with her tenderness and devotion; superior to man in patience and sensiblility, she is equal to him in intelligence and in rights.[63]

After this reflection on his paternalist delight with the natural, equal woman, Cabet proceeded to transform her into an inspirational "divinity" or muse, citing examples like "Juno, Minerva, Venus, Diana, Hebe, Flora, etc." The gracious, gallant mood of his prose shifted as he claimed his indignation at woman's "oppression among barbarous Peoples, who, from the most shameful abuse of strength, have degraded her into a state of slavery, usurping over her a right of life and death, of sale or capricious repudiation." Even in the so-called "modern" state of civilization, woman is treated as a "kind of slave" where man abused his strength to impose his will on her and decide that she owed him obedience.[64]

The tone darkened as Cabet described the terrifying crimes committed by women due to unhappy unions. "Women on the scaffold, what a horror . . . I cannot finish this frightful picture," he exclaimed, quickly adding that, it was the present social organization that was criminal for, "men are guilty and women are victims."[65] Unfortunately, woman falls into vice because of her "passions for men and pleasures."[66] Under the "irresistible

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63 Cabet, Woman, 3-4.

64 Ibid., 4.

65 Ibid., 8.

66 Ibid., 10.

influence of Nature, she obeys its supreme law."[67] Household disorders, infidelities, adulteries, lawsuits, poisonings, the entire gamut of unhappiness was shown to be the crime of the Society which caused woman's "qualities to degenerate into vices."[68]

These depictions by Cabet echoed common discourses which coupled woman with the temptress Eve. Cabet felt that her "passions for men and pleasures" were exonerated by Nature's law. She was not a sinner, for woman was the hapless victim of men. These customary rationalizations were supported by traditional philosophical and religious perceptions of women's inherent moral weakness and irrational emotions. Nonetheless, Cabet knew there were exceptional women, and he inserted a special category to help readers understand the "few" women who deviated from the norm and preferred to be independent or self-reliant.

> If there are a few women today, who oppressed, tyranized by their husbands, dream, in their dismal situation and despair, of an absolute and perpetual independence for woman, through the abolition of *Marriage and Family*, the bulk of women prefer an institution which gives them a husband, a friend, a protector for their old age, and children that prolong their happiness to their last sight.[69]

For Cabet, an ideal woman would "by chance" have been born into a "well-organized society" which

> would have given her education, with competency in working, and a husband of her choice, she would have been a lovely, sensible, affectionate, good, humane wife, cherished by her husband, adored by children, beloved by all, in a word, happy.[70]

Besides this desirable result, some women also:

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67 Ibid.

68 Ibid., 9-10.

69 Ibid., 16.

70 Ibid., 10.

> make their husbands happy, not with the charms of their persons, but with the meekness of their temper, the evenness of their humor, all the amiable qualities of the heart and mind, if in their households there are never reproaches, nor impatience, nor disputes, nor contraries, but always peace, concord, joy and happiness, they have generally no merit in it, because they have fortune and health, good husbands, and charming families; it is when they possess none of these advantages that we may praise their virtues, if they succeed in making happy those who live around them.[71]

Meekness and fortune were the ingredients that evoked a happy wife's husband-pleasing skills. The "primary, radical, principle cause" of the unhappy woman's problems and crimes was the "aristocracy, privilege, or the inequality of fortunes" which produced opulence for a few and misery for the majority.[72] This "opulent minority, cannot fail to be selfish, covetous, unjust, cruel: it must necessarily have slaves, or servants, and subjects, there must be poor and miserable workmen and proletarians . . . kept in ignorance, brutishness, misery, and submission, by exhausting them with labor."[73] However, the bulk of women lacked wealth and had to work. Cabet presented a sad portrait of their labors which began at an early age. The pitiful daughters of the poor had to work in their fathers' house or workshops where they

> were overwhelmed with excessive, disgusting and unsalubrious labors, which, for a few cents a day, destroy their freshness, graces, and health. How many little girls are deformed from having courageously carried on their arms, their younger brother or sister, while their mother was engaged in working! How many young and pretty workwomen are withered or killed, by an extenuating labor, kept up too long by night, to the detriment of their rest: How many women are constrained to toil hard during their pregnancy, and their suckling time: and even in old age till their last day. . . . How many women are deprived, by misery, of the happiness of being wives and mothers! . . . [and] fall victims of the thousand deceptions, inconveniences and dangers of transient and fallacious attachments!
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> I do not speak here of debauchery to which the blending of both sexes, in

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71 Ibid., 10-11.

72 Ibid., 7.

73 Ibid.

> large manufactures, exposes the young girl; neither do I speak of that other plague, prostitution, to which misery condemns so many thousand wretched women![74]

Compounding these "wretched" difficulties for women was another problem - dowries. Celibacy was not the solution. It raised the spectre of disorders where marriages were contracted without regard for the partner's desires. Cabet summed up his "true remedy" for the misfortunes of women. It amounted to the complete eradication of aristocracy, privilege, and unequal fortunes and the "establishment of Equality or pure Democracy . . . realized in Communauté. - Communauté, therefore, must be established in order to ensure and guarantee the happiness of women."[75] In Communauté, care would be taken of woman from her birth, infancy, and youth to develop her health, grace, and beauty. Education would make her "a good daughter, a good sister, a good wife, a good mother, a good natured woman to everybody."[76]A woman would be able to chose a profession and perform work in common workshops at short, moderate labors. Easy and agreeable tasks would utilize machinery to save them trouble and fatigue.[77] There would be no celibates in the Communauté, for marriage and family were organized with equality and fraternity and had many advantages for man and woman.[78] Man, who is guided by Nature and Reason, "rests his happiness in woman, looking on her, as it were, as his idol, endeavoring to embellish [her] to perfection, [and] to make her happy."[79] The Communauté, Cabet

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74 Ibid., 5-6.

75 Ibid., 12.

76 Ibid., 14.

77 Ibid., 15.

78 Ibid., 15-16.

79 Ibid., 14.

concluded, will be a "*paradis* for women," whereas, except for a few women, the present social state is *hell*. Readers were called upon to imagine how Communauté would "increase continually the happiness of woman" and "how much woman shall improve both in grace and beauty!" Above all, women must "desire that beneficient Communauté."[80]

Cabet's sentiments in La Femme were generous by the standards of his time despite their paternalistic implications. Communauté countered the traditional class marriage-dowry system that objectified women as legal property exchanges. Yet, his Communauté ideal for women left in place the legacy of the paternal hierarchy. The cultural and religious prohibitions which governed gender relationships were the base of Cabet's projected fears, suspicions, and misunderstandings regarding women's "natural" passionate affinities. His ideal woman meekly served husband and family as a gracious nurturant. Icarian education and professions were planned to "embellish" woman to "perfection" for this role.

Cabet's proposals on women's education in La Femme were not exceptional. Throughout the eighteenth century, men wrote treatises on the need to educate girls, arguing that the low level of their schooling limited their child-rearing abilities and conversational skills. Divorce and abusive dowry controls constrained both men and women's marriage choices. Systemic economic changes in Icaria would benefit families and relieve parents of dowry burdens. Like his enlightenment mentor Rousseau, reciprocal advantages propelled Cabet's inducements in La Femme. The emancipated portrait of better educated, more graceful, happier, equal yet submissive and pleasing wives, perfected Cabet's utopian dream. Many women longed for even a small measure of such

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[80] Ibid., 17-18.

treatment. Cabet's ideas in this essay nourished the utopian world of men. Many working-class women, likewise, dreamed they could someday become La Femme.

As the vitriolic Cabet-Dézamy arguments banished talk about 'equal' women to the shadows of Icarianism, La Femme simultaneously elevated her to a sheltered, rosy-hued pedestal of femininity. Any serious discussion in the pages of La Populaire on women's equality and rights was stymied. La Femme insulated Cabet from libertine intimations about a 'community of women,' 'free love,' or a radical gender system without marriage and family. His brochure deflected such attacks and could handily be recommended to faultfinders at home and abroad. Indeed, it was so well received that a few years later, he asked his correspondent Delarageaz about distributing German translations of La Femme in Geneva and Lausanne (July 7, 1844).[81]

Cabet had developed a three-pronged strategy about women, marriage, and the family in the first year of his newspaper. He 1) postponed a defense of Icaria's marriage and family to a futuristic, 'purified' era; 2) issued orders to his disciples to avoid discussion of the woman question; and 3) produced La Femme brochure. This combination successfully quelled immediate attacks on Icarian women in the press and prevented a potential 'free-love' backlash. Later generations could debate the logical implications of egalitarian thought on male and female relationships, but such "touchy" topics were anathema in the present social atmosphere.

La femme deftly recast timeworn gender constructions in updated abstract-equality

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[81] Cabet to Delarageaz, July 7, 1844, CIS SIUE folder 2. In this letter, Cabet also wrote that he was sending him 100 examples of a small brochure, L'ouvrier. He recommended giving 20 copies to Michod and 20 to Corsat, members of Cabet's European propaganda network.

ink that contained women in nature's patriarchal cages. But gender problems did not disappear. In addition, the strain of defending himself on all sides affected Cabet's physical stamina in 1842. This was noted by one of his ardent supporters, Charles Chameroy, who was also being called upon to answer endless questions about the Icarian system. He called himself Cabet's "disciple" and, in turn, was fondly named "Saint Paul."[82] Chameroy was a 26 year-old traveling salesman whose country-wide tours generated influential contacts outside Paris.[83] He introduced his business colleagues to the Voyage and assumed the role of spokesman for Icarian principles.[84] Chameroy wrote Cabet about his efforts to spread the doctrine with the apostolic zeal recommended proselytes in the Voyage's closing pages.[85] Chameroy too, had to counter hostile accusations that communism would "abolish the family" and lead to the "promiscuity of the femme." In his opinion, such detractors were "not rational." Other critics were worried about divorce, about all the sons living in the same house with their "Patriarch," and some were concerned about youngsters who must obey with deference and duty.[86] Chameroy was very sorry to hear

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[82] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 101, 100.

[83] Ibid., 100-2, n 106. Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 271n1. Chameroy had read Cabet's Histoire populaire and received a copy of Voyage from him. On November 28, 1841, he told Cabet he had "converted to Icarian communism" as his "disciple." Johnson's footnote cited Prudhommeaux, "Un commis-voyageur en communisme icarie: Chameroy, disciple de Cabet," La Revolution de 1848, XXIV & XXV (1927-28). Chameroy used the pseudonym Pierre Chaville in letters printed in Le Populaire. There are 42 Chameroy letters and assorted notes by Prudhommeaux stored on microfilm at CIS. Chameroy toured 15 departments in Northern France from October 10, 1841 to September 3, 1843.

[84] Cabet to Charles, August 11, 1842, CIS SIUE folder 12. Cabet wrote Charles to have "courage" for "10 or 20 apostles" like you will "spread the propaganda!"

[85] Ibid., 62-108. Johnson traced the names of primary organizers in France and beyond.

that Cabet "had been sick" in the summer of 1842 and offered his consolation.[87] Cabet told him that "mon medicin" had advised him to have "absolute rest in the country" for fifteen days. "My life is hell," he told Chameroy. "I am so weak and suffering."[88] A month later, Chameroy sent more encouraging sentiments in a letter addressed to "Mon cher concitoyen Stéphen" (anglicization for Étienne), an uncommon greeting.[89] (St.) Stéphen was a martyr stoned for his beliefs. One could speculate that this was Chameroy's way of expressing his identification of Cabet with the suffering of martyrs.[90]

By mid-1842, an efficient group of dedicated male "correspondents" like Chameroy were in place in many of France's provincial departments. They distributed "Le

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[86] Charles to Cabet, August 31, 1842, CIS SIUE folder 12.

[87] Charles to Cabet, August 3, 1842, CIS SIUE folder 12. This letter listed 31 actionnaires including Favard from Besançon (Cabet's soon to be son-in-law). Charles had also spoken with "your friend, Proudhon" whom "you know better than I" who charged me to "give you his compliments." Charles thought their doctrine should be inscribed as "Démocratie Icarienne," or "association Icarien."

[88] Charles to Cabet, September 3, 1842, CIS SIUE folder 12. Cabet's bout of illness continued into 1843. He complained to Charles of flu for 8 days on February 18,1843; he was "sick" on April 25, 1843; and had "bad eyes" on May 2, 1843.

[89] Charles to Cabet, October 26, 1842, CIS SIUE folder 12. In some of his letters, Chameroy noted Voyage characters, "Do you know about Dinaros and Dinaîse?" he asked a man named Cartel. He also wrote that he had a role in exciting the curiosite of the franc-Maçonnerie for Cabet's works (previously discussed).

[90] Icarian Microfilm collection CIS SIUE. Cabet signed "Stéphen" to letters written to Denise, Céline, and Beluze at difficult moments in the 1850s. He used this identification in a letter to his daughter Céline on June 21, 1850 after the Nauvoo tornado caused economic losses and the cessation of his plans to complete the Temple. It was also his signature in a letter to Beluze on June 7, 1851 from London where he expressed worries about his forthcoming trial, and on May 3, 1853 when he was very contrarie about the reactions to his 48 Nauvoo reform articles. See Cabet to Denise June 4, 1850; Cabet to Denise August 2, 1850; Cabet to Céline August 11, 1850; Cabet to Denise on April 12, 1853; and Cabet to Denise August 4, 1853.

Populaire in their localities, sold Cabet's works, gathered signatures for declarations of support, corresponded with Cabet concerning the progress of his doctrine in their regions, reported disputes among Icarians, discussed general problems of note, and organized meetings. . . . They were the local leaders of the Icarian movement."[91]

Anne Buisson's poetic "fantasies"

Women wanted to help introduce Icarian doctrines also. In the Voyage, Cabet had expressly invited "women with their generous minds" to be persuasive "apostles."[92] However, convincing local Icarian notables to accept women as 'apostles' was a complex and disconcerting task. One such "generous minded" reader, Anne Buisson, wrote to Cabet indicating her joy at discovering his Icarian system. She composed a verse titled, "Fait historique arrivé en 1840."[93] The lines of her verse referred to Monsieur Cabet as the "true savior of two worlds."[94] The high-spirited poetess wished to express her "gratitude for the order he founded."[95] She concluded her letter by noting that M.Cabet "was free to correct these pieces."[96] Mme Buisson's writings caused some concern among the

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[91] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 103.

[92] Voyage, 550.

[93] Verse by Anne Béssant, BHVP. The copy of the verse had no date, but was signed by Anne Béssant and referred to in her July 29, 1844 letter. There are a number of unsigned or initialed Icarian verses stored in the collection at the BHVP. Many were undoubtedly submitted during the 1847 contest for the Icarian departure hymns advertised in the paper.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Mme Buisson to Cabet, September 29, 1842, BHVP. This was in the earliest preserved letter of Anne Buisson. "Reply on October 11" was penned at the top.

[96] Ibid.

leadership in Lyon. On May 22, 1842, they drafted a response to M de Buisson related to two cahiers (notebooks) she had sent them. They had "glanced through them, and found that some elements are agreeable but there are many defects." Her writings leaned both "towards us and against us." Many of Mme Buisson's ideas were "fantasies" which could be attributed to her present condition for, "You recall that during their pregnancies, certain women have bizarre ideas and idle dreams." The reviewer concluded with a desire to have her "submit more novels when she became wiser."[97]

Buisson penned her personal comments at the end of this disheartening letter. They reflected her humiliation at the stinging rebuke by this "saint homme" who did not want to admit her into the "noble ranks" and who made "grimaces (sneers)." Buisson recoiled at her literary rejection and wrote that, "I prefer my solitude in my chinese pavilion and the recreation that my children afford me."[98] But her Icarian "fantasies" persisted and Mme Buisson soon abandoned her quiet pavilion. She wrote a letter to Cabet just two days after Coignet, a Lyon workshop head, had contacted him with his news about a citoyenne who asked for a meeting to "found a journal." Coignet "invited" Cabet to attend the gathering (September 27, 1842). Mme Buisson, who knew Coignet, also proposed that they collaborate on a journal in her letter.[99] She was writing to him in regard to the

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[97] Letter to M de Buisson, 22 Mai, 1842 Lyon, BHVP. The sprawling signature at the end appears to be "Vinçard."

[98] Ibid. Although unsigned, the reactive hand-written comments at the end were undoubtedly those of Anne Buisson's.

[99] Buisson to Cabet; Coignet to Cabet, Sept. 27, 1842, BHVP. Coignet wanted to have "another meeting to see if others wanted the journal." Among the concerns in Coignet's eight page letter were "divisions" and a "secret reformed Charbonnerie Society." Johnson, Utopian Communism, 118-9, 109-43. Coignet was a supporter of Cabet's principles and had helped prepare a prospectus for a new Lyon journal, Travail in 1841

"communauté des femmes" and "prayed" that Cabet would "respond to my desire to defend my sex." She wanted to "establish a small, popular gazette dedicated to women. You and I will be the only editors," she assured him. Mme Buisson explained that she and her husband worked at home for their three children. After reiterating her "devotion" she promised "not to write anything to confound or to defend Catholics" in the prospective journal.[100] Mme Buisson was obviously aware of Cabet's religious sentiments for he was embroiled in a publicized debate with a Lyon Catholic, Horace Fournier de Virginie.[101] But since no Icarian gazette for women surfaced, it can be deduced that Cabet was not willing to collaborate with Mme Buisson. The expensive cautionnement fees would also have been a restriction at this time for Cabet was trying to raise enough funds to change the

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which announced efforts to "draw upon the love and devotion of Saint-Simonism and the rational purity of Fourier." Divisions among the editors resulted in Coignet's resignation. The new editor would have the "color of the paper changed." Thus, Coignet was listening to a citoyenne, probably Mme Buisson, who thought Icarian women should have a journal. Johnson followed the Lyon schism which revealed Cabet's unfraternal domination of the movement. Jacques Rancière, Nights of Labor: the Worker's Dream in Nineteenth-century France, trans. John Drury (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989, orginal 1981), 313. Rancière considered Coignet a fourierist, thus more liberally inclined toward women than Cabet.

[100] Anne Buisson to Cabet, September 29, 1842, BHVP. Buisson signed her letter, "serviteur - concitoyen Charles Buisson, peintre platrier (painter/plasterer)." Reply October 11 (at top).

[101] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 452-3. Cabet asserted that a conservative academician, Fournier de Virginie, was a "communist without knowing it." He replied that he was not and their exchange of biblical proofs failed to convince him. Mme Buisson's comments about Catholics very likely indicated her knowledge of the Cabet-Fournier de Virginie debate as well as her understanding that rational men disliked women who were too attached to Catholic doctrines. It could hardly be otherwise, since Catholic convents alone provided the core of Church-regulated curriculums for women. Catholic prelates rewarded women for their acquisition of such knowledge and advocacy of passive piety. No rational-educational counterparts for women existed. Voyage women's education was more inclusive and secular despite its sex-segregation.

monthly Le Populaire into a weekly edition.

For over a year, Mme Buisson and Cabet did not exchange any more letters. But on February 18, 1844, she once again wrote to tell him about the people of Belays where she lived who "received the instruction of Icarian doctrine from [Cabet's] devoted journal. When they come, [to her place] they say how beautiful are the days in Icaria where the mother will not have troubles for the honor of her daughter, nor economy, or the productions of her spouse for the needs of the family. [There would be] no more hunger - famine- or foreign priests." Buisson stressed how "impossible it is to describe the pleasures that we taste when devouring the pages of the Voyage en Icarie or reading the speeches, no money, no dowry." In Belays, she assured him, "We do not have any secret associations of workers." But they had "three bad seasons and the price of wine, wheat, and bread made it impossible to buy the new Almanach of 1844." Undaunted, Buisson added that " With the permission of my husband, I will have a free school for women in my domicile, ages fifteen to forty-five or fifty. I will distribute your lessons on Sunday morning." She told him that she had given "ten lessons since 8AM - three lessons on writing after dinner [and] seven lessons on grammar at night." She held the same lessons for men on Tuesday in order "to put into other hands the more advanced lectures of the other sex." However, Mme Buisson stressed that she only wanted to do good for the Icarian communists and awaited Cabet's counsel in case she should "not take on the teaching of men so there would be no penalty."[102] It is apparent that Mme Buisson's enthusiasm for education was tempered by her fear that a woman teaching men would be

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[102] Mme Buisson to Cabet, February 18, 1844, BHVP. "Reply M de Buisson 5 Avril" (top).

deemed improper and incur an unrespectable "penalty" to the Icarian cause. In her own fashion, she was exploring means to fulfill the female "apostleship" role Cabet recommended to "persuasive" women.

Judging by her next letter on July 29, 1844, Mme Buisson's efforts to propagandize Icarianism were strengthened, for she had seen Cabet.[103] She confided, "I am satisfied, I am filled with wonder. The power of seeing you has revived me. I understand all the greatness that you know we possess and which is in your spirit."[104] She included another verse which reflected her knowledge of the debate over distinguishing the Icarian communists from the ultra radical factions. She penned a few witty lines about the issue.

Au sujet d'une querelle sur le mot Icarien

He! bien mes chers amis pourquoi donc les querelles,
Sur un mot qui pour nous est une arme contre elles?
Méditez-en le sens, et voyez s'il est sot.
Quand au jours de juillet d'aveugles militaires
Firent feu tour à tour sur des bonnes prolétaires,
Bientôt on remarqua les chiffres qu'ils portaient
Et quel fiers regimens ces hommes composaient.
Alors le peuple sut quels étaient les coupables
Et peut bien distinguer les soldats honorables.
He! bien mes chers amis, le mot Icarien

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[103] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 138. Cabet was in Lyon from July 21, 1844 to August 6, 1844, meeting and talking with workers in small groups. Somehow, Mme Buissson "saw" him and her words indicate that she absorbed his messages about women's "greatness."

[104] Mme Buisson to Cabet, July 29, 1844, BHVP. Cabet penned "Mme Buisson" at the top of the letter, but it was signed Anne de Béssant, perhaps her maiden name. It was addressed to Cabet "a l'Hotel de France à Lyon." Johnson, Utopian Communism, 137, 139. "Mme Buisson, a sometime flower shop worker who had illusions of being the poet laureate of Icarianism, presented the loyalist side in a verse "concerning a quarrel over the word Icarian," in which she argued that the title would distinguish them clearly from proponents of "riots" and "secret meetings." This letter of Mme Buisson's provides evidence that a measure of political consciousness was present in women who had been following the debates in the movement.

Est pour nous distinguer comme voulant le bien,
Comme ennemis jurés des émeutes funestes
Et des reunions enflamables secretes.
Aimant de l'Icarie et les moeurs et les lois
Son nom doit vivre en nous pour defendre ses droits
Voila, mes chers amis, ce que j'ose vous dire:
Je le fais franchement veuillez ne m'en maudire.[105]

[translation]

A quarrel over the subject of the word Icarian

Well! my very dear friends why then all these quarrels,
Over the word which is a weapon for us against them?
Meditate the sense of it, and you see it is foolish.
When in the July days the blind soldiers
Fired round after round at the good prolétaires,
Soon you notice the monograms that they were wearing
And what proud regiments these men composed.
At that time the people knew who were the guilty ones
And were able to distinguish the honorable soldiers.
Well! my very dear friends, the word Icarian
Distinguishes us as those seeking the good,
As sworn enemies of fatal uprisings
And of inflammatory secret meetings.
Loving Icaria and its morals and its laws
Its name must live in our hears to defend its rights
This then, my dear friends, is what I dare say to you:
I speak frankly, please do not condemn me for it.

While the literary quality of her poetry was undistinguished, Mme Buisson's sentiments reflected her awareness of the current communist arguments. The envelope with her correspondence was forwarded to Cabet with a notation penned by Gluntz on its contents. "Mme Buisson thinks that you could use the poem in her letter for the Almanach Icarien," he wrote, adding that he felt "she will be prepared when she has studied the Voyage en

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[105] Anne Béssant, poem no 51, Lyon, July 29, 1844, BHVP. Anne Béssant and Anne Buisson are the same author. This was a pseudonym or a maiden name. Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 454-5. Johnson copied Mme Buisson's poem with the original orthography and punctuation from the Papiers Cabet, BHVP and recommended that I translate and evaluate it.

Icarie better. There is no way that I will publish it."[106] There can be little doubt that Gluntz lacked enthusiasm for the creative efforts of a "persuasive" Icarienne despite her "generous mind."

By presuming to write verses, Mme Buisson, like many of the working class men of her time whose verses have been studied recently, was a mild threat to the established intellectual order emerging among Icarian workers. Jacques Rancière analyzed their writings and noted that in attempting to write and imitate the sacred languages of the bourgeois with their "transgression poétique," workers "performed the truly radical act of breaking down the time-honored barrier separating those who carried out useful labor from those who pondered aesthetics." While it is well-known that there was a class codification of acceptable literary practices and discourses, it must be added that there was also a gender codification. Mme Buisson, it seems, was doubly guilty. She infringed on class and sex boundaries.[107]

The archival records of Mme Buisson's literary experiments end at this point. She wanted to help the Icarian cause and offered to teach, propagandize, publish a gazette, and had composed verses. Many questions remain. Were her plans for a school squelched? Was she allowed to offer classes for men on Tuesday? On what grounds did Cabet reject

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[106] Mme Buisson to Cabet, July 29, 1844, BHVP. See Charles to Cabet, November 20, 1842, CIS SIUE folder 12. Charles wrote that Gluntz was "enchante" that I had your portrait during my stay in Lyon. I told him that you would be pleased to send him one." Charles also assured Cabet that he would "suppress talk about Cabet's being ambitious, etc., and speaking about the f... [family] and de Lah. . . [La Hautière]." Charles to Cabet, December 2, 1842, CIS SIUE folder 12. Charles wrote that he had promised Gluntz the portrait and asked Cabet to tell him his "motives" for not sending it. Charles told him that "When I pass through Paris - I will buy a portrait from Revot and sent it to Gluntz." Johnson, Utopian Communism, 276. Gluntz was a "loyalist" Icarian tailor in Lyon.

[107] Rancière, Nights of Labor, xxviii-xxix.

co-editing a gazette des femmes with her? Was her behavior too exhuberant to fit the model Icarian women? Finally, were her poems so badly composed that they would embarrass the movement? The assembled evidence suggests that a core of male Icarian notables controlled official propaganda and were antagonistic toward women's unorthodox writings and mixed-sex education. In Lyon, Coignet and Buisson both shifted their allegiance to support a second journal intended to back up Le Populaire that was planned by an independent-minded worker named Garçon.[108] Like Mme Buisson's female gazette, Garçon's complimentary paper never materialized.

Garçon, however, may be the link to Mme Buisson's efforts to teach classes for Icarians. He was one of the Lyon Icarians who "put their residences at the disposal of those who wished to set up night schools for adults of both sexes; it is not clear, however, whether or not these unauthorized schools were staffed by Icarians."[109] Garçon held Icarian meetings in his home "composed of men, women, and children." The group passed these evenings reciting fables and singing "politico-socialist songs, which were for the most part, composed by young Icarians." They discussed "all sorts of political and social questions" which strengthened the men's speaking skills. Their evenings ended with "innocent games" to please the women and children.[110] A distinctive Icarian culture in Lyon was emerging in these neighborly gatherings reminiscent of the appealing portrayals of Valmor's family in the Voyage. They had "quasi-public get-togethers in the nearby

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108 Johnson, Utopian Communism, 138-140.

109 Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 481.

110 Ibid., 478. This information was in Commissaire, Memoires et souvenirs, vol. I, 97-8.

countryside . . . friends were invited; everybody got to know one another; the young people danced; finally, we enjoyed ourselves so much the more since no one spouted off there."[111] It would be a simple leap to place Mme Buisson in these social gatherings since she was positioned with Garçon's Icarian faction. Regardless, the Voyage had stimulated not only ideological exchanges, but spurred social outings for workers in Lyon.

On the other hand, an "anti-Cabet" element developed in Lyon Icarianism that resisted Cabet's overbearing leadership. Mme Buisson, Garçon, and independent potential-journalist workers were connected with it. During Cabet's sixteen days in Lyon in 1844, when he met with small groups of workers to discuss sensitive issues like revolution and liberty in the Voyage, he was pressed about the "lack of personal freedom in Icaria." Cabet told the protesters that if they did not like it, why did they not produce a better social organization. Garçon and his friends, it seems, took up his challenge.[112] The two Lyon sections were subsequently made up of Icarian "revolutionaries" like the persistent Mme Buisson who acted on her own to bring about change, and the "endormeurs (pacific cajolers)" who passively awaited the coming of Icaria.

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[111] Ibid., 481.

[112] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 136-8. They were held during July and August 1844.

CHAPTER SIX

UNE RIVALE: FLORA TRISTAN[1]

While Cabet furiously penned rancorous replies to ultra-communists in the early 1840s, and simultaneously dissuaded Mme Buisson from submitting verses or co-editing an Icarian women's gazette, a more insistent feminist author seriously challenged the ideological base of his workers' allegiance. Flora Tristan's graphic accounts of English working-class conditions in Promenades in London (1840) had elevated her to a noteworthy rank among labor journalists.[2] Her search for a means to secure workers' justice resulted in another book, L'Union ouvrière (Worker's Union) (1843). Neither of these acclaimed texts met Cabet's utopian specifications and he was irritated by her growing support among the working-class.

Tristan's literary crusades for workers and women had been stimulated in 1835 when she talked with Charles Fourier about his doctrines. After their visit, she sent him a copy of her first publication, which described the shameful conditions faced by women travelers. She also asked him to "please remember me if the opportunity should arise or if you have need of a person who is totally devoted. I can assure you that you will find in me an energy that has little in common with my sex, a need to do good, and a profound

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[1] Michaud, Flora Tristan: Lettres, 221-2, 224-5. Michaud noted that Cabet "soon considered Tristan a rival." Flora Célestine Thérèse Henriette Tristan Moscoso (1803-1844) married an engraver, André Chazal (1796-1860) in 1821, and left him in 1825 under conditions that caused her to hide her identity and whereabouts.

[2] Leslie Ruth Rabine, "The Other Side of the Ideal: Women Writers of Mid Nineteenth- Century France (George Sand, Daniel Stern, Hortense Allart, and Flora Tristan)" French and Italian Department dissertation: Stanford University, August 1973, 289-291. Rabine described Tristan's Promenades dans Londres as her "most open, most outspoken book."

appreciation for those who can find ways in which I can be useful."[3] Fourier tried to meet with her twice after this but she had changed her address.[4] Tristan was especially moved by his famous epigram on the correlation between historical progress and the advance of women which she placed it in a later work, L'Emancipation de la femme.[5] But after she surveyed the massive body of Fourier's writings, Tristan concluded that his scientific and mathematical theories were too difficult for most workers to understand.[6] She wrote to Victor Considerant, the Fourierist editor of La Phalange, about this problem. He published her letter which urged Fourier's followers to "explain your program as quickly as possible - what you are able to do and what we all can do to bring about a realization of Eden for which, according to Fourier, you have given us a foretaste."[7]

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[3] Struminger, Odyssey, 53-4. Michaud, Flora Tristan: Lettres, 56. Tristan's book was Nécessité de faire un bon accueil aux femmes étrangère (Paris: Delaunay, 1835). Her letter to Fourier was August 21, 1835. See Margaret Talbot, "An Emancipated Voice; Flora Tristan and Utopian Allegory" Feminist Studies 7 no. 2 Summer 1991: 219-239., 219-239, 224. Talbot dealt with Tristan's "real and allegorical identity" in a social movement with richly symbolic gender language. The utopian socialists' symbols of "social regeneration - especially, the redeeming woman, femme-messie - created a unique forum for women like Tristan to speak and be heard."

[4] Michaud, Flora Tristan: Lettres, 57. After apologizing for failing to send her new address to Fourier in her letter from Paris, October 11, 1835, Tristan affirmed her excitement over the sublimity of his doctrine. She again asked him to "Employez-moi!"

[5] Beecher, Charles Fourier, 207-8. Beecher noted "Fourier's defense of women is one of the aspects of his thought for which he was and is best known and that the writings on 'the woman question' were greatly admired by Flora Tristan and a number of other pioneer French feminists."

[6] Beverly Livingston, translator with introduction, Flora Tristan: The Workers' Union (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 132. Tristan's effort to have Fourierists write an "edition of their master's work that can be understood by the public" was unsuccessful. She noted in the Worker's Union that it was the "only way to convey Fourier's power and vitality."

[7] Struminger, Odyssey, 54. Michaud, Flora Tristan: Lettres, 196-9, 226. Tristan's

A year later, Tristan's political activism was reinforced as she attended the weekly meetings held by feminist leaders of the Gazette des Femmes.[8] The women petitioned the Chamber of Deputies "for the vote, for a voice in the legislature, for higher education, for admission to liberal professions, for the abrogation of article 213 of the Civil code which stated that "It is a woman's duty to obey her husband" . . . and for the reinstatement of divorce."[9] Tristan was particularly concerned with the legal inequities of marital separation without the right to divorce, for she had left an abusive husband and lacked individual freedom to control her own affairs. When she went to hear a lecture by Robert Owen in Paris, a Saint-Simonian man in the audience challenged the sexual inequality of Owen's projects. "I find your work incomplete," he remarked, "since I see no woman by your side." Tristan stood up and replied, "I am that woman."[10]

Taken together, Tristan's avowed support for Owen's work, her encounters with

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correspondence with Considerant continued until her death in 1844. Michaud recorded accounts of Tristan's Lyon visite domiciliaire, the police withdrawal of her permission to use a loge maçonnique in Lyon, her associations with Considerant, Agricol Perdiguier, the phalanstériens and the Démocratie pacifique. Tristan wrote Enfantin and scolded him for becoming a capitalist and abandoning his principles. Considerant published a collection for the tomb of Tristan in the Démocratie pacifique. Livingston, Flora Tristan, 10-1. Considerant and Eugène Sue wrote encouraging letters which she placed in the preface for the second edition.

[8] Struminger, Odyssey, 55. In the fall and winter of 1835-6, these women discussed the need to end the double standard, but worried about the social and economic liabilities of sexual freedom for women proposed by Saint-Simonians, Fourierists, and Owenites.

[9] Rabine, "The Other Side of the Ideal" diss., 38. Michaud, Flora Tristan: Lettres, 64-5.

[10] Struminger, Odyssey, 57. Owen hoped to establish a community in France like New Lanark and have a French newpaper for his ideas. Thibert, Le Féminisme dans le socialisme français, 308n3. Tristan's volunteer act on behalf of Owen's cause was on August 15, 1837.

Fourier and the feminists of the Gazette des Femmes, advanced her determination to speak the truth openly, no matter what the personal consequences. Although she had already had a court judgment for a "séparation de biens" from her husband Chazal, early in 1838 she demanded a "séparation de corps."[11] She had just published an autobiographical chronicle under her real name, Pérégrinations de une paria (Wanderings of a pariah) (1838).[12] In it, she described herself as a "pariah" and criticized Chazal's hostile actions. Her exposure enraged him and he shot her on September 10, 1838. She recovered from her wounds, but Chazal's crime was the topic of a sensational trial and he was sentenced to 20 years of hard labor.[13]

Tristan's eleven turbulent years of being pursued by a vengeful husband were over.[14] "Finally, I am free - but very sick and distressed by the act of courage that I took,"

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[11] Jean Baelen, La vie de Flora Tristan: socialisme et féminisme au XIXe siecle (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1972), 248, 250. Tristan's "séparation de biens" was in 1828.

[12] Moses and Rabine, Feminism, Socialism, and French Romanticism, 123,4-9. Under the 1804 Civil Code, Tristan was confined to her husband's authority, forbidden to live outside the domicile, and the custody of her children belonged to their father. After leaving Chazal, she was a fugitive, existing outside the law. Because of her own father's undocumented marriage, she was an illegitimate child and not eligible for anything from his estate, making her "a double pariah."

[13] Struminger, Odyssey, 63-8. Besides exposing Chazal's mistreatment, Tristan critized her mother for pushing her into a loveless marriage. She also displayed her prominent Peru relatives' "avaricious and uscrupulous" behavior. Pérégrinations was "burned and banned by the Peruvian church and all mention of Flora's name was forbidden" due to her revelations. Chazal's revenge included public boasts that he planned to kill her. Reports of his threatened danger to her life reached Flora. Chazal waited for hours in a cafe until she walked by. After shooting her, he made no attempt to escape. The bullet was lodged close to her heart and she hovered near death for ten days as the Parisian press reported the history of this "crime of passion" in 1839.

[14] Livingston, Flora Tristan, x. Trial proceedings displayed the horrors Tristan and her children suffered trying to flee Chazal who "cruelly and violently" tried to keep her from them.

she confessed. The terrors associated with her immutable marriage bonds vanished as Tristan searched for a way to help relieve the suffering and misery of other women that she had encountered in her excursions.[15] Her feminist concerns were present in an earlier book, Nécessité de faire un bon accueil aux femmes étrangère (1835). In it, she described the actual difficulties women encountered traveling without a husband that she had recorded in her journal during a sea-voyage to Peru.[16] It may well be that Cabet read or heard about this book for Denise and Céline faced similar barriers when they traveled to London. Tristan's introduction explained that her objective was "not to create another brilliant utopia by describing the world as it should be without indicating how to realize the beautiful dream of a universal Eden."[17] The account of her travel experiences coincided with the timing of Cabet's utopian writing project and it may have been less than coincidental that the Voyage's opening pages depicted ultra-hospitable travel arrangements for both sexes.[18] Tristan was in London meeting with mutual French and Owenite acquaintances at this time, and her publication could easily have caught Cabet's attention.[19]

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[15] Struminger, Odyssey, 70. After the trial, she made an official request to change her name (and her children's) from "femme Chazal" to Flora Tristan. Michaud, Flora Tristan: Lettres, 82.

[16] Livingston, Flora Tristan, viii, ix. In April 1833, Tristan made arrangements for the care of her children and left Bordeaux on a four-month journey to Peru to request her paternal inheritance share. She kept a journal of her travels and published it in 1835.

[17] Doris & Paul Glick selected, translated, with introduction, Flora Tristan Utopian Feminist: Her Travel Diaries & Personal Crusade (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 2. This was in Nécessité de faire un bon accueil aux femmes étrangères.

[18] Voyage, 7-8.

[19] Strumingher, Odyssey, 69. Tristan worked in England for three years in 1826-29 and in 1831, probably as a chambermaid. She stopped in England in December 1834 enroute home from Peru and made another trip in December 1835. She spent four months

Regardless of the degree of prior influence on each other, in 1840 Cabet did read Tristan's Promenades dans Londres and he published a review of it in the seventh issue of Le Populaire. His essay recounted Tristan's shocking information about conditions for "British workers in manufacturing; - [conditions about] public women; - [and] Owen." Women and children worked long hours for pitiful wages in London which also had an illegal economy that supported 100,000 prostitutes." English magistrates closed their eyes to this "abominable shame." Cabet noted that, "Mme Tristan vigorously denounces the English tyranny against the wife who asks for emancipation by divorce." Although her "social ideas were very advanced," he wrote, "the remedies that she proposes appear insufficient to us." In addition, Cabet found that Mme Tristan "declared that she is neither for nor against Owen's system (which is the communist system)." Her book found Owen's childhood education systems admirable as were his forty years of devotion to workers. Cabet concluded that after her brilliant homage to the communist system [Owen's], "we hope that Mme Flora Tristan will not delay in taking a place in our ranks." He admitted that "Few books are more interesting, more filled with generous sentiments than Promenades dans Londres," however, Mme Tristan's philosophical opinions were "indecisive and incomplete."[20]

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there in 1839 (May through August) investigating English workers and writing Promenades dans Londres.

[20] Le Populaire, October 10, 1841, Supplement. Cabet reviewed books by MM. Boyer, Victor Antoine, P. Leroux, and Mme Flora Tristan. Struminger, Odyssey, 77-8. Other reviewers praised Tristan's study of British workers. Englishman John Goodwyn Barmby was in Paris establishing contacts betweeen Owenists and Fourierists and endorsed her book for Le Nouveau Monde. He gave her Owen's books: The Book of the New Moral World, Lectures on the Marriage System, Essays on Education, and The Manifesto. In return, she gave him Promenades in London.

A few months after Cabet invited Tristan to take a "place in our ranks," he received two letters from a Lyon woman named Eléonore Blanc who was destined to meet Tristan in 1844 and thereafter become her loyal follower.[21] But on May 23, 1842, Madame Blanc (née Guyod) was excited about Cabet's Icarian plan. She wrote to offer praise and "honor to you who have braved the menaces of those who are our masters." After Blanc apologized for being "a weak woman who addresses a man of your merit," she resumed her effusive thanks to the "author of rare merit who publishes a useful book in the name of family." She bared her private emotions, confessing that she had "cried in reading it."[22] Blanc sent a second letter to Cabet on August 8, 1842 that was written in a defensive tone, for she had been rebuked by him. "You accuse me of being impolite and you have good merit. . . . I implore you to pardon the fault that I have committed," she wrote. Mme Blanc's "fault" was related to her "exaggerated exaltation" which she contended was due to her true effort to "say my thoughts simply." She had a "lively sense of the misfortune of the people" and prayed that Cabet would accept her "admiration for the reform that you preach and announce."[23] In her two letters to Cabet, Blanc professed her hope that the Icarian world could exist and help erase the sufferings of workers.[24] Soon after her letters

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[21] Michaud, Flora Tristan: Lettres, 218. Michaud's biographical account of Eléonore Guyot Blanc noted that she was introduced to Flora Tristan in May 1844. Livingston, Flora Tristan, xvi.

[22] Madame Ere. Blanc (née Guyod) to Cabet, May 23, 1842, BHVP. Gluntz noted on the envelope it was being carried by a Lyon correspondent, M. Luchet.

[23] Madame Ere. Blanc (née Guyod) to Cabet, August 8, 1842, BHVP. Blanc also wrote that she had "great chagrin since she had been crying about a deceased friend who was young and full of life." This suggests Cabet had contact with her beyond the May letter which resulted in his rebuke for her emotional expressions.

[24] Cabet to Charles [Chameroy], August 13, 1842. CIS, SIUE folder 12.

of adulation for Cabet's system, Blanc encountered Flora Tristan and was introduced to her proposals for a universal L'Union ouvrière. She found Tristan's plan superior to Cabet's.

Getting L'Union ouvrière published was not easy. The publisher for the "lions of democracy," Laurent-Antoine Pagnerre, refused to publish it and Tristan looked for an alternative way to have it printed.[25] She asked Cabet and a number of friends to contribute to a subscription to cover publishing costs. Cabet refused.[26] At that time, he noted later, Tristan "came to us and asked us to publish a fragment and to subscribe; we responded that the narrow limits of Le Populaire did not permit us to insert a long chapter, and that, to our great regret, we could not subscribe, because we do not approve of her work."[27]

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[25] Livingston, Flora Tristan, 23-4. Laurent-Antoine Pagnerre (1805-1854) published Cabet's history works. Pagnerre participated in the 1830 Revolution, served as General Secretary of the Provisional Government of 1848 and later as Deputy to the Constituent. Tristan printed Pagnerre's polite letter of refusal in the preface to her first edition as well as the names of her contributers. As a prototype of the International and Marx's ideas, several of Tristan's biographers have discussed the impact of Tristan's works. See Baelen, La vie de Flora Tristan, 213. Baelen asserted that it was "inelegant" on the part of Marx and Engels to "hide the pioneer role that Flora Tristan played, and to be silent about her in the Manifeste communiste where he recopied l'Union ouvrière and recommended the constitution of the proletarian as a distinctive class." Edith Thomas, Les Femmes en 1848 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1948), 22. "Before Karl Marx, Flora Tristan discovered the substance of the new idea; the emancipation of the workers will be the work of the workers themselves." Not all of Tristan's researchers found her to be so momentous. See Rabine, "The Other Side of The Ideal," diss., 309. Rabine took into account Tristan's perplexing identities and weighed the genius of George Sand against the three other women writers she studied. She found Tristan lacking in literary creativity due to the "extreme uniqueness and vulnerability of her position as political activist." For a diverse range of Tristan's intellectual and social influences, see Strumingher, The Odyssey of Flora Tristan .

[26] Le Populaire, September-October 1, 1843. He received her request on May 23, 1843.

[27] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 381. Le Populaire, September-October 1, 1843.

In spite of Cabet's refusal, Tristan collected enough from other socialist sympathizers to get her book published.[28] When she read Cabet's critical review of her text in the June 10, 1843 issue of Le Populaire, she felt he distorted her ideas by connecting several phrases with ellipses. She wrote him on June 16 requesting that he insert her letter about this in his next issue. In July, Cabet noted that, "Our last number has excited requests [about letters] on the part of madame Flora Tristan, M. Stourm, and the editor of the Nouveaux-Monde. We will, without hesitation, insert their three letters, which will have our very calm response; but to our great regret we lack the space; they will be in our next number."[29] Again in August, Cabet lacked space and noted that "the adjournment excited more coarse invectives from one of them."[30] Finally, after four months, Tristan's

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[28] Livingston, Flora Tristan, 30-33, 23-4, 26, 20-1,19,4, 29,3. Tristan received 1,548 francs from 123 subscribers including George Sand, 40 francs; Eugène Sue, 100 francs; Phiquepal d'Arusmont (husband of Frances Wright) 25 francs; Blanqui, 15 francs; Considerant, 10 francs; Hortense Allart, 5 francs; Pauline Roland, 5 francs; Marie Dorval 5 francs; Victor Hennequin, 5 francs; Louis Blanc, 3 francs; and Vinçard, 2 francs. Others known to Cabet like Agricol Perdiquier and Charles Poncy also contributed. Among those who refused were Delacroix, Lamennais, Chateaubriand, Lafitte, Baron de Rothschild, and two actresses, Mars and Rachel.

[29] Le Populaire, July 20, 1843. Among the paper topics using 'space' were articles on Barcelona, the bastilles, letters to and from Gouhenant in Toulouse, Catholic opposition (Fournier de Virginie in Lyon), Kant, and the equation that Christianity equals Communism.

[30] Le Populaire, August 19, 1943. This issue had a section lauding Hegelian students, the "consequences" of which would "conduct them to the Communauté." Cabet noted that Feuerbach published his Essence du Christianisme, thereby promoting Feuerbach's rational views which were not far from his equivocations about divinity and man's role as a reasoning being. Did Cabet read Feuerbach? He was known to be an important source for Marx's beliefs. Equally significant was Cabet's mention of Dr. Stein de Holstein who came to Paris to study Socialism. Stein "wanted to publish a work in which he exposes the Saint-Simonians, Fourierism, etc., and Icarian Communism." (And did.) He was interested in translations of Credo Communiste, Douze lettres, Almanach, and the Voyage which was making a great impression in Germany in its 3rd edition. Cabet surely considered himself in the vanguard of a larger social movement in Europe. See

letter about his misrepresention of her work appeared. His essay attacked Tristan's ideas, her tactics, and person. It began with an appraisal of her book's unorthodox origins.

> After she composed her Union ouvriére, that she was pleased to qualify as one grand and beautiful doctrine conceived by herself, madame Flora Tristan addressed editors to publish her book, Democrats to obtain subscriptions to print it, then, she addressed journalists to transcribe long chapters. La Phalange, which she declared partisan, kindly gave her eight columns all declaring her plan impossible: but the Revue Indépendante and other journals refused the insertion, like the editors and Democrats refused to publish and to subscribe.

Cabet explained his refusal to print her "long chapter" and his review of it with the proper quotation marks in a few words. No one should have misunderstood his analysis since of the "seven indented lines, the last five are textual copies from her work." With this denial in place, Cabet innocently asked readers, "did we have the intention to distort her plan, or present an unfaithful and disloyal analysis?" Tristan sent him a letter "that we have no hesitation to insert despite her words, injustice, and her violent hostility." In it, she argued that Cabet's use of ellipses altered the meaning of her concepts. "Either you do not understand my ideas, or you do not want to understand. You have completely distorted them," she wrote.[31] A person who "preached justice" and the "scrupulous" observance of laws as he did, should realize how important it was for one's ideas to be held in the "manner in which they are expressed." Furthermore, she concluded, "I am not for the Communauté: each must respond for himself."[32]

Cabet followed up the reproduction of Tristan's letter with a summary of her

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Lorenz von Stein, introduced, edited and translated by Kaethe Mengelberg, Lorenz von Stein: The History of the Social Movement in France 1789-1850 (Totowa: The Bedminster Press, 1964), 299, 309, 359, 418.

31 Le Populaire, September - October 1, 1843.

32 Ibid. Michaud, Lettres, 177-8.

charges and concluded, "All that is very spiteful, very hostile. . . ! ! !" Then, in a derisive, paternal manner, he professed that "we are profoundly afflicted to see a woman with talent that could be useful, declare war against us; but it is especially for her that we deplore her errors." Then he defended his "perfectly exact and faithful analysis" with excerpts gleaned from other detractors and asked, "Is it our fault that her plan is the most fanciful of all those that we have a knowledge of? Is it our fault if la Phalange declared to us that it is impossible, if the Nouveau-Monde pointed out the faults, the illusions, the errors, and declared that the plan has not one happy thought, nor one realizable thought, and if l'Atelier derisively called her an 'O'Connel in a skirt'?[33] Is it our fault if she hopes that King Louis-Philippe will give her the most beautiful of his domaines to constitute the L'Union ouvrière?"[34]

Why was Cabet so upset? Why was he "at war" with Tristan? One immediate answer would be that he did not want to sanction any plan that might lead to an uprising of workers or violence. After a four month delay, he assembled negative opinions about Tristan's book and lined them up in the Populaire, including a sexist attack against an "O'Connell in a skirt" and an accusation of a messiah complex.[35] Nonetheless, the most

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[33] Daniel O'Connell was an Irish liberation leader.

[34] Le Populaire, September - October 1, 1843. Tristan warned workers to "respond to the call for union, if through selfishness or lack of caring you refuse to unite . . ." Cabet used ellipses here to eliminate "what can be done to save you in the future?" and then placed a later passage about workers being abandoned as if "they were dead." In Cabet's reduced paraphrase, Tristan essentially told "male and female workers: listen to me" or else it will be "as if they were dead."

[35] Livingston, Flora Tristan, 42. Tristan claimed her spiritual right "as a woman who feels faith and force. Why shouldn't I go, just like the apostles, from town to town announcing the good tidings and preaching fraternity and unity in humanity to the workers?"

striking explanation for the 'war' was that her plan was simpler, easier to apply, and more plausible than the transformed utopian world order of Icaria. Tristan was a rival. She calculated that if every worker put aside two francs a year, put aside their petty rivalries, and moved toward a compact, solid union, then, "in a year, if you truly want it, the Union will be established, and in two years you will have fourteen million in funds of your very own to build a palace worthy of a great working people."[36]

Tristan had refused Cabet's invitation to join the communists and despite his malicious opinions about her, had devised a means to achieve the goals that she set forth for readers at the start of her 150 page book:

> Listen to me. For twenty-five years the most intelligent and devoted men have given their lives to defending your sacred cause. . . .The many eloquent voices have not been able to arouse the Government's concern regarding the risks to society with seven to eight million workers exasperated by suffering and despair, with many trapped between suicide and thievery! . . . There is nothing more to be said, nothing more to be written, for your wretched position is well known by all. Only one thing remains to be done: for you to act by virtue of the RIGHTS inscribed in the Charter and in the interest of your own cause. . . .Your action is not to be armed revolt, public riots, arson, or plundering. . . . You have but one legal and legitimate recourse permissible before God and man: THE UNIVERSAL UNION OF WORKING MEN AND WOMEN.[37]

To exemplify the action needed for workers to regain their rights and dignity, Tristan began a 'tour' of France, an idea borrowed from the traditional compagnon's circuit.[38] She

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[36] Ibid., 40-1.

[37] Ibid., 37-38.

[38] Ibid., xiv-xvi, 138-151. Tristan's journal notes described working conditions, meetings, and her personal reactions. Her "mystical" social evangelism was a "self-appointment as the modern female savior committed to rescuing the working poor from their intolerable circumstances." She wrote of a "divine grace," a sense of martyrdom, and a "sublime submission to a transcendent cause." Union ouvrière ended with a musical score and lyrics from two of the best songs entered in a contest. Prizes were awarded Charles Poncy, mason, and Gallinove, painter, for their "The Workers' Union Marseillaise." She proposed a workers' Weekly Journal.

traveled from town to town, passing out copies of Union ouvrière, and explaining her plan for creating an international union of workers.[39] From April, 1844 until shortly before dying of typhoid at the age of forty-one on November 14, 1844, Tristan met with workers in seventeen French cities.[40] She encouraged them to act together in solidarity with the goal of an international worker's union.[41] If all the workers united and "constituted" themselves as a class, they could demand their "right to work," a vital objective, for irregular unemployment was a serious problem.[42] In each town, she organized 'circles' of workers who were expected to meet and discuss common solutions to their problems after she moved on.[43]

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[39] Livingston, Flora Tristan, xiv n11. Her travel notes were to be the basis for a book about the French workers' experiences which was interrupted by her death. Jules L. Puech published them later. See Jules L. Puech, Flora Tristan le tour de France: état actuel de la classe ouvrière sous l'aspect moral - intellectuel - matériel (Paris: Éditions Tête de Feuilles, 1973) and Jules L. Puech, La Vie et L'oeuvre de Flora Tristan, 1803-1844 (Paris: Marcel Rivière, 1925).

[40] Struminger, Odyssey, 139, 143. Hundreds of workers attended her funeral. Carpenters, shoemakers, laundresses and seamstresses were pallbearers. With money from a workers' collection, each circle was to have a bust of Flora Tristan and a monument erected.

[41] Jules L. Puech. Flora Tristan, 9, 114. Puech acknowledged that Tristan's work was the first effort for a union of all workers and stated that her emphasis would be found in Marx and Engels, The Communist Manifesto. He printed the itinerary for Tristan's Tour de France in 1844.

[42] Struminger, Odyssey, 93, 97. Tristan concluded that wealthy women would not be potential leaders of her plan for workers. Therefore she turned to working men to convince them to work for women's emancipation which would lead to the emancipation of all workers.

[43] Ibid., 120, 90. Puech, Flora Tristan, 148. In organizing workers, Tristan defied the police who searched her room and writings. Their presence at gatherings would quickly disperse workers. After she discussed her plan with a group of artisans, they voted on April 5, 1843 to support her goal of uniting all men and women workers in a Workers' Union and to constitute the working class and send its delegates to the Chamber of

At a gathering of women silk-workers in Lyon, Tristan found disturbing support for Cabet's Icarian world.[44] She wanted workers to begin taking an active part in correcting the abuses in their specific labor systems right away, and not wait passively for some future Icarie. Cabet's followers, she observed, were immobilized, paralyzed, and not taking any action. A week later, after listening to more women praising the fictional bon Icar, she recorded in her journal, her disgust with the blindness of these Icarian followers. Cabet was a "monstruosité de personnalité," vain and blank, who gave birth to ridiculous, unsuitable, strange ideas. Scornfully, she wrote that in Icaria, all would have "little gardens" and "immense families" and everyone would live according to their own taste and receive according to their needs. Icarians would decide which books to read and which to put on the index like the "court of Rome." She wanted no part of that, it was comical, ridiculous, and grotesque![45]

Besides the silk workers who idolized Cabet in Lyon, Tristan met Eléonore Guyot Blanc, a laundress, "femme du peuple" in May 1844.[46] Blanc, who had recently beem

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Deputies. Even though Tristan had some objections and broke with the committee, they wrote that "we thank you for having electrified our souls with an idea that will most certainly bring happiness to humanity some day."

[44] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 135,136-41. Icarian followers in 1842-1843 in Lyon were divided between peaceful propagandists and revolutionaries. They had been temporarily united in the fall of 1843 when Cabet met with over 800 workers in small groups where he reportedly approved of a revolutionary take-over, but only at the moment of Louis-Philippe's death. This viewpoint spread and Cabet published a denial of a "pernicious" story that he had "taken a revolutionary stance" in Le Populaire on November 12, 1843. Johnson found that Cabet's Icarian movement "reached something of a high point in Lyons during the fall and winter of 1843-1844."

[45] Puech, Flora Tristan, 78, 86-7. This meeting was on May 13, 1844.

[46] Livingston, Flora Tristan, xvi-xvii.

scolded by Cabet for her letters of "exalted" praise about the "Icarian order" quickly switched her loyalty to Tristan's l'Union ouvriére plan. She called herself Tristan's "disciple," her "Saint John." In turn, Tristan offered to tutor Blanc and composed a list of books for her to read telling her, "If you want to work seriously, you will find me an untiring maîtresse."[47] Blanc followed her guidance and Tristan was pleased with her protégé's intellectual progress. After her second visit to Lyon, Blanc stayed close to her ailing mistress and was at her bedside when she died in November. After Tristan's death, she took up a burial subscription for her. Blanc preserved her notes and wrote a short biography of her life.[48]

Six months later, Cabet responded to requests from letter-writers for his opinion of Tristan's system Following a sketch of l'Union ouvriére, he wrote that organizing ten million workers appeared "very simple and could seduce honest men who didn't have a background for social politics. All that can be quickly imagined, but the obstacles are not shown on paper." Besides, Cabet exclaimed, the world has spoken of union for centuries, and if it were easy, it would have been realized. Mme Tristan's project contained "illusions and deceptions." In the "first place," he asked, "How would she bring agreement among workers?" There were divisions between them and the government would not tolerate all those "parallel" groups. "If the l'Union ouvriére is not impossible, it will take a long time,"

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[47] Michaud, Flora Tristan: Lettres, 203-4. The letter date was July 6, 1844. Livingston, Flora Tristan, 120. Tristan's plan for the moral, intellectual, and vocational instruction of children, recommended the use of "the *why* " or the Jacotot method.

[48] Michaud, Flora Tristan: Lettres, 218. Born in 1819, Blanc was 25 in 1844 while Tristan was 41. For Cabet, who was 56, Blanc would have appeared to be an excitable young woman. Livingston, Flora Tristan, xv. Tristan rendered the supreme being as a plural Dieux. This undoubtedly derived from the Saint-Simonians' androgynous god-heads and her evening sessions with the journalist women of the Gazette.

he wrote. "We prefer communism to the l'Union ouvriére." Cabet regretted that Mme Tristan was not "consecrated to communism" where her talent, her zeal, and capacities would have been rendered more useful. After acknowledging that both systems could only be realized slowly, he argued that communism was a "hundred times more rapid than the l'Union ouvriére."[49]

Thus, Cabet presumed to end the discussion of Tristan's plan. Eléonore Blanc, however, was not happy with his post-mortem assessment and she sent him a letter of protest, asking to have it inserted in his paper. He did not.[50] There were no more citations about Tristan's union in Le Populaire until after the Icarian emigration project began. At that time, a letter from Provence explained that workers there had been dedicated to Mme Tristan's l'Union ouvriére, but since the Voyage en Icarie was propagated among them, they had adopted it as the best means to save suffering humanity.[51] This evidence shows how Cabet profited from Tristan's activism. He not only attracted many of her working-class followers but began popularizing her unifying term, "solidarity" in his newspaper. The 1847 Icarian Almanach even called for the "workers' solidarity to become universal," as Tristan had phrased it.[52] French workers' attachment to her ideas and

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[49] Le Populaire, June 13, 1845. The article, "Doctrine Communiste" was sub-headed: "Systeme de madame Flora Tristan."

[50] Michaud, Flora Tristan: Lettres, 218. Michaud did not copy Blanc's 1845 letter to Cabet; but stated she made a protest "against an article in Le Populaire that was "not inserted."

[51] Le Populaire, November 28, 1847. This was two months before the first departure for US.

[52] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 227.

dedication had not disappeared. In 1848, eight thousand workers gathered in Bordeaux and solemnly dedicated a monument to her.[53]

Tristan's untimely death spared Cabet further 'war' from a formidable rival at a time when he was exploring the means to start a petite colonie. Pierre Leroux had set up a community at Boussac outside Paris, and Fourierists had begun a number of phalanxes in Brazil and America. Funding was always a drawback and Cabet's efforts to attract wealthy patrons were not very successful. He was feeling depressed in the early months of 1843, plagued with bouts of flu and bad eyesight, when he observed that "the rich have so little sympathy and are so little disposed to aid us."[54] However, by the end of the year, his spirits had lifted. The number of Icarian followers rose after his trips to Lyon and Toulouse where the fortuitous outcome of a trial of twelve Icarians made him a celebrated figure.[55]

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[53] Struminger, Odyssey, 144. On October 22, 1848, 1,500 workers from across France gathered in Bordeaux to march to a cemetery carrying banners that proclaimed, "Association" and "Right to Work." When they arrived, another 8,000 were present to hear speeches and dedicate a monument "To the memory of Flora Tristan, author of l'Union ouvriére, the workers thank her. Liberty - Equality - Fraternity - Solidarity."

[54] Cabet to Chameroy, Feb 18, 1843. CIS SIUE folder 12. Cabet was in bed for 8 days with the flu. Cabet to Chameroy, May 2, 1843. CIS SIUE folder 12. Cabet's eyes were bad and he was too tired to read Charles' long letter. He remarked, "As you already know, I disapprove of Proudhon, Pierre Leroux, [and] Louis Blanc's [system] . . . I hope to soon find the cautionnement and greater means." Cabet to Berrier-Fontaine, April 7, 1844. CIS SIUE folder 2. A year later and two weeks before telling Berrier about his petite colonie, Cabet wrote that he was very fatigué (tired) "somewhat "faible de la tete et des jambes (weak in the head and legs)."

[55] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 134. 132-3, 128-34. Cabet went to Toulouse to defend Gouhenant and 11 other Icarians. On the first day of the trial, Cabet was told he could not act as their lawyer due to a legal technicality. Letters were published about this injustice in local papers which placed the government in a defensive position. The jury, motivated in part by this publicized grievance, acquitted all twelve Icarians on August 31, 1843.

He wanted to direct a model Communauté to foster the principles of his communist system.

Women and Cabet's "Petite Communauté de dévoués et petite colonie fraternelle"

With this in mind in the Spring of 1844, Cabet solicited opinions from friends about a petite colonie. He sent two letters on the same day to Delarageaz and Michod with similar queries about the feasibility of locating it in Switzerland if it would not be possible near Paris. He asked Delarageaz if he had "found any rich personnes who want to cooperate?"[56] A few days later, he mailed ten pages of information about his petite colonie to Berrier-Fontaine requesting "his advice on the project."[57] Two weeks later, Cabet published his plan in Le Populaire.

But before presenting a description of his petite colonie, Cabet announced that in the issues to follow, they would cite about "20 essays on agricultural and manufacturing Colonies, Phalanstères or species of Communautés; the colonies of Petit-Bourg, of Métrey, etc., etc.; the Société civile that M. Arthur Yung [sic: Young] founded at new Citeaux; a great number of associations in North America; the Communauté de l'Union founded by a Belgium company at Saint-Thomas, in central America, etc., etc."[58] Some

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[56] Cabet to Michod, April 13, 1844. Cabet to Delarageaz, April 13, 1844. CIS SIUE folder 2. Cabet also told Michod that he had a "hundred other important projects" including publishing Vrai Christianisme and getting the 50,000 franc cautionnement for making the paper a weekly. "Foreign Democrats will be interested in the Populaire and will aid with the cautionnement, and bring actions for thousands of francs."

[57] Cabet to Berrier-Fontaine, April 20, 1844. CIS SIUE folder 2. He also asked him for Doctor Mac-Douall's address.(Mac-Douall was to translate the Voyage into English.)

[58] Le Populaire, May 8, 1842, September 11, 1842. Dézamy "wrote to Mme Gatit de Grammont at Citeaux to offer himself as editor for her Phalanstérien or Fourierist journal." In an article, "Émigrations d'Europe en Amérique," Cabet claimed that the number of emigrations from all parts of Europe to all parts of America was "without parallel" and

readers were familiar with these groups and perhaps, knew about Arthur Young, an English philanthropist and patron of French Fourierist publications. Young supported community projects and might have money to invest. A "great number" of Fourierist associations were forming in North America where Albert Brisbane and Horace Greeley had encouraged the organization of eighteen phalanxes by 1844.[59] The New York Tribune reported on the "General Convention of the Friends of Association in the United States" held in New York a month earlier.[60] Cabet followed his review of these colonies with, "Here is our idea."[61]

Readers' attention was drawn to a raised type proclamation, "Petite Communauté de dévoués et petite colonie fraternelle" succeeded by six columns of information.[62] The "preliminary observations" section cited information from a "little book titled, Manifeste

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those to North America were more than all those in the past two hundred years." 36,127 foreigners went to Quebec and 125 workers left for the Brazil Fourierist colony.

[59] Guarneri, The Utopian Alternative, 24, 327, 153. Young, against Considerant's advice, purchased the medieval abbey at Citeaux to transform it into a phalanx. It disbanded three years later. French phalanxes in Brazil (1841-45) and Algeria (1846) met a fate similar to Citeaux. The official Fourierist school in Paris disavowed them. In the US, when the North American Phalanx was discussing liquidation proposals in 1855, Arthur Young attempted unsuccessfully to reorganize the community among the purchasers. Between 1842-1845, Fourierists founded 24 phalanxes in the US. Five lasted for 3 years and only two for more than 5 years.

[60] Ibid., 232-3. After discussing doctrinal differences with Fourier's theories at the April 4-6, 1844 Convention, they voted to call themselves the Associationists, hoping to avoid the nexus of immorality attached to sections of Fourier's writing.

[61] Le Populaire, May 2, 1844.

[62] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 219. This was to be a "laboratory of communism." The "first in a series of localized cells that would multiply and totally engulf France."

de l'Ecole sociétaire or Fouriériste which carries much weight because it contains knowledge from intelligent men of talent who distinguish two species of Communism: one, that they call revolutionary or Babouvisme; and the other, that they call Icarian and pacific. They recognize that Icarian doctrine has made immense progress in the working class, and that it has a chance to be accepted unanimously by that class." The booklet authors "advise the Government to give the Icarians, land, money, and the means to make a large Communist experiment," so that they can "demonstrate the possibility, the excellence, and the superiority of their system of social organization."[63] Such an example would show whether "the doctrine of Communauté" is an "error" or "social poverty." Cabet noted that the masses were searching for "economic means, mutual help, and fraternal assistance." Large common restaurants and common buildings with smaller housing units would make living less expensive and more healthful. "We are convinced that this is possible and we will explain how."[64]

The petite colonie would have two parallel communities. The first one would be composed of 5 to 20 elite men of "superior character" who would direct the affairs of the second larger one. This "petite Communauté de dévoués" men would be "christians, devoted to Humanity, instructed, and capable of associating and living fraternally in a Communauté." They would "consecrate themselves to formulate, to explain, and to propagate the system of Communauté." A parallel community of men would "renounce all the pleasures of the world and all connections to power. They would reject egoism,

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63 Le Populaire, May 2, 1844.

64 Ibid.

personal interest, ambition, vanity, and therefore not be liable to arrest for slander." All would live together near Paris. They would be "equal brothers, deliberating, and deciding in common. . . . a Conseil du Peuple." They would publish a journal and an almanach.[65]

Cabet paused at this point and added a personal note, "for our part, we would be happy to be one of these workers, and to consecrate the rest of our existence in solitude, in work, in realizing the most complete devotion to the cause of Humanity." This idea, he reminded readers, was "exposed in the Icarian Almanach of 1844 (p. 182)."[66] It seems therefore, that Cabet's petite colonie project was not a sudden inspiration, but had been in the planning stage for at least a year and nudged into the open by the challenge in the Fourierists' booklet as well as the rapid growth of Fourierist associations in America.

Under the next caption, "petite colonie fraternelle," Cabet set out his designs for the large group located outside Paris with lodgings for 500 people, workshops, gardens, and buildings for education, arts, and culture. It would be divided into 20 Communiers; 20 to 30 "necessary" employed gardeners, porters, cooks, butchers, copists, commissioners, laundresses, linen-workers, carpenters, furniture makers, etc.; 100 to 200 paying-boarders; 60 working-boarders such as tailors, shoe-makers, glove-makers, clock-makers, engravers, and artists, who would live and work for three or four months; 20 girls and 20 boys who would receive an education, and about 20 friends or visitors.[67]

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[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid. One can not help but wonder what Cabet had in mind for his wife if he "consecrated" the rest of his "existence to work in solitude, in work, etc."Cabet to Berrier-Fontaine, April 7, 1844. Cabet told Berrier that he was "absorbed with a grand project (new almanach chapter)."

Assuredly, there would be strict admission rules. Each must have a "perfect morality, fraternal sentiment, and devotion to Humanity, and take a public, formal engagement to conform to the regulations." Some married men with their wives and children would be admitted. All would be lodged, furnished, and clothed the same. They would work until about 5 PM and everything would be done to make their work easy and avoid accidents. There would be a doctor and a pharmacy. Dinner and evenings in the salon or library would be in common. Likewise, conferences, discusssions, and instructions were held in common. Members would be tolerant of all religious opinions. The social classes would unite to understand, to know, and appreciate each other and practice christian fraternity, the "fundamental and constant law."[68]

The paying-boarders, Cabet noted, will be taken care of for a "limited time" or for the "rest of their life." He did not specify the fees to be charged the two divisions of boarders, or the background of the 'paying' ones and their purpose in the community. On the other hand, worker-boarders would only stay for three months and pay a moderate sum for their upkeep or pay with the products of their labor. During the three months, the workers would be instructed completely and take on good habits. In this way, 200 workers would come and go in a year. They would "return to the working classes as good examples, with principles of order, economy, morality and fraternity." Visitors, inspired by a humanitarian sentiment, could stay for several days, as could influential people and "zealous Communists."[69]

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67 Le Populaire, May 2, 1844.

68 Ibid.

69 Ibid.

Cabet added that the 20 Communiers would consist of 8 or 10 writers or savants, 5 or 6 workers, and 5 to 7 rich and generous donateurs inspired by their devotion to Humanity." The Communiers will have access to books on the doctrine of fraternity and avoid all that worries the Government. They will abstain from hostile politics. Their journal will publish moderate critiques and accounts of their receipts. Their "writings and acts will excite all classes to reciprocal good will, to union, concord, and to the practice of true christianity and fraternity." Drunkenness will be suppressed and a judiciary council will be organized for workers. The "necessary capital will be created by donations and actions commanditaires that will be reimbursed in "3, 4, 5, etc. years, with or without interest."[70]

Readers surely were puzzled by Cabet's petite colonie project. It was not the Icarian system depicted in the Voyage, although the communal element was embedded in it, albeit under an elite staff that was not elected. And the word Icarian did not appear anywhere in his description. This new plan simulated a moral, capitalist investment community although it is hard to imagine how it would be self-supporting with transient workers, boarders, and start-up funding supplied by philanthropist donateurs (and, hopefully, the government). The "necessary" workers would accumulate few material gains beyond their regulated daily supply of essentials. A key feature was the three month rotation of outside workers brought in to be instructed on order, economy, morality, and fraternity. After their training, they were expected to return to their work places as good examples for their fellow-workers. Was this, then, a rehabilitation center for workers? And

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[70] Ibid.

what of women? They were not among the elite personnel, although there were a 'few' married women and other 'necessary' women, like the laundresses.

A clue to understanding Cabet's petite colonie lies in recalling Doctor Louis Villermé's 1840 report on workers, Tableau de l'état physique et moral des ouvriers employés dans les manufactures de coton, de laine et de soie. Villermé's "terrible vision of the physical and moral deterioration of the working class" was shared by Louis Blanc and Dr. Guépin of Nantes, both correspondents of Cabet's.[71] Like Villermé, Dr. Guépin saw the workers' "gruesome poverty" as the "inevitable" result of "moral disorder - especially crime and the dissolution of family life."[72] Cabet had set up a similar inquiry in 1842, Enquête ou revue industrièlle, and "invited" workers to answer twenty points. Aside from questions about their wages and workplace conditions, he asked whether they were married or single, the level of their education, and what societies they belonged to. He wanted workers to tell him about their morals, habits, vices, ages, and explain the fatigues of the men, women, young boys and girls who were employed in the same work.[73] Although the number of workers who responded to Cabet's Enquête appears to have been small, some information apparently convinced him that they would benefit from

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[71] William H. Sewell Jr., Work and revolution in France: The language of labor from the old regime to 1848 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 232, 226, 229. Sewell analyzed Villermé's report in light of the impact it had on bourgeois attitudes and fears regarding the working classes, especially their lack of moral restraints. "Material deprivation," Sewell concluded, was seen more as the "product of moral degradation than its cause." To overcome this, factories needed to be "made into reformatories." This reforming motive was in Cabet's plan.

[72] Ibid., 232-3. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 166. Johnson also examined the "pessimistic" views about the workers' conditions by these writers.

[73] Le Populaire, July 3, 1842.

instructions on how to be good orderly and moral workers.[74] During their three month sojourn in the petite colonie, elite humanitarian scholars would be prepared to dispense exemplary moral instruction to them on ways to improve their lives.

Cabet also seems to have reworked his prior enthusiasm for a dual-sex monastery system to include some married men with wives and children living in common. Despite the petite colonie's ecumenical toleration, its scheme mimics a christian religious community with common dress, food, housing, and a 'true' christianity ethic. Nonetheless, its essential raison d'être was to morally enlighten workers while catering to the needs of paying-boarders, some for life, much like the wealthy widows who paid to live in the shelter of convents. The petite colonie bears scant resemblance to the Voyage's egalitarian, propertyless, educated, citizen-legislators, professional women, and families.

On the other hand, the petite colonie did demonstrate Cabet's ongoing conviction that "Le Communisme est le seul systême qui instruise et moralise le Peuple (Communism is the only system which instructs and moralizes People)," which headed an earlier essay in his paper."[75] In it, he presented a brief history of the problems of instructing and educating the People to become true citizens after the Revolution. Their understanding was undermined by the powerful obstacles of aristocracy, despotism, and the annihilation of the liberty of the press. The neglect of the people's civic instruction has "had incalculable damage for present and future generations." Communism, Cabet argued, was a direct corollary of 18th century philosophy and the principles of the 1789 Revolution. It desires

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[74] Ibid. Returns from this inquiry are stored at the IISG. While incomplete, Cabet undoubtedly gained insights into worker's living habits from their responses.

[75] Le Populaire, October 9, 1842.

equality for all "under the morals of original Christianity." A system of Communism would result in "fraternal love, tolerance, devotion, union, concord, peace, and order." But since politicans and reformers left the unequal system of wealth intact, Cabet awaited a "mass of men of good faith" who would "instruct and moralize men on Communism, the most moral, most elevated of religions, and the most powerful of Systems."[76] His exegesis was a call for men to teach about Communism which would insure the "happiness of Humanity." The men of 'good faith' in this essay were similar to the elite men that he described a year and a half later in the petite colonie. Both calls were addressed to men, unlike the Voyage where women were urged to become 'persuasive apostles,' a gender premise that was missing from these essays.

Seven weeks after Cabet's exposure of the petite colonie plan in his newspaper, he wrote Chilman in London that it had been "generally received with enthusiasm" but he had begun nothing since he had not found the "necessary funds." His letter also noted that he had received criticism about it from some of his friends:

> This [petite colonie] is not my true social and national communauté but only a school or an example of fraternity and a very powerful instrument of propaganda. The rest [of Chilman's remarks], I will examine with much attention to your objections - and those of your comrades, and you will receive my response. You add that if I persist, you will not aid me with it.[77]

Within two months, Cabet retreated from this project. He lacked money, but his withdrawal was also influenced by letters from the Société Démocratique française in London (printed in Le Populaire).[78] They had discussed the "grave question" of a

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[76] Ibid.

[77] Cabet to Chilman, June 19, 1844. CIS SIUE, folder 2. Chilman was Cabet's exile friend.

[78] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 367-70. Cabet printed two letters in Le Populaire

communauté outside Paris and some members thought it could succeed, but "we do not think your efforts will be crowned with success," they wrote. They explained that they had discussed the "same question when English citizens were resolved to go to America and found a communauté on the shores of Lake Michigan."[79] Cabet defensively added that he believed the Société Démocratique française "committed a manifest error when they confounded that tentative decision [about Lake Michigan] with our essentially different project." However, they would only begin when they had "1) superior men for the petite Communauté de dévoués; 2) all the necessary funds for the petite colonie fraternelle; and 3) the necessary elite for that Colonie."[80]

By his own admission, Cabet was prodded into launching his colonie project, not only by the Fourierist pamphlet but by the "great number of associations" in North

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(July 12, 1844) from the Société Démocratique française which was formed by the 1839 Blanquist exiles in London. They condemned the petite colonie as "a waste of time and money." Members had also rejected the Le Humanitaire extremism in 1841. Germans praised Cabet's "battle for the truth" and appeared to reject violence claiming the "great revolution of the 19th century will have to be in the mind." The Society sent money in 1843 to "support Cabet on his trip to Toulouse." Berrier Fontaine headed it in 1844.

[79] Sutton, Les Icariens, 43, 43n1,156. In, "Cabet to the French Democratic Society of London," [March]1843 at IISG, Sutton connected a March 1843 plan for a small community on the edge of a lake in America with the petite colonie a year later. Cabet apparently understood the reference. The puzzle remains. Who initiated a tentative decision to found a community near Lake Michigan in 1843? Was this an Icarian (Owenite) migration? A further clue that I have to this was an article in Le Populaire a month earlier. In the February 10, 1843 paper, Cabet wrote about "placards" put up to "engage the population to leave the country to go to Texas." He did not like this, partly because they were being solicited by an "ecclésiastique who is in favor of suppressing the royal family," but also because "I don't like to see the families who could gain their living here, with as much trouble it is true, selling their meagre furnishings to have to make a voyage of which they don't know the results." Regardless of Cabet's referents, the idea of an American migration (Texas or Lake Michigan shores) was in this background, at the least, since February 1843.

[80] Le Populaire, July 12, 1844.

America, as well as his earlier musings on the need for a "mass" of committed men to instruct others about communism. Well-meaning Icarians however, lacked funds. No "enthusiastic" letters from workers, let alone women, about the project were printed in Le Populaire. Women in his petite colonie were wives of "perfectly moral" men or employed as 'necessary' laundresses, etc. In exchange, they received identical clothing, food, and furnishings reminiscent of a religious community, hardly an attractive scenario. No women appeared in the elite category, although it is conceivable that Cabet would accept donations from rich women. Although not impossible, it is unlikely that a woman might be one of the 60 rotated workers. That women might be among the paying-boarders (some for life) suggests a Convent-like setting where wealthy widows were cared for by nuns. Were the "necessary" women workers intended to be secular replacements for nuns? Were they expected to supply the boarders' and rotated workers' meals and domestic maintenance (servant-like services)? While Cabet noted humanitarian goals for the elites, he failed to list any principled reimbursements for women's non-waged (or waged) work.

The petite colonie did not materialize. Cabet's indistinct roles for women was a structural defect, although it passed unnoticed in his press. Women who were excited about the Voyage would find little to tempt them in this project. Cabet continued to print reports on the variety of systems and communities in America. Behind the scenes, Icarians undoubtedly continued to discuss and explore sites, funding, and ways to bring information about communist to the people. Cabet did want to help workers, but he felt they needed to be instructed and moralized. His overbearing attitude toward anyone who challenged his system had resulted in a Lyon schism in 1844 by those who resisted his

"will to dominate."[81] His "low opinion of the political capacity of the uneducated masses" had changed somewhat since he began writing about them in 1828, for he was now printing their poignant (and adulatory) letters in his newspaper.[82] Nonetheless, he continued to believe they needed the superior direction he hoped to supply in a system like the petite colonie. Cabet's paternal concern with uplifting both workers and women was tinged with condescension. Flora Tristan, on the other hand, wanted to empower men and women workers to work together to improve their conditions. She told them they were capable of knowing which work areas needed to be adjusted and she urged workers to band together and demand changes.

Up until now, the recorded examples of Cabet's interaction with active women like Désirée Gay, Anne Buisson, Eléonore Blanc, and Flora Tristan has shown that he was excessively cautious, even hostile to suggestions that women be included in any prominent arena of public propaganda despite his claims to support them. His reticence was driven by his concern with moral respectability and his fear of improper behavior by women.

However, Cabet did want to publish some first-class writings by a woman in his paper, and he undertook the courtship of George Sand, hoping to outflank the Fourierists.[83] Martin Nadaud remembered Cabet asking him to encourage the famous Madame Sand to "take shares of our newspaper." Sand at the time was promoting

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81 Johnson, Utopian Communism, 140.

82 Ibid., 27, 168-9, 27n26. Cabet recognized that the "poor class" is "too absorbed in its work, when work is available, to take an informed interest in politics and, when times are bad, reacts blindly to hunger without recourse to political ideals."

83 Le Populaire, September 11, 1842. "The Phalange (August 14) strokes George Sand to convert her to Fouriérisme."

working-class literary undertakings and Cabet no doubt thought sending workers to call upon her might prove effective.[84]

Sand's contemporaries saw her as a spokesman for the cause of women.[85] Like Tristan and Gay, young Sand had spent time in the early 1830s at Saint-Simonian lectures with Parisan friends. The themes in her books reflected the contradictory gender dilemmas in women's lives.[86] Both Sand and Cabet recognized that their problems could not be resolved without equal access to education, marriage reforms, and economic rights for women. To hasten such reforms, Sand selected her principles from a range of current motifs. She wrote about searching "for a single religious and social truth" and credited the Abbé de Lammenais and Pierre Leroux as the two men who influenced her intellectual principles after 1835.[87] Their Christian socialism merged with the values she had acquired

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[84] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 489. This was in Nadaud's Mémoires de Léonard, 173-5. They were also to solicit shares from Louis Blanc, Proudhon, Pierre Leroux, and Eugène Sue.

[85] Whitney Walton, "Writing the 1848 Revolution: Politics, Gender, and Feminism in the Works of French Women of Letters" French Historical Studies, vol. 18, no. 4 (Fall 1994): 1001-1024., 1002-1005. George Sand (1804-1876) was the pseudonym used by Amantine Aurore Lucie Dupin, the daughter of a "French officer of noble lineage" and a "camp follower from the popular classes." She married Casimir Dudevant and separated in 1836.

[86] Crecelius, Kathryn J., Family Romances: George Sand's Early Novels (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 1-2. Sand's early novels were personally meaningful for her "while holding importance for women in general."

[87] George Sand, Story of My Life A Group Translation.Thelma Jurgrau, editor, Walter D. Gray, introduction (New York: State University of New York Press, 1991), 1045, 1158, 1160-1161. Abbé Felicité de Lamennais (1782-1854), a French iconoclast thinker, held beliefs in progress and revolutionary ideas. Pierre Leroux (1797-1871), a French philosopher and economist. Edward Berenson, Populist Religion and Left-wing Politics in France, 1830-1852 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 49-50. Berenson found that, "Next to Cabet, the middle-class theorist most popular among the "lower orders" was probably Felicité de Lammennais, the abbé turned propagandist of a

during her convent education and resonated in many readers backgrounds. The aggregate of convent-educated French women shared Sand's precepts.[88] Cabet had also obtained his early education in a Catholic lycée and he recognized the moral applications in Sand's writings. He endorsed her works in the first issue of his newspaper along with books by her mentors, Lamennais and Leroux. "George Sand identifies more and more with the life of the working classes and strengthens the sentiment of equality, fraternity and community," he announced.[89]

Sand's endorsement would add to his cause. He was not interested in encouraging novice women writers like Mme Buisson to submit material, nor would he agree to co-editing a women's gazette with her. The emotional adulation of a simple laundry woman like Eléonore Blanc irritated him as did the abrasive rivalry of Flora Tristan. Yet,

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populist Christianity conceived as the moral basis to a future democratic society." His Livre du peuple (1837) reached both peasants and workers. See David Owen Evans, Le Socialisme romantique: Pierre Leroux et ses contemporains (Paris: Riviére, 1948) and Johnson, Utopian Communism, 113, 172. During the 1840s, Leroux's writings on "transcendental socialism" along with Proudhon's and Cabet's were the "dominant influences among the 'partisans of socialism.'"

[88] Curtis Cate, George Sand: A Biography (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1975), 27, 55-6. Sand's paternal Grandmother had her tutored until age thirteen when she entered the Couvent des Anglaises for three years. As did Cabet in his adolescent years, at the age of fifteen Sand was caught up in the extremes of "piety" and "spiritual exaltation" foisted on youth. In her memoirs, she recalled being cured by a "worldly Jesuit confessor" who gave her a penance of playing games with friends instead of prostrating herself in the chapel during recreation. She believed that his wise intervention in her "hysterical mysticism," saved her from becoming either "mad or a cloistered nun." Johnson, Utopian Communism, 91. "Middle-class feminists such as George Sand might scoff" at Cabet's position on marriage and family, however, many poor women had to postpone or avoid marriage because of "economic privation."

[89] Le Populaire. References to Sand appear in January, February, March, and June, 1845.

despite Cabet's coolness toward them, women's 'generous minds,' like those of the silk workers in Lyons were actively 'persuading' others. Fortified by his rising popularity and women's desire to have their concerns popularized, Cabet decided to personally ask Sand to submit articles for Le Populaire. On January 22, 1844, he wrote directly to her "instead of writing to our friend, Pierre Leroux."[90] After familiarizing Sand with his political prestige, exile, novel, and current efforts to make a weekly publication out of his monthly journal, Cabet reminded her that he had endorsed her writings to Le Populaire subscribers and announced the journal she had formed with Leroux, Proudhon, and Villegarde. "For me, the Communauté is fraternity . . . in all its developments and consequences. It is Christianity in all its primitive purity," he declared, a view that fit comfortably with Sand's principles. Cabet included a copy of the Voyage with his informative letter and hoped Sand would accept his "respectful hommage" and honor him with a "prompt response."[91]

Although Sand's name was included in a list of new subscribers in the January-February 1845 issue of Le Populaire, no other response was forthcoming.[92] Sand verified her knowledge of the world of Icaria in a letter to a friend in July 1845, albeit scornfully. She remarked that one would be considered a fool to want to go to Icarie with Mr. Cabet.[93] Among the many reasons that Sand would have for disliking Icarie was surely

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[90] Cabet to George Sand, January 22, 1844. IISG. The original draft had a number of crossed out and revised sentences indicating Cabet's struggle to present his offer to Sand as carefully as possible. Most of Cabet's letters were unaltered.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Le Populaire, Jan.- Feb., 1845. The list of notable subscribers was Proudhon, Pierre Leroux, Villegardelle, Louis Blanc, Eugène Sue, and George Sand. (Nadaud's crew were successful.) The next sentence encouraged "timid" communists to join our "large family."

the regulation that all must marry. After her marital separation, Sand wrote Abbé Lamennais that "I would rather pass the rest of my life in a dungeon than marry again."[94] Pierre Leroux personally linked Cabet and Sand, but she was an unlikely convert to the cause.[95] While identifying herself as a communist, Sand was never in Cabet's philosophical camp.[96] He called her a "genie seul (lone genius)," a classification that had no counterpart for women in Icaria.[97]

Thus we find Cabet in the early 1840s engaged in literary and theoretical battles with formidable women who, like him, were challenging France's repressive gender order. Except for his use of Sand's opinions from time to time in the pages of Le Populaire and her value as a popular referent for communism, he failed to utilize the skills of modest

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[93] George Lubin, textes réunis, classés et annotés, Correspondance de George Sand Tome VII (Juillet 1845-1847) [20 volumes] (Paris: Garnier,1964-1987), 13. Cabet was virtually absent from the pages of Sand's correspondence until the 1848 revolution. Lubin, Correspondance, Tome VIII, 413, 413n1, 417. In the same letter, she wrote Cabet was the least bad of the three. "Why always Cabet?" she asked. Blanqui and Raspail merited more hatred, but he "represented the ideas" indicating Sand's awareness of Cabet's intellectual role among the communist leaders.

[94] Miriam Schneir, ed. Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), 29. Sand wrote this to Lammenais about 1836-7.

[95] Lubin, Correspondance Tome XIV, 274. After Cabet died in St. Louis, Missouri on November 9, 1856, Sand wrote to Émile Aucante from Nohant on March 20-21,1857, requesting that he take a small sum to the widow and daughter of Cabet, "si elles sont réellement dans la misère (unless they are really in misery)" to the place of Mr. Balmont. Records indicated 40 francs for a Cabet subscription in Balmont's accounts.

[96] Lubin, Correspondance Tome VI, 879. In May, 1845, Sand asked A.M. to carry a response to Hubert whose address she had lost and who may be by Mr. Cabet or his friend. In her letter, "Aux Riche," March 12, 1848, she wrote, "I who am a communist," to support her argument that she had never known a communist who wanted to destroy property and family.

[97] Le Populaire, June 13, 1845.

women like Buisson and Blanc, or attract an outstanding leader like Tristan to his cause.[98] Women had no attractive roles in his petite colonie plan and there was no record of women's 'enthusiasm' about it. But, 'if' an egalitarian Icarian society experiment was to commence, Cabet needed to gain not only passive, ideological agreement from women, but practical, concrete support from them.

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[98] Le Populaire, June 27, 1846. "George Sand and Communism," was taken from the May 25, 1846, Revue indépendante. Sand had lamented the unjust division of wealth and called for world governments to instill love and charity for the oppressed in their laws.

CHAPTER SEVEN

AFFRANCHISSEMENT / CHRISTIANISME AND ICARIAN WOMEN

In order for French women to become Icarians, they had to abandon many of their Christian beliefs. In essence, they had to be emancipated from centuries of Catholic tradition and emulate the 'true' women loved by Christ that Cabet set forth in Vrai Christianisme (1846). Messages about what beliefs women ought to reject, what they should retain, as well as the benefits to be derived from their affranchissement (emancipation), were embedded in a number of his writings. An examination of the spiritual and emancipation themes concerning women in the Voyage, Mon credo communiste, Almanac icarien (1846), and Vrai Christianisme, exposes this 'true' Icarian idol.

Cabet expressed his desire to bring about the affranchissement of women in print as early as September 11, 1842. This objective was mentioned a few times thereafter, however, it gained impetus soon after the publication of Vrai Christianisme in 1846.[1] At that time, the literal meaning of affranchissement was liberation from slavery and did not necessarily indicate freedom to exercise political rights. Its implications for Icarian women were restricted even more by Cabet's myopic christian representations.[2] After recording his

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[1] Le Populaire, September 11, 1842. The contention that Christ, the greatest of reformers, wanted the abolition of slavery as well as the "affranchissement of women" appeared in an article captioned, "Explication des evangiles," signed by Cabet and Charles.

[2] Karen Offen, "From "La Femme libre" to "La Femme affranchie": Sex, Religion, and Women's Rights in 1850s France" Paper presented to Society for French Historical Studies: Boston, March 1996. Offen examined the mid-nineteenth century usage of the terms "libre" and "affranchie" for women, especially, their application by Jenny P. d'Héricourt in La Femme affranchie and a certain "Eve" writing in the Almanach des femmes in 1853. (Jeanne Deroin edited the Almanach and d'Héricourt was a journalist for Cabet's paper. Both women's relationships with Cabet will be examined shortly.) The

emancipating vision in Vrai Christianisme, he reprinted it in his newspaper. "The Woman and the Family: Ah! here is the complete analogy between Communisme and Christianisme," he announced. "Like the Reformer Jesus Christ,

> our Communisme wants the affranchissement of Woman, the recognition of her natural rights, equality and education for her. Our Communisme requests justice everywhere for all women, respect and filial love (as Paul said, p. 559) for all elderly women, fraternal friendship for all young women, affection and protection for all little girls and their brothers; in a word, our Communisme wants that the first duty of the Communauté and men in general is to assure the happiness of Women in general, and consider marriage, rendered perfect, as the best means to guarantee the happiness of Women which would result in the happiness of Men, Society and Humanity. [3]

This provocative essay was not a new statement about women, for Cabet had professed similar ideas five years earlier in La Femme. Now, however, he was stressing that Christ wanted the "affranchissement of women" which Paul, likewise advocated. Readers were told they could verify this by checking page 559 of Vrai Christianisme. Such an inspection would be disappointing, for there was nothing about women's emancipation, only a summary of Paul's epistles on men respecting women coupled with the command that they "submit to their husbands," a rather dubious liberation. This message was followed up with Paul's directives condemning "luxury, coquetries, and seductive ornaments."[4] While

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connotation of the word "affranchissement" with respect to women was "one who rejected all morality, all scruple." A certain "Eve (a.k.a. Henriette Wild) insisted that the arguments used to subordinate women in marriage were identical to those used to justify the slavery of blacks in the US." I am indebted to Karen Offen for sending me a copy of her paper and her scholarly advice relative to my effort to understand why d'Héricourt, who admired Cabet's work in 1847-48, turned against him in her writings a few years later. As noted above, the word affranchissement had a deeper association with slavery than with political participation.

[3] Le Populaire, July 26, 1846. Vrai Christianisme was published in June.

[4] Étienne Cabet, Vrai Christianisme suivant Jesus-Christ 2nd edition (Paris: Bureau du Populaire, 1847), 559-60.

Cabet's version of an 'emancipated' woman seems contradictory, it was compatible with his political understanding that women needed to have their "natural" rights recognized, yet, women must remain patriarchal subjects.[5] Carole Pateman's recent research regarding the views of classical theorists about gender relationships fits with Cabet's 'natural rights' assumptions. The classicists separated the sexes into private and public spheres, arguing that "only men have the natural capacities to take part in public life." Rousseau, one of Cabet's valued theoreticians, not only saw women as "inherently subversive of the civil order," but in keeping with other 'social contract' theorists, constructed "masculine sexual domination as a natural fact of human existence."[6] Such thinking informed Cabet's criterion for an emancipated woman's 'natural rights' as described by Paul. She was a submissive, unadorned wife whose husband's love and respect followed from her dutiful compliance with Paul's image.

The bulk of this essay in Le Populaire was a verbatim reprint of pages 622-24 in Vrai Christianisme replete with the "Ah!" analogy. The word "affranchissement" was not only applied to women, but to men who were the "Disciples of Jesus Christ." Cabet exhorted them to "move forward, for the emancipation of workers, for the félicité (perfect happiness, bliss) of Women and Children, for the happiness of Humanity, [and] for the

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[5] Carole Pateman, The Problem of Political Obligation: A Critique of Liberal Theory (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 1979), paperback ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), 74-6. Pateman expanded on the issue of women's "natural" abilities and political differentiation from men in liberal theory. See Carole Pateman, "God Hath Ordained to man a Helper": Hobbes, Patriarchy and Conjugal Right" in Mary Lyndon Shanley & Carole Pateman, eds. Feminist Interpretations and Political Theory (University Park: Pennyslvania State University Press, 1991), 53-73.

[6] Pateman, The Problem of Political Obligation, 189-90. Pateman, "God Hath Ordained to man a Helper," in Shanley & Pateman, eds., Feminist Interpretations, 59-60.

salvation of all without exception!!!"[7] Cabet's call for the emancipation of women was inexorably linked with the ideas imbedded in communist christianity.

The emancipation of women was a weighty but puzzling discourse. On the one hand, Cabet professed his desire to bring about their 'emancipation,' and then, he nullified it by directing women to follow Paul's non-liberating commands. Emancipating them to submit to their husbands simply continued the status quo, albeit with promises of 'respect' conditioned by their rejection of luxurious caprices. This 1846 position was consistent with the Voyage injunction that husbands' voices were 'merely' preponderant. Women were promised a form of liberation that was adulterated by the same Christian and classical tutelages which supported Communauté. The distorted meaning of this oxymoronic, 'emancipated-submissive' woman, was submerged in the 'natural' difference equation.[8] Given the contested parameters of women's freedom in his time, it is understandable that Cabet used the term sparingly. However, in order to win women's support for Icarian Communauté, he purposively fostered a pure and simple, somewhat compelling version of their liberation in Vrai Christianisme which needs to be examined elsewhere. The 1846 Almanach icarien was one of the publications that he used to promote this idea.

Almanach icarien (1846)

Publishing an almanach each year was a handy way to circulate information about

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[7] Ibid., 624, 633.

[8] Shanley & Pateman, eds. Feminist Interpretations, 5. Pateman observed that, "Almost all the famous modern political theorists agree that 'human nature' is sexually differentiated," but the "crucial question" was its significance. "Do the different natures and capacities of women and men mean that women cannot be citizens?" The problem of women's participation in the political citizenry was a fundamental gender issue in the Icarian colonies, as I will illuminate in this study.

Icarian communism to the populace. Cabet inserted accounts about his system alongside the manual's household tips. Women, who otherwise might not have an opportunity to read or discuss the Voyage, Le Populaire, or communist theory as men did in their workshops and clubs, would have access to relevant excerpts in these small books. They could audit knowledge generally reserved for men by studying the almanachs at home over the course of a year.[9] This effect can be illustrated by a sketch of the attractions for women that appeared in the 192 page Almanach Icarien, astronomique, scientifique, pratique, industriel, statistique, politique et social (1846). "Useful information" was divided into four indexed parts that had a prodigious amount of material designed to suit women's interests.[10]

The first part had 46 pages of "Practical" information which included christian feast day calendars, astronomy charts on sunrise, sunsets, periods of the moon, etc., as well as news about trade fairs, day-care nurseries, hygiene, domestic medicine (Raspail), how to preserve eggs, to halt the ripening of fruits, and to distinguish linen from cotton. There was exciting news about sewing machines and steamboats, as well as didactic moral essays.

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[9] Ranciére, Nights of Labor, 355. While no extant testimony about the effects of Cabet's writings on educating women appeared in Le Populaire, on January 30, 1848, Lemoine testified that "for my intelligence, I get the best part of it from his [Cabet's] newspaper and his writings."

[10] Almanach Icarien, astronomique, scientifique, pratique, industriel, statistique, politique et social Paris: Au Bureau du Populaire, rue J.J. Rousseau, 14, 1846 dirige par M. Cabet ex-depute, ex procurer-general, avocat a la cour royale et chez tous les correspondents du Populaire. Special Collections: Labadie Rare Book Room, University of Michigan. The cover page was followed by the familiar diamond shaped logos of the Icarians and the Paris printer: E.B. Delanchy, Faubourg Montmartre, 11. The hard cover 192 page Almanach measured 4 1/2 inches by 5 1/4 inches.

The second and largest part of 57 pages was scientifique. It had information on Geometry, Calculus, Geology, Chemistry, Natural History, Geography, Medicine, Agriculture, Industry, and Criminal Statistics. This section ended with a sad poem about an unfortunate child.

The third and smallest part of 33 pages was political. There was a report on the results of the 1830 Revolution and excerpts from writings by Louis Blanc, Lamartine, and Robespierre. After several commentaries on current reform needs, there were notes about contemporary men like Michelet, Quinet, and Eugène Sue. There was also a poem by Poncy, a poet-worker titled, "L'union."[11]

The final section of 48 pages was the most important for Cabet's purposes. Captioned, "Social," it contained facts from an Enquète (survey) on the misery of workers as well as the competition of the colporteurs' (book-sellers), and press rivalry problems.[12] Ten pages were expressly devoted to the topic of Communisme and Vrai Christianisme. Cabet explained that the first [true] Christian community was modeled on the Esséniens

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[11] Sewell, Work & Revolution in France, 236-42. Poncy was a stone-mason from Toulouse. Sewell writes about the "coupling" of the terms poet and worker, which was itself "a novel and potent statement about labor." His view rejected judgments of workers as mediocre poets writing in "high romantic style and filled with lofty sentiments" producing "inferior imitations of Lamartine." (Poncy was awarded first prize in Tristan's 1843 L'Union ouvrière song contest.) He wrote George Sand for advice. She suggested that he "poetize and ennoble each type of labor; pleading at the same time the bad social direction of this labor" which filled him with "new ardor." Poncy portrayed a world of labor much different from that of Villerme or Louis Blanc. His depiction of poverty "provides an arena for moral heroism" as the poor workers preserve the bonds of family. For him, labor was not a curse as in the hierarchical Christianity of the old regime, instead it was "God's gift of labor."

[12] Ranciére, Nights of Labor, 312. Printing equipment prices were high as was the cost of a license. "The terrible years 1846 and 1847 were not propitious for the book trade in general, much less for the sale of works by subscription in workshops."

who shared all things in common. Christ was identified as a proletarian worker who was devoted to the cause of women.[13]

While Le Populaire was surely Cabet's primary propaganda medium, women's access to the yearly Almanach icarien was a major factor in their understanding of communism.[14] It cost 50 centimes. The first edition in 1843 had a press run of 20,000 which sold out, necessitating a second printing.[15] The 1846 Almanach had news for women in several places. There was a report about the location of five Crèches, espèces de Salles d'aisle (day-care centers) in Paris that cared for young children while their mothers worked.[16] They were open to the public and were a "very useful institution for working classes." Cabet's account did not specify whether all five were part of the religiously inspired Société des Crèches, the first day-care facility in Paris in 1844, or whether they were secular crèches. (The religious-sponsored crèches housed only legitimate children and excluded single mothers' children until the end of the century.)[17]

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13 Almanach icarien 1846, 169-182.

14 Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 276. Chameroy suggested an almanach to Cabet on November 28, 1841. "This almanac ought to be more democratic than communist."

15 Le Populaire, October 9, 1842. Cabet urged "all the Communists to take one certainly, and to recommend and propagate them now." A complete tabulation of Icarian Almanachs in circulation from 1842 until 1852 awaits further research. If no year had more that the 2 press runs of 1842 which totaled 40,000, they would add up to 400,000 by 1852, a conservative estimate.

16 Almanach icarien 1846, 21. The creches were located on the rue de la Comite, 14; rue du Cherche-Midi, 69; rue sante-Lazare, 144; rue Paquet; and rue Chaillot, 5.

17 Fuchs, Poor and Pregnant in Paris, 142-3. The crèches of the religious society put "great emphasis on piety and family ties; it aimed to make the mothers and children good workers, good citizens, and even good soldiers - under the influence of God . . . Work and motherhood were not incompatible; work did not destroy female virtue." The crèches had room for about 20 infants from 15 days to 3 years and cost 20 centimes a day, the price of

The collective care of children was a vital aspect of Icarianism.

Readers were also supplied with information about Cabet's books, La Femme, L'Ouvrier, and Voyage en Icarie. A spokesman named Jacques wholeheartedly endorsed them. In a rousing dialogue, Jacques recounted his discovery of communism. At first, he was seen as a "wild beast" when he told people he was a communist. But, after he explained all that he had read about it to them, "everyone admired the communists' fraternity, morality, order, and happiness."[18] Like Jacques, women could learn more about communism by reading these available books.

Another sympathetic essay voiced Cabet's concern about workers' exclusion from education. He defended them from an attack in the "conservative journal" Democratic Pacifique which had reportedly doubted their intelligence. "Working classes understand simple and natural truths very well," he protested, "and have much aptitude to receive the truth." The problem existed because workers had a false and incomplete education. They needed to be "prepared with dignity for their emancipation."[19]A related excerpt from L'avenir by Chateaubriand raised two popular questions - how the new society of the future would "level fortunes?" and "How women would arrive at complete emancipation?"

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a loaf of bread. Private donations and bequests added funds for support. By 1853, there were 25 crèches in Paris.

[18] Almanach icarien 1846, 4. Jacques' best conversion conquest was a Curé (village priest) who said that Communisme was the same as Vrai Christianisme.

[19] Ibid., 6-7. Rancière, Nights of Labor, 269. An article in La Fraternité, May 1845 titled, "Aux ouvriers: Sur la nécessite de l'étude comme moyen d'affranchissement," (46-7) had themes nearly identical to Cabet's: that workers should rise to the moral dignity of human beings and take on "the holy work of study required for their emancipation." They may need to endure persecutions like the community of first Christians.

Bemusedly, Chateaubriand answered, "I don't know." But the almanac writer knew. "An evangelical mission must accomplish this." Communauté was that mission. It was "already ordained, preached, and practiced by Jesus Christ himself."[20] The prospect of women's "complete emancipation" in the Communauté mission was intriguing, but precise details about how they would accomplish it were not forthcoming.

The almanac also responded to the persistent rumors that communists supported a "community of women." There were only a few "ultra-communists" who advocated this, the journalist explained, for "the immense majority of communists want marriage and family purified and perfected. The best work on this actual state was the Voyage." The exceptional advantages for mothers and children in the Icarian Communauté were exemplified in a poem composed by a "wealthy woman." Despite her possession of money now, she articulated the worry all mothers shared about the welfare of their children should they die. She had discovered that in Communauté, her children would always be taken care of. After the mother's verse, a journalist boasted that, "Women everywhere adopt and propagate the doctrine of Icarian Communauté because they are generally oppressed, and unhappy slaves under the actual regime of individualism and egoism. The first object of Icarian Communauté "was to assure their happiness."[21]

To corroborate the "happiness" awaiting women in Communauté, another almanach writer recounted a petit dialogue with a woman whose experiences caused her to endorse Icarian membership. After her husband was converted, she told how he

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[20] Almanach icarien 1846, 168.

[21] Ibid., 184.

stopped being drunk and going to the cabaret. He became "good, excellent, and was full of care and attention for me."[22] Another elated woman cried "Bless you!" for the Communauté. In like manner, her drunken, brutal husband who belonged to secret societies, had become an Icarian. He was transformed, and she reported, "I am delighted!"[23]

The almanach also had enthusiastic testimony from several Icarian men who would eventually choose to go to America. Unlike the women's anonymous identities, the men were named. Jules Prudent composed an essay that offered the concept of fraternity as a remedy for the problems confronting miners.[24] Julien Chambry composed a piece called, "Un travailleur à ses frères (A worker to his brothers)." Fellow Prolétaires, he wrote, "our existence is a fabric of misery and slavery" with the exploitation of man by man. Chambry recommended they propagate the Voyage as their "most holy of duties."[25]

Spiritual fervor related to the Communist-Christianity bond was a very strong element in this edition of the Almanach which was marketed the year that Vrai Christianisme appeared. In light of Cabet's 'true' religious agenda in this major work, the almanach had an article that unequivocally condemned the Catholic tradition. Titled, "The

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[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., 182.

[24] Ibid., 144.

[25] Ibid., 179. Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 440-1. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 238-9. Julien Chambry, an organ maker correspondent of Cabet's, reported in 1846 that the wages of workers in his trade had undergone "an incredible dimunition" over the previous 20 years. He was from the town of Mirecourt in the Vosges which had 54 Icarians in 1848. Chambry left with the 2nd Advance Guard on June 3, 1848. Prudent was in the First Grand Departure, November 2, 1848.

most formidable of bastilles," author A. Derains stated that Catholicism was an "annihilation of reason before a pretended superior authority." After a review of historical facts, Derains charged that Catholicism was an obstacle to human progress. It had turned Ireland into a state of inferiority and in France and Spain, "the progress of liberal ideas coincided with the weakness of the Catholic influence." It had an "immense army of Priests - forty thousand men disciplined in a tyrannical dogma filled with superstition, dominated by weak spirits, [who] gave fantasies to the women and country people." These sharp words of ridicule perhaps startled some devout women, but Derains continued to argue his view that "Catholicism is dead." Its defunct dogmas "preached original sin, the immaculate conception, the real presence (host), devil and hell; and return some curés (local priests) to the good women."[26] Whether Derain's attack upset women's thoughts about their beliefs or not, the almanach editors announced that they concurred with his sentiments. "We completely approve" for "true Christianity is not Catholicism." Accounts that followed presented information about Cabet's 'true' christian-communist reforms. Although there is no evidence to indicate that women either discarded or defended their Catholic practices after reading the anti-catholic viewpoints expressed in the almanach, Derain's harsh attack on women's "fantasized" religious credulity warranted a cursory review of such charges.

Women's reactions to the almanach surely varied. Aside from its helpful domestic hints and news about child-care, those whose lives were unhappy because of their husband's errant ways may have wished that, like the almanach characters, they too, could

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[26] Almanach icarien 1846, 124-130.

be converted to Icarianism. If they were interested in the issue of women's "complete emancipation," they learned that it was being worked on by the Icarian Communauté, an "evangelical mission" ordained by Christ. The overall conclusion that can be drawn from the material in this almanach was that it touched the lives of thousands of women in very practical ways and provided them with a wistful sampling of an alternative social vista - Icarian emancipation.

Credo communiste

Women who wanted to investigate Cabet's beliefs about them further could examine his Credo communiste. However, the Credo had very few comments about women except by inference as wife to man or family member.[27] Each indented declaration in the Credo was prefaced with the words, "I believe." The messages that followed were addressed to other men. Its opening lines reflected Cabet's androcentric beliefs about the original state of Nature and its affinity with a natural communauté de biens (community of goods). "Nature" was the "first cause" which had given man Reason or Intelligence, in order to find his happiness.[28] In man's primordial savage state, he was like a brute and completely ignorant. Law was subsequently established by force, war, and conquest. Man held the power of life and death over slaves, women, and children. Throughout history, there were religious persecutions, castes, and classes created alongside the privileges of

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[27] Étienne Cabet, Mon credo communisme. A hand-lettered, illustrated (color) copy of Cabet's text by an artist named Glatigny is stored at IISG, which has reproduced its 106 pages on microfilm. Mon credo communisme was originally published in Cabet's series of douze lettres. (Paris: Prevot, 1841), 53. Glatigny dedicated it to Mme Cabet and signed it on June 20, 1851. (Cabet was in Paris for his July, 1851 embezzlement trial.) Additional citations are from this copy.

[28] Ibid., 2.

birth and inequality.[29] The subsequent vices of mankind were due to this "bad social organization" which arose because men lacked the necessary fraternité to realize equality and the family. However, Cabet argued, "the true or universal cause of people's misfortunes" was not the Monarchy and its remedy was not "simply the Republic since History shows us that there are misfortunes in Republics as well as Monarchies."[30] Inequality was the cause of this misery and oppression. It accounted for "the vices of the rich (egoism, greed, ambition avarice, insensitivity, and inhumanity); and the vices of the poor (jealousy, envy, hate). Inequality was the cause of "all the rivalries, antagonisms, disorders, conspiracies, insurrections, crimes, and calamities."[31] The "only means of ending Humanity's evils is to suppress Aristocracy, unequal society, unequal politics, and replace them with Democracy or Equality."[32]

Women, of course, could easily have fit into one of Cabet's "unequal" Credo categories, but he did not list unequal gender relationships, nor did he imply a future state of equality for their sex. Nonetheless, women would benefit from an improved 'community of goods' distribution which he promoted as a natural aspect of the earth's bounty.[33] A central theme in this work was Cabet's belief that the task of organizing Communauté required men to practice fraternité. The Credo also presented beliefs about law,

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29 Ibid., 3-5.

30 Ibid., 6-12, 21.

31 Ibid., 22-3.

32 Ibid., 24.

33 Ibid., 26.

constitutions, liberty, marriage, family, education, beaux-arts, and national territory. Cabet postulated that "if" one accepted his vision that Communauté was the "true" doctrine, then it should be established by the "power of public opinion" and not by violence.[34] There should be a "union" between the Democrats and the Communists during a propaganda period, followed by a "transitory regime" which would gradually abolish property. This, he added, was already "shown in the Voyage."[35]

A key aspect of Cabet's abbreviated text was its non-religious, androcentric persona. Women in the Credo were reduced to victimized slaves of men in history or appendages in marriage. The "inequality" he so deplored in other respects did not prompt a belief statement about unequal gender relationships. In lieu of Cabet's immediate interests in recruiting and unifying communist men under his system in 1841, this was not a contradictory text, but it had none of his 1846 spiritual or emancipatory referents for women or workers. It was a secular text that did not mention Christ or God. Creation abstractions were rendered as "Nature." The Credo was a dismal source of information about the vista of women's emancipation.

Voyage: Religion and Women's Affranchissement

Curious readers would have to look elsewhere for material about the nexus of women's liberation and christian-communism. The most likely location was the Voyage

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[34] Ibid., 88-93.

[35] Ibid., 96, 101. Glatigny doubled the size of key words and added a personal religious touch with his eulogistic remarks after the fin: "Pursue your divine, courageous mission without fear! Our century will perhaps be the last stage of tyranny! Perserverance, the horrible death of your predecessors has not paralyzed your course although it disappeared from the land. They were admired by the people and will eternally be the flame which guides them towards the future."

which had two chapters on Religion. The people of Icaria had no formal religious program that they taught young children. Parents and foreigners were forbidden by law to influence youngsters with religious practices before the age of reason. At age 16 and 17, they were "exposed by a professor of philosophy, not a priest, to all the religious systems and all the religious opinions without exception for a year." Icarians did not believe youngsters needed the frightening restraints of religion to induce proper behavior since the "enlightened tenderness of parents" and the "solicitude of instructors" would produce the same effect.[36]After their year of religious studies, each could "freely choose the religion which suited him." This practice had been applied for fifty years and only a few religious sects remained in Icaria because "the truth, if not absolute or at least relative, is one." The "influence of education, of reason, and of discussion leads each naturally to the most enlightened opinion which becomes the universal opinion."[37]

When the narrator in the Voyage was pressed to explain Icarian religious beliefs in greater detail, he responded with the supposition that if today

> the most instructed men, the most wise and the most judicious, gathered in a Council, like the christians had in the past, to discuss, to bring out all their personal interest, all their diverse religious opinions, and to declare what is the most reasonable: you could conceive that the Council would declare, if not unamimously, at least a great majority of them, that it adopt the same belief.
>
> - Yes, I conceive that: but finally what is the belief that you have universally adopted?
>
> - That would be too long for me to expose now, because one cannot begin a subject like that without entering into all the details; and I would not want to injure your religious susceptibilities.

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[36] Voyage, 169-70. "Religion" was the title of both Chapter XX, 165-174 and Chapter XXXVII, 275-288. It took up 22 Voyage pages compared to the 636 pages of Vrai Christianisme.

[37] Ibid. Like the Catholics one, unified Church, Icarians aimed at one, unified, "true" system.

- Don't fear anything, tell me what is that belief?
- I beg you do not insist today. I promise I will explain it to you later.

The 'later' postponement may have meant the book's other chapter on Religion or Cabet's more extensive volume, Vrai Christianisme. Valmor did stress that Icarian religion was not a State religion but a "universal or popular religion." It was "a system of morality and philosophy" whose purpose was to bring men to love their brothers by following three precepts of conduct: "Love your neighbor as yourself. Don't do to others any evil that you do not want done to you. Do to others all the good that you desire for yourself." Following these simple concepts, Icarians engaged in a home-based culte where they gave thanks, prayed, and adored the Divinity as they pleased. They even thought the Divinity found their system of justice, fraternity, and submission to the general will, to be the most agreeable form of worship. Married priests and priestesses preached and gave religious instructions in large, beautiful, comfortable, public churches. They presumed no spiritual powers and did not punish or absolve wrongs. They were friendly advisors, guides and counselors.[38]

The Voyage's second chapter on "Religion" reviewed the changed belief system after the Revolution in Icaria. They had formed a Grand Council of priests, professors, philosophers, moralists, scholars, and writers who met for four years and discussed questions concerning Divinity and Religion. "Is there a God, that is to say a first cause of which all that you see is the effect?" The Council voted yes, but when asked, "Can you know this God?" they answered, "No!" "Can you know its form? Unamimously No!" "Did God make man in its image? We would like to believe that," they answered, "but we know

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[38] Ibid., 171-2.

nothing at all about it." The Bible, the Council decided, was a work of man and they did not believe what was stated in it. They could however, "extract some precepts of morality from it, but the rest was erroneous, absurd, even indecent, immoral, useless, and harmful."[39] When asked if Jesus Christ was a God or a man, they denied his divinity, but said that he was a "man who merits the first rank in humanity by his devotion to the happiness of the human race and by his proclamation of the principles of Equalité, Fraternité, and Communauté." As for the formation of the world or an explanation for man's sufferings, they "knew nothing about it." The Council also ruled that they did not believe in Paradise, Hell, Saints, miracles, the Pope, or his infallibility.[40]

At this point, the inquiring visitor Carisdall blurted out that Icarians had no religion since they didn't have any of these customary beliefs. Valmor asked him if the Communauté preached by Jesus Christ was not "the most perfect of all religions?" But Carisdall was not satisfied with this answer and he accused them of being atheists. Valmor responded by defining the word atheist in two ways. If by atheist one meant the absence of total belief in God, this was not the practice in Icaria. However, if atheist meant not believing in a God in human form, then there were many such atheists in Icaria. All their laws were religious laws since they were based on Communauté and concerned themselves with the people's happiness.[41] The Communauté preached by Christ, was therefore, their religion.

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39 Ibid., 275-7.

40 Ibid., 276-8.

41 Ibid., 279.

After replying to some pointed attacks on the pious hypocrisies of English Anglicans and the irreligion of the French, Valmor held up the conditions of people in Icaria as proof of their superior religion. "In what country are parents as tender toward their children, children as respectful and devoted toward their parents, girls as modest, husbands as faithful, the government as paternal, and citizens as free?" Where are there so few crimes, so much fraternity, so much virtue and so much happiness, and finally, where are there any "priests so venerable and so venerated?" he asked. This line of questioning led to the assertion that Icarians respected the benevolent intentions of the Creator by using the "sublime Reason given men by Providence." Because of this, the people were advancing in a path of unlimited improvement. They adored God in his works, acknowledged his Justice and Goodness, honored him and presented him a dignified worship in imitation of the common Father of the human race's love for all his children. Thus, "the Religion of Icaria is the most perfect of all Religions!!"[42]

The brief, spiritual material in Cabet's two seemingly disparate documents, the Credo and Voyage, share several similar premises. Both provide valuable insights into his paternalist world-view and show not only Cabet's anti-clericalism, but his rejection of contemporary religious and social-political systems. The uncomplicated religion in the Voyage can be defined as the practice of fraternity by Icarian men who used their faculties of Reason to organize the Communauté des biens, the same premise found in the Credo. Christ was not a divinity for Icarians but a valued reformer who was ignored in the Credo, a slight which could be attributed to the fact that the bulk of its targeted audience was

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[42] Ibid., 287-8.

inclined toward a rational deism. A two page epilogue on the "Doctrine communiste" followed the conclusion of the Voyage. It proposed that, "la communauté c'est le christianisme." The Voyage index on christianisme claimed, "communisme is the same thing as christianisme in its original purity." This nexus was timorously set out in the Voyage, but it was not until Vrai Christianisme appeared that the point was argued so strongly. The general notion of l'affranchissement of women, however, did not appear in the Voyage or Credo at all.[43] By 1846, the core of Icarian propaganda had shifted to the right and Cabet was directing his followers toward a sectarian 'pure' Christianity.[44] The emancipation of women "desired by Christ" was appended to this change.

Vrai Christianisme & Women's Emancipation

Women who were searching for a deeper understanding of the alleged links between their emancipation, Christianity, and Communism (Icarian), were afforded that opportunity with the publication of Vrai Christianisme in June 1846. This 636 page text was a compendium of Cabet's theological "studies that commenced over a dozen years ago." He had held "numerous conferences with a friend, Charles, who was profoundly instructed in the Gospels, [and who] helped with this work and strengthened our opinions."[45] Charles was a pseudonym used by Louis Krolikowski, a Polish philosopher

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[43] Ibid., 576 (index), 422, 521, 308. Cabet explained that the term affranchissement appeared in relation to the liberation of "communes" in Europe in 957 and 1112. It was "a revolution in favor of equality!" It was a "radical reform" to affranchir the people (not specifically, women).

[44] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 214. The sectarian focus had a "rising sense of religious purpose" from the Spring of 1846 up to Spring 1847.

[45] Vrai Christianisme, 6.

and theologian who came to Paris in 1839. He received a stipend from France's Polish Exile Fund and would have jeopardized this income by writing under his own name for Cabet's opposition press.[46] Besides Charles' aid, Cabet credited the influence of several other authors including Pierre Leroux, Villegardelle, and Abbé Fleury.[47] Cabet pointed out the false biblical passages and reinterpreted them as instructive metaphors. Yet, he left sections related to women sufficiently intact to reinforce Christianity's patriarchy. Vrai Christianisme was therefore, a strange instrument to convey the emancipation of women. The central positive message viewed Christ as a man who in

> the milieu of the Roman Empire and in the face of the Roman legions took on an enterprise to deliver not only the Jews, but all the Genre humain. . . . to suppress oppression, slavery, and misery; to dethrone Jupiter and the Pagan Gods; to overthrow their temples and altars; to establish on all the Terre la Fraternité, l'Egalité et la Liberté . . . .What an enterprise, by that man who is a Worker, a Prolétaire! . . . Quel spectacle![48]

Christ was thus a proletarian revolutionary proclaiming the trinity of French Revolutionary virtues.[49]

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[46] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 93n88, 94. Johnson found that Prudhommeaux did not know about Krolikowski's contributions to Le Populaire as "Charles." Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 254. Krolikowski's communism weakened and in later years, he collaborated to write Religion laîque (Secular Religion).

[47] Vrai Christianisme, 634-5. The list of sources cited were Pierre Leroux, De l'Humanite and l'Encyclopedie nouvelle; Abbé Fleury, l'Histoire ecclésiastique; Villegardelle, l'Histoire des idées Sociales; J.B. Bouché de Cluny, Christ et Pape, Simon Granger, Evangile devant le siècle, and Chaigne, Hérésies du Ve siècle.

[48] Vrai Christianisme, 51.

[49] Ibid. Gaston Isambert, Les Idées socialistes en France de 1815 à 1848: le socialisme fondé sur la fraternité et l'union des classes (Paris: Ancienne Librairie Germer Bailliere et Cte, 1905), 307, 306, 301. Isambert noted that "like Pierre Leroux, like Louis Blanc, like Pecqueur, Cabet considered the device of the Revolution, as a culminating point of the progressive social revolution." This ideal was imbedded in Vrai Christianisme where christianisme communiste was to be adopted as the Religion in Icaria. Isambert didn't find it included in the constitution at Nauvoo in 1850 or its revision in 1851. I will

Cabet began his text by denying that he was imagining a Nouveau Christianisme (like Saint-Simon in 1825), instead, it was the "TRUE Christianity" that he wanted to expose.[50] This renunciation was somewhat of a ruse, for, in fact Cabet was portraying a new religion based on his historical exposure of the "true" Communauté practiced by Christ which he advocated for Icarians.[51] Vrai Christianisme evoked a futuristic "New

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point out that Cabet did pass an Admissions law in 1850 that Icarians must adopt Vrai Christianisme as their Religion. Isambert correctly noted that the Voyage priests and priestesses did not materialize in Nauvoo either.

[50] Vrai Christianisme, 5. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 207. Johnson noted the sectarian nature of both the Saint-Simonians and the Owenites. Berenson, Populist Religion, 39. Berenson credited Henri Saint-Simon with formulating the ideas "that underlay the religiosity of the July Monarchy's oppositionist intellectuals. Saint-Simon argued for a "new Christianity" in which 'morality would form the basis of a real religious doctrine, and dogma and ritual would serve primarily to reinforce that morality in the spirit of all Christians.'" Republicans, democrats, socialists, communists, or some combination of the four "set out to rejuvenate Christianity by resurrecting an original doctrine that they believed had been perverted by the established Church." This is the underlying purpose of Cabet's text despite his renunciation of Saint-Simon's "new" Christianity. Undoubtedly, he wanted to disassociate himself from Saint-Simonian calumnies. See Carlisle, The Proferred Crown, 35-7. At the heart of Saint-Simon's Le Nouveau Christianisme was the "dictum that men should act as brothers to one another" which Cabet stressed as Fraternité. However, Cabet deviated sharply from Saint-Simon's approach to the rich as the major developers of the new order although he believed the rich could be persuaded to finance his Communauté because of their desire for the betterment of humanity. Both the Saint-Simonians and Cabet emphasized cooperation and peace, but by 1846, Cabet's personal correspondence reflected his recognition that the rich would not provide money to promote his ideas.

[51] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 207-259. Johnson traced this process in the chapter, "From Movement to Sect, 1846-47" with an awareness of Cabet's keen sense of political reality. Although Cabet "did not consciously try to build a sect" or "seriously portray himself as a Messiah," during the economic crisis of 1846, his "most devoted followers began to view him as a kind of prophet [and] he allowed himself to be swept away by the tide, ultimately choosing to create a communist New Jerusalem across the seas" (207). Johnson recognized that the "emotion packed sentences" in Vrai Christianisme brought out "latent millennial enthusiasm" (234). I view Vrai Christianisme as a document that led to this intensification of his followers devotion, which particularly included women. In this text, Cabet linked God and Christ's messages with Communauté and explicitly called for more active, apostolic sacrifices from followers at a time that

Jerusalem" untainted by corrupt powers or venal Church rituals.

The general aim of Cabet's work was to prove that Christ and all men of Reason who embodied the virtues of Fraternité and Egalité practiced Communauté.[52] Icarian principles were essentially the same "true" doctrines of Christ in spite of the fact they had not been completely established for eighteen hundred years.[53] Christ also ordained the Egalité de biens.[54] Its ruling form was a "radical and pure Democracy." Since Christianity was the one "true" Religion, Cabet reasoned that "Christians were inevitably Communists" although men like Plato and Socrates were also Communists even "without knowing any Christians."[55]Both Christ and Cabet's Communauté were based on Fraternité.[56]Subsequently, the "rest of Jesus-Christ's Doctrine was the consequence of that

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coincided with economic crises in France. Johnson noted Cabet's October 1845 call for workers to "close ranks" (234-5), a crucial "key" link in convincing them that it was the "workers [who] are communists" (and communists who are Christians) (226). This underscored Cabet's maturing consciousness that French "class conciliation" was unlikely (208).

[52] Vrai Christianisme, 278. Reason would "preside over the Kingdom of God; and the Apostle Paul said that Reason would be like a well-ordered culte of God. (Epistle to Romans, XII.)"

[53] Ibid., 629. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 162, 162n1, 163. Charles Teste and Buonarroti approved of the primitive, pure base of christianity and the idea of "serving Christianity by radically reforming the human institutions." Jesus was held in "esteem by all the democrats" including Louis Blanc, Raspail, Barbes, Ledru-Rollin, Buchez, Pierre Leroux, and Lamartine. This was "timidly indicated in the Voyage" and found "complete expression in the Vrai Christianisme."

[54] Vrai Christianisme, 222.

[55] Ibid., 160, 628.

[56] Ibid., 57. Gontier and Gontier, Partons, 14. The Gontiers did not include Vrai Christianisme in their bibliography, relying instead on Voyage passages to conclude that Cabet eliminated the dogma but "saw in Christianity the school of equality." The French Revolution had "inspired his conviction that the State must take charge of the happiness of

fundamental principle of love or fraternal charity. "[57]All men who were "servants and soldiers of fraternity, humble Disciples of Jesus," were called to continue this work.[58]

And what of women? Men of Cabet's anti-clerical caliber characterized their contemporary Christian women as gullible individuals who were duped by priests and prone to superstitous beliefs.[59] Many women did fit this assessment, for their understanding of the universe was filtered through pulpit instruction and convent classrooms replete with layers of mysticism.[60] Accordingly, women were rewarded or

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all."

[57] Vrai Christianisme, 57-8, 83n1. Cabet defined the word Doctrine, derived from the latin word docte, meaning a man who instructs or teaches others. "Doctrine is the instruction or Science; Jesus' Doctrine is a moral or philosophical Science, religious, social, and political."

[58] Ibid., 632-3. Ranciere, Nights of Labor, 269. Ranciere did not list Vrai Christianisme in his bibliography, but he did call Cabet the "pontiff of communism" and drew rhetoric about Icarians' imitation of the first christians from Le Populaire sources. See Shaw, Icaria, 16-18. Shaw visited the Icarians in Iowa and had a single sentence on Vrai Christianisme in his book. He described it as a "curious little volume" where Cabet displayed "much ingenuity in making it appear that the mission of Christ was to establish social equality among men, and that Christ was the chief teacher of communism that the world has ever seen."

[59] Smith, Ladies of the Leisure Class, 8, 94-5, 116. Smith noted that nineteenth-century men were attributed a "lucid rationalism" while women were "fanatic, superstitious" and "ignorant." Religious faith was the "opiate of womanhood." While men tended toward freethinking, women inclined toward the opposite since they "maintained a traditional and preindustrial way of life, and because religion had long offered an explanation of the universe." Men who wanted a modern, rational social order found women's attachment to religion dangerous. They were contemptuous of "women, who were seen as mentally too inferior or blindly fanatical to espouse a more intellectual and less emotional vision of life. . . . European Catholic women appear at best as mystified by a manipulating clergy, and at worst as supporters of a creed that allowed them to indulge female bigotry and narrow mindedness." Anticlericalists such as Michelet "bemoaned the influence of the priest in the family; and republicans, socialists, and even imperialist supporters of Napoleon III challenged the right of the clergy to interfere in politics."

[60] Ibid, 106-7,120-2. While the world women existed in made tremendous

punished in proportion to their deferential obedience to patriarchal religious and familial authority.[61] Women's access to progressive vestiges of scientific knowledge was blocked by men who forbid them to enter Universities for the secular studies that men consumed.[62] Gaining admittance to higher education was an ongoing project for feminist women throughout the nineteenth century and it is to Cabet's credit that in the Voyage, he advocated expanding female education and access to medical professions.[63] However, men still determined the limits of women's equality 'according to needs and abilities' in both the

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technological strides, women were "isolated from the sources of power, production, and scientific education" and they experienced a "relative deterioration of their position" in this new world. During the nineteenth century, women heard and repeated Church messages and the signs of religious faith - rituals, relics, and ornamentation multiplied in their lives. When asking why women did not desert the faith as men had, Smith found that women armed themselves with a "domestic cosmology" supported by priests.

[61] Lerner, Creation of Patriarchy, 217-229. The patriarchal system functioned by securing the cooperation of women with "a variety of means: gender indoctrination; educational deprivation; the denial to women of knowledge of their history; the dividing of women, one from the other, by defining "respectability" and "deviance" according to women's sexual activities; by restraints and outright coercion; by discrimination in access to economic resources and political power; and by awarding class privileges to conforming women." Cabet, no less than the other men who helped organize the Icarian utopian community, expected women to conform to Communauté patriarchal regulations irregardless of men's shallow talk of female egalité.

[62] Bidelman, Pariahs Stand Up!, 3-17. Bidelman reviewed women's conditions under the "masculinist imperium" of the Napoleonic Codes and the Roman Catholic Church, and recorded citations from men related to their perceptions of women's nature, vanitites, weaker sex, obedience of the wife with "homage rendered to the force that protects her." Laws making possible "normal school" education for girls were not passed until 1881. An inspector reported that "devotion and a sense of duty, generally stronger in persons of this sex (female), help to compensate for their weakness in other respects." Another educator warned that, "women's knowledge of science need not exceed the requirements of domestic life."

[63] Vrai Christianisme, 29. Moses held that "all priests did and must marry." (priestesses?)

Voyage and Vrai Christianisme.[64] In order to comprehend Cabet's misshaped epistemological vision of women, it is necessary to examine its truncated religious roots which he inscribed in Vrai Christianisme.

'Power' of God? or the 'Power' of Man?

Two of the most urgent questions on the author's minds were, "Is Jesus Christ a God, creator and master of Heaven and Earth, with the power to punish or reward eternally? . . . On the contrary, is he not a man?"[65] Although the Council in the Voyage had concluded that Christ was not a divinity, concerned readers of this text would be unable to find a single consistent answer to this query. Instead, Cabet set out a series of equivocal stances prefaced by "ifs." Because of the veiled skepticism in his theological foray, Cabet deemed it necessary to explain the book's organization:

> . . . we divided our work in two parts. - In the first we are going to establish the essential and indisputable principles of Christianity, those that are in the Gospel, as they are transcribed or cited always in the text. We admit, without discussion, the divinité of Jesus; and we report the doctrine, the system, the precepts and the actions of that Homme-Dieu. - In a second part, which will be issued separately, we will discuss, explain, and interpret that which is susceptible of many sens (sense, meaning) and which is in need of interpretation.
>
> There, we will particularly discuss the question of the divinity of Jesus, and we will compare Catholicism with Christianity to see if the first conforms to, or, is contrary to the second.[66]

This outline held to an initial acceptance of the divinity of Christ which would

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[64] Ibid., 151-3. Cabet quoted maxims from Paul's epistles about working according to needs and added that "those who do not work must not eat." For Jesus, "duties are proportional to capacity; each must do all that they can; and those who can must do more or give more."

[65] Ibid., 3. These definitive questions were posed in the first two paragraphs of the book.

[66] Ibid., 5-6.

subsequently proceed to further discussion about the question. It was not as simple an approach to follow as that of the Council in the Voyage which discussed, voted, and denied the divinité of Christ.[67] As the book unfolded under this unique format, Cabet either postponed the heralded divinity discussion, or else, suggested that readers could either believe in Christ as divine, or, as a man. His evasive strategy also deferred clear-cut pronouncements about topics like miracles, saints, heaven, hell, and purgatory. Perhaps the second part that was to be "issued separately" later, would take up Catholic orthodoxy after the period of the Church Fathers and monasticism, scrutinized in this volume. Indeed, three pages before the end, Cabet reminded readers once more that "we will examine these (causes) in our deuxième partie" indicating that he did plan to write another book. The pace of Icarian emigration and revolutionary events, however, prohibited its anticipated production.[68] Readers would, therefore, be disappointed if they expected the contents of Vrai Christianisme to examine or rule on contentious facets of recent Christianity. There were no historical details about women in convents, the papacy, crusades, relics, fasting, indulgences, medals, rosaries, feast-day devotions, and the like. These aspects were easy to omit because the hagiographic Communauté Cabet sought to reconstruct was a simple one experienced during the first centuries after Christ. Many of the austere monasteries whose communal systems Cabet admired, had begun in that period.[69]

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[67] Voyage, 276-8. Berenson, Populist Religion, 39-41. The idea of a council for religious matters was argued much earlier by Pierre Leroux in his Encyclopedie nouvelle. According to him, a democratically elected council had turned Christian doctrine into law.

[68] Vrai Christianisme, 630. I have not uncovered any evidence of a second volume.

[69] Sutton, Les Icariens, 41-3. Cabet offered a "superficial account of the early Church fathers and famous popes up to Gregory the Great." His book had "five tenets of Icarian Christianity: equality, democracy, personal morality, absence of formal worship, and an

Androgynous Being?

Of particular relevance to beliefs about women in Vrai Christianisme was a short discourse on the nature of God that had androgynous connotations.[70] Cabet wrote that, "Jesus presented God comme Pere ou comme Mere (as Father or as Mother) of men, as the most loving of Fathers, or as the most tender of Mothers." Then, he continued "As a consequence, when he becomes King and the only King in his Kingdom, he will make perfect, happy and faithful children."[71] While Cabet's first sentence was specifically about one androgynous God, an "only King" offset the duality in the next line followed by the caption, "Regne de l'Amour Paternel."[72]The androgynous deity was cancelled by the reign of God who was a paternal, loving King. Other headings for God's reigns of Justice, Truth, Science, Reason, Perfection, Spirit, Light, and Power, were subsequently described in patriarchal terms.[73] But Cabet could simply have chosen the traditional 'God as Father' lexicon without adding the gender dyad. This exception, even though it was diluted by

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earthly millennium." Cabet's thinking had "undergone a profound inversion," wherein the "secular utopia" of the Voyage which "had adopted Christian morality," had taken the "political and economic tenets of Icaria and meshed them into the framework of Christian eschatology."

[70] Carlisle, The Proferred Crown, 160. In conformity to their notion of an androgynous God, the Saint-Simonians discussed a pope and popesse position. This passage appears to be Cabet's gesture to those surrounding him who still argued for a dual-being. Nevertheless, an androgynous God was a changed gender role despite Cabet's specious denial of Kingly power to women.

[71] Vrai Christianisme, 277.

[72] Cabet, like his Jean Bodin precursors, struggled with hierarchy in politics and religion. God was the ultimate authority, and despite talk of 'the people' as sovereign, Cabet hesitated to relinquish his leadership power until Communauté order was constituted..

[73] Vrai Christianisme, 277-281.

"patriarchal love," was an indication of his effort to bridge a male-female Godhead, and exemplified one of several inclusive expressions about women that were guardedly present in his work.[74]

Overall, Cabet expected to show that God wanted men to create the Communauté and that women should support them. "Man will be perfectly free under the sole inspiration of Fraternité or of God, and Nature."[75] Christ's followers and pre-christian groups had practiced Communauté. Citations from the Old and New Testament Prophets, 12 Apostles, 72 Disciples, Church Fathers, Martyrs, Saints, and Communauté groups like the Essenes were used to argue these points.[76]

In Cabet's distillation of biblical stories, he counterposed the exemplary behavior of holy women like Martha and Mary against the wicked conduct of Queen Jezebel and that of Queen Hérodiade who demanded the head of John the Baptist while living publicly in adultery and incest.[77] French women knew these stories. Was Cabet's commentary on these sex-biased anecdotes more or less palatable to feminine sensibilities? Of greater

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[74] Rosemary Radford Ruether & Rosemary Skinner Keller, editors, Women and Religion in America, Vol.1: The Nineteenth Century A Documentary History, (San Francisco: Harper & Row Publishers, 1982), 46-100. Ruether discussed the rise of androgynous God concepts that surfaced in her study of 19th century utopian communities.

[75] Vrai Christianisme, 282.

[76] Ibid., 572. For Esseniens see 44-8; for Communauté of Gnostics, and for Church Fathers, see 573-618. At the end of this section, Cabet made an observation capitale which claimed that every since Christ, Christianity had spread across the globe based on the principles of equality, fraternity and Communauté. For Christ ordering the communauté de biens, see 215-226.

[77] Ibid., 183, 50.

importance was whether Cabet was able to prove to women that Jesus was their Libérateur and wanted "true" female equality and their emancipation, which would be experienced in Communauté?

The text's introductory chapters had little to indicate any such concern with these objectives. They were a condensed version of the "birth of Humanity."[78]Images of ignorant, naked, hunter-savages moved rapidly to more sophisticated Egyptian Priests who formed a type of Communauté.[79] Next, Cabet (and Charles) traced the paths of the "man of genius - Moses" and the Hebrews.[80] "We accept the belief that Moses had a divine mission," the narrator noted. (Keeping with the "accepted divinité" format.)[81] When the Hebrews were led out of slavery, they practiced the "principles of fraternité, egalité, and Communauté . . . established in the name of God."[82] After this projected survey, the authors declared that they were now ready to take a brief glance at some of the accounts in the Bible.

Eve

Two pages from the Book of Genesis: 1 were printed in single-spaced type. Eve was created from Adam's rib while he slept.[83] The couple lived happily in the garden of

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78 Ibid., 7.

79 Ibid., 11.

80 My singular citations to Cabet include this shadowy dual authorship.

81 Vrai Christianisme, 16,18.

82 Ibid., 19-20, 25. Cabet 'admitted' that God wrote the ten commandments.

83 Ibid., 22-3. Cabet took the passage from Genesis 1, Ch. 2 verse 21. Elaine Pagels, Adam, Eve, and the Serpent (New York: Random House, 1988), xxi - xxiv. Pagels traced the Creation stories' meanings and interpretations by early Christians. Jesus mentioned the

Eden until "a serpent who spoke a human language" counseled Eve to disobey God's law and eat fruit from the forbidden "tree of the knowledge of good and evil." Eve tempted Adam to do likewise and they committed the original sin that led to their expulsion. To punish them, God commanded that "Adam had to work and cultivate the land by the sweat of his brow, and the woman had to bring forth her children with pain and submit to man." After these familiar chronicles, the authors paused to explain that "We are stopping this examination to see if it is possible to admit Moses heard this story which was to be eternally taken à la lettre (literally) or if, in the intention of Moses, the story was not simply an allegory, a myth, or a religious fable, like all those of the pagan mythologies." After setting out this possibility, the writers added that "some Philosophes," like Pierre Leroux, had posited the consequences of the first man's (Adam) behavior as "égoîsme or individualism." Cabet, however, felt that

> it is important to remark here, in passing, that this was the same as taking it to the letter. The story of Moses constitutes 1) the identity of the woman and the man; 2) the fraternity, unity, and solidarity between all the members of the human race or Humanity. A third very important thing to remark is that the error, the fault, the original sin, did not stop God from making an alliance with Abel, with Noah, with Abraham, with Isaac, with Jacob, with Moses, and with his Hebrew people.[84]

This manner of thinking reduced the Mosaic legend to a story about the "identity of man and woman" but neglected any scientific refutation of the serpent's speaking powers. Nor

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Adam and Eve account only once. Twenty years after Jesus's death, Paul imposed more austere discipline on women by arguing that they must veil their heads in church to "acknowledge subordination to men." Paul used the Adam and Eve story "to support traditional marriage and to prove that women, being naturally gullible, are unfit for any role but raising children and keeping house; thus, the story of Eden was made to reinforce the patriarchal structure of community life." Cabet displayed comparable views about women.

[84] Vrai Christianisme, 23-5.

did it question conjectures about the physical reality of God's punishments. This biblical version of woman's "identity" was left in place. Eve remained the primordial temptress, essentially punished with painful childbearing and submission to toiling man. Cabet had to compromise his rationality to decode the role of woman in Genesis as simple "identity." This line of "allegorical" justification was used in subsequent representations. It is also important to point out that Cabet followed up Eve's temptation tale by reminding readers that Adam's "error, fault, or original sin" did not keep God from making "alliances" with his male heirs. Yet, there was no corresponding redress from God for Eve's "original sin."

Woman: "victim of the laws made by men."

Like the biblical writers, Cabet's spiritual concerns about women in Vrai Christianisme centered around their sexual proclivities, their weaknesses, and their fondness for the seductive, sinful lures of wealth and luxury. Above all, women needed protection in order to become loving, modest, and pure. In an effort to encourage men to "Respectez, defendez les Femmes," Cabet dedicated six pages to retelling gospel stories about Jesus's refusal to condemn sinful women or adulteresses. "Jesus," he claimed, "loved and protected woman, represented by Moses as part of man, and who certainly is oppressed everywhere and a victim of the laws made by men everywhere."[85] This was an exceptional generalization for Cabet to make about lawmakers, although it reflected women's dependent conditions at the time. While it was pro-feminist in its scope, it depicted women as passive victims. But the troubling issue of sexuality was on Cabet's mind and he retold a story from Matthew's epistle about Jesus' speech to a crowd on the

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[85] Ibid., 131-4.

sinfulness of gazing lustfully at a woman. He likened such impure thoughts to a man committing "adultery in his heart." Cabet claimed Jesus had wanted to practice "Fraternité towards women as towards men," but he worried because a "man's rest and happiness" would be troubled by mental desires that could lead to adultery.[86] Not clearly stated, but inherent in his commentary was Cabet's message that the mixed practice of Fraternité between men and women might result in "adultery of the heart." Thus, in order to develop a dual-sex Fraternité, there must be a conscious effort to outlaw impure thoughts. Jesus not only wanted to protect women, Cabet maintained, but he wanted to "affranchir la femme and re-establish her natural rights, and to treat her as the equal of man."[87] Consequently, sexual desires needed to be suppressed so that equal gender relationships could transpire. Cabet did not explain how that was to be effectuated.

Impure thoughts, however, were a secondary danger when compared to acts of prostitution. Both had to be avoided. To illustrate this moral admixture, Cabet used the parable of Jesus's treatment of the adulteress who was caught in the act and brought before him for condemnation. The crowd expected to stone her under the Mosaic law, but Jesus said that only those "without sin" could "throw the first stone" and, as expected, none did. Next, Cabet added his interpretation of the origin of the crime of adultery. In his version, hypocritical Pharisees, it seems, "were possessed by Satan . . . [and] they seduced and corrupted these women with their luxury and riches." Since Jesus understood their

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[86] Ibid., 132. Valmor (Cabet) looked away from a "pretty girl" in the Voyage. Such gazing could cause "adultery in the heart" or lead to worse acts. This advice about "sinful occasions," sexual sights, and impure thoughts was standard Catholic sermon accouterments.

[87] Ibid., 133.

behavior, he was "indulgent, just, and kind towards a "femme de mauvaise vie." His compassion toward women was likewise, present in Luke's account of a prostitute who had carried a vase of perfumed oil into a room where Jesus was dining with a rich Pharisee. As she wept remorsefully behind Jesus, her tears fell upon his feet. She wiped them off, kissed and perfumed them with oil. When the rich host saw this, he protested that this sinful woman should not touch Jesus. But instead of allowing her to be turned away, Jesus defended her, citing her great love for him. He forgave her sins and told her "to sin no more."[88]

These commonplace narratives were culled by Cabet for instructive purposes. They were a way for him to sympathize with the unfortunate woman and at the same time, condemn the rich man who "lived the debaucherous life of the Pharisee" causing a "fille du Peuple" to sin. Yet, his interpretation acquitted the rich Pharisee's actions by positing the blame on Satan, who "possessed" him.[89] This erratic position on the reality of Satan, as on Angels, Heaven, and Hell differed from the Voyage, where the Council of wise men denied their existence. Not so in Vrai Christianisme where these mystical figures were ephemeras that Cabet lent credibility to. Satan easily seduced 'weak' women whether in the form of a serpent or Pharisee. They were accorded pity as double victims of Satan and the bad organization of wealth.[90] Men were called to defend and respect women because "It is

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88 Ibid., 133-6.

89 Ibid., 87.

90 Pagels, Adam, Eve, And The Serpent, 42-3. Pagels recalled Genesis 6: 2-4 where "sons of God (angels)" took wives among mankind. Some of them, according to Justin, "betrayed their trust by seducing women and corrupting boys (demon angels)." Cabet did not reprint any of the Church Fathers historical references related to Satan possessing women or mating with them, but since he read and recorded material from Justin, he

for women everywhere and for the most unfortunate ones that Jesus is a Liberator and a Savior."[91]

Christ had given dignity and equality to women by destroying the ancient marriage laws which regarded them as mere property. In his new ideal, woman was the equal of man and she could choose her husband. Both spouses would be faithful, and a husband could no longer simply renounce his wife.[92] At the time of Cabet's publication, this view of marriage was at variance with the French Civil Code and Catholic doctrine.[93] But it was an attractive vision for many women.

Cabet also inserted Paul's complimentary verses in which, "there is no inequality between the woman and the man" for there is "neither Jew nor Gentile; slave or free, man or woman; but all are one in Jesus Christ."[94] Since everyone would be equal in the Kingdom of God, "All men must have the same respect for all elderly women, as for their mothers, the same respect, friendship, chaste and pure for all young women, as for their sisters, and the same protective tenderness for all the little girls, as for their own children."[95] Women everywhere, should "love and propagate the Doctrine of Fraternité!"[96]

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probably encountered these ideas.

91 Vrai Christianisme, 137.

92 Ibid., 286-7.

93 Moses, French Feminism, 18-19. Divorce was permitted in France after1789 and prohibited in 1816. The Napoleonic Codes for adultery, separation, property, and child custody favored men.

94 Vrai Christianisme, 167. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, (III, 26,28). Readers were referred back to this from page 286 in a 3 page section captioned, "La femme."

95 Ibid., 287. This passage suggests Cabet believed in an afterlife "Kingdom" with God.

This was the text's most refined message from Jesus to women. They should support Fraternité which was practiced by men in Communauté. In short, they should support fraternal men.

In continuing his exhortions to men, Cabet asserted that if they applied Paul's commands to respect women, then, by this "fact alone, Christianity will metamorphose and perfect Society!" Nevertheless, Paul prevailed upon women to be prepared "honorably, with decency and modesty, not with curled hair, nor with gold, or pearls, or sumptuous clothing, but properly suited as women who are known by their good works." At this point, Cabet halted his use of Paul's verse from Timothy's second chapter. If he had continued, Paul's next lines would have instructed women that they must learn in silence, be submissive, not act as a teacher, nor have any authority over a man, but be quiet. It is especially significant that Cabet did not cite Paul's complete passage. Instead, he moved from quoting Paul to using Peter's words which conveyed similar concerns. "Women," Peter admonished,

> Don't forget that the Apostles demand your submission (voluntary and reasoned) not for your confessors, but for your husbands, without tyranny or without taking away your children by paternal authority, and by always preserving peace and gentleness. And the same for you husbands, live wisely with your wives, treat them with honor as the weaker sex, and consider that they are with you the inheriters of the grace of life. (Peter, 1 Ept., III, 2-9.)
>
> Husbands, love your wives and never be severe with them! (Paul, Epistle to Ephes., III, 19.)
>
> Yes, the conduct of women generally depends on the conduct of men, and the conduct of the spouses generally depends on the conduct of the husbands; the duties are reciprocal; and if the man is stronger, that is not so that he can oppress women, but defend and relieve them.[97]

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[96] Ibid., 289.

[97] Ibid., 559-61.

These selections left little doubt about Cabet's expectations from women (and men). Although he purposely omitted Paul's commands about women's silence and teaching, he reinforced the loving husbands' and submissive wives' reciprocal duties. Although the Creation and Edenic myths would be hard to eliminate in any chronicle of Christianity, Cabet did not stress them to reinforce his ideal of feminine subordination but appropriated the sanctimonious epistolary of Paul and Peter .

It is not necessary to review every mention of women in the 600 pages of Vrai Christianisme to uncover Cabet's perplexing struggle to assign equality and emancipation to women while simultaneously relegating them to men and law. Women readers might not spot this discrepancy, for they were reared to obey the authority of fathers, husbands, magistrates, and priests. However, the hopes of many women for enhanced dignity and equality would be encouraged by Cabet's call for men to regard them with greater respect.

Icarian Leadership: Une grande famille des frères

Women were a necessary part of Icaria's family-based Communauté and Cabet wanted to inspire their cooperation. He reminded them that Christ was "sent by God . . . to deliver the Human race and make a grande famille of frères! Is it not the capital event of human history?"[98] This 'capital event' began with Jesus's birth in a stable to a young fille du Peuple who was married to a simple carpenter. They lived in Nazareth amid the community of Ésseniens.[99] Jesus worked with his brothers and sisters in the family

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[98] Ibid., 51-2.

[99] Ibid., 70. Pagels, Adam, Eve, and the Serpent, 4-5,16, 149-150. The Essenes denounced the Temple worship as polluted, and formed a "pure" community in desert caves. They renounced private property to live in a monastic community." John the Baptist may have lived with the Essenes. Like them, Jesus declared that the crisis of the times required radical sacrifice. "Going from village to village near his birthplace in Galilee,

workshop and was instructed in the Law. As in the Voyage, Cabet omitted the name of his mother Mary (and Joseph too).[100] They were simply workers living a common life. Christ prepared for his ministry by meditating and when tempted by Satan, he was able to resist.[101] At the age of thirty, he gathered his disciples, preached fraternity, association, unity, and solidarity, which, Cabet deemed, was "evidently Communauté."[102] Christ was also a docteur des plus habiles (clever).[103] He spoke with "eloquence, power, and authority" about peaceful reforms in a corrupt, hostile political environment.[104] The Icarian mission could easily be equated with that of the first century Christians who "saw themselves participating at the birth of a revolutionary movement that they expected would culminate in a total social transformation."[105]

Readers willing to accept the advent of a new prophet who would continue Christ's work could find numerous commonalities in Vrai Christianisme. Cabet's fraternal mission

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Jesus warned that the coming day of judgment was about to turn the social and political world upside down." The Essenes attempted to live egalitarian ideas of liberty and justice. Centuries passed before their visions "began to inform actual political aspirations and institutions." Christian views of freedom changed when Christianity was "no longer a persecuted movement and became the religion of the emperors."

[100] Vrai Christianisme, 52-3. This negated Mary's designation as virgin and Mariology.

[101] Ibid., 53.

[102] Ibid., 59.

[103] Ibid., 71. Why portray Jesus as a "clever" doctor? Raspail-type natural remedies come to mind, but it could be simply a construction that Cabet adapted to explain away 'miraculous' cures.

[104] Ibid., 71, 85.

[105] Pagels, Adam, Eve, and the Serpent, 15.

was identifiable with that of Christ in the subtly imposed background silhouettes. Both were persecuted for similar associations with women. Pagan Pharisees accused "Jesus, his apostles and his disciples of rejecting marriage, and of wanting the community of women. . . the same Calomnie that accuses the Communists today of wanting the community of women," Cabet noted.[106] Pagan critics saw Christianity as a "religion notorious for close association with women" and accused them of indulging in "sexual promiscuity."[107]

But the main thrust of Vrai Christianisme was to implant Cabet's findings of Equalité and Fraternité in Christ's Communauté. Since the time of Jesus Christ, "all the movement, all the activity, all the inspiration of Christianity, has been to transform all the Societies into Communautés, and all Nations into one humanitarian Communauté."[108] "Yes, Christ was a communist" and "Christianisme is Communisme."[109]

The French popular interest in matching the virtues of the Revolution with a pragmatic Christianity was embedded in the intellectual background of Cabet's era.[110] The list of writers of his generation who "resurrected the moral principles of early Christianity

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[106] Vrai Christianisme, 383, 510, 625. Cabet introduced his namesake Étienne's stoning.

[107] Peter Brown, The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 140. By the year 200, Brown found that "every Christian group had accused its own Christian rivals of bizarre sexual practices."

[108] Vrai Christianisme, 618.

[109] Ibid., 620.

[110] Berenson, Populist Religion, 36-37. In the 1840s, populist Christianity identified Christ as a simple artisan. This belief was spread by Blanc and Cabet who opposed the corrupt Church hierarchy for a "true Christianity." It promised workers, "equality, brotherhood, sharing, an end to exploitation - the goals of political and social change."

in order to build a new foundation for the nation's political and economic life" included names as diverse as Louis Blanc, Pierre Leroux, Adolphe Blanqui, Victor Considerant, Abbé Lammenais, Martin Nadaud, Agricol Perdiguier, Raspail, and Eugène Sue.[111] However, Cabet's ability to link Christianity with Communism enjoyed the largest worker following of any political leader and "testifies to the religiosity of politicized workers."[112] Vrai Christianisme was his effort to clarify the essentials of Christianity present in worker's backgrounds and assimilate them with Icarian communism. He also tried to win intellectual adherents with concilatory gestures. Throughout the decade, he continued to downplay distinctions between republicans, democrats, and socialists in his desire to peacefully unite them.[113]

In his personal correspondence, Cabet voiced his expectation that Vrai Christianisme would be a "good influence on the propagation of his principles."[114] Since

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[111] Ibid., xxi-xxiii, 48. By the fall of 1848, the dem-soc radicals decided that revolutionary change required a massive, disciplined campaign of political education. This "coalition" disagreed on fundamentals but fashioned an "innovative ideology" out of "unorthodox Christian beliefs."

[112] Ibid., 48-9. 1840s reading rooms were stocked with Cabet, Blanc, and Leroux 's writings.

[113] Ibid., 76-7, 99-100. Berenson left out Cabet's antagonism toward the "ultras." He quoted from a Banquet speech delivered by Cabet two years after the publication of Vrai Christianisme (September 1848) where he drank "to the union of all" claiming that the words were 'inseparable' and "republic, democracy, and socialism are essentially the same thing." Echoes of Cabet's christian expressions abound. Laponneraye believed in "Christian fraternity" preached by Jesus Christ who "was the emancipator of humanity in the here-and-now." Louis Blanc advocated the fraternity proclaimed by God and Christ and a "regime of liberty, equality, and human fraternity."

[114] Cabet to Berrier-Fontaine, April 7, 1844. CIS SIUE folder 2. Cabet wrote "I look forward to that work, and its happy results for our doctrines." Cabet to Michod, April 13, 1844. CIS SIUE folder 2. Vrai Christianisme will be a "large, happy influence for the propagation of our principles. My work will certainly be different from that of Weitling,

May 8, 1842, Le Populaire had published "articles to examine the social doctrines of Christianity, and demonstrate that Jesus Christ saw no other way than in Communauté to realize egalité and fraternité."[115] A cross-check of the newspaper's contents shows that most of the material in the book had already been introduced in articles, some paraphrased and others verbatim.[116]

At the end of 1845, essays in Le Populaire corresponded closely with the final pages of Vrai Christianisme and its directives to women.[117] One that was titled, "Aux

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because he always puts some violence in his writings (which appears to me as contre-sens). Nevertheless, I always look for means of persuasion." Cabet was considering Michod's offer to establish him by the side of "a lake and foun two journals. "That would certainly be perfectly convenient for my health, for my repos, and for my taste. . . .[but] nothing could replace Paris."He was hoping to have a "petite Colonie" near Paris and a weekly journal.

[115] Prior to that date, Le Populaire had introduced readers to the salient christian views of Morelly and Campanella (May 20, 1841); Telemaque, Fenelon, Mably (June 20, 1841); and the 'idea' of God, Reason, and happiness (Sept. 5, 1841).

[116] Le Populaire material from Vrai Christianisme included articles on ancient communists like Lycurgus, Socrates, etc.; a comparison of Chaville, (pseud. Chameroy) with the conversion of Saint Paul (July 3, 1842); "Explication des Evangiles" and the "affranchisement of femme" (Aug. 7, 1842); Miracles or parables (Oct. 9, 1842); "Diable as a parable" (Nov. 13, 1842); Pagan priests of Egypt, castes, Pilate, Pharisees (Dec. 11, 1842); "Christianity is Communauté" (Jan. 12, 1843); Vineyard parable and equal salaries (Feb. 10, 1843); Lazarus (Mar. 9, 1843); St. John Chrysostom, St. Ambrose; "Suppose" monasteries had admitted women, marriage, and family (July 20, 1843); Paul says "Love your neighbor as yourself" (Oct. 1, 1843); Communism is Christianity in its purity (April 3, 1844); Christ wanted social reform, equality, fraternity and Communauté as did a list of Church Fathers (July 12, 1844). One verbatim account was "Pélage - Livre des Richesses" (May 11, 1845). According to Cabet, his book "fought the inequality of goods" and noted that the rich could hardly have acquired their wealth without "crimes and immoral acts." (Pelagius was a British or Irish monk whose doctrine was condemned as heresy in 415 A.D. He denied original sin and affirmed men's ability and free will.)

[117] Vrai Christianisme, 621-3.

Femmes," summoned women to "desire the Communauté because it is for your benefit. . . . If you have religious sentiments, that is the greatest reason for you to be a Communist, because Communisme is nothing other than Vrai Christianisme, as we will demonstrate for you soon."[118] But the book's publication was set back by "the needs of attending to a subscription for Poland" which had experienced an uprising early in 1846.[119] When it finally appeared in June, 2,000 copies were sold out in twenty days.[120]

For a few months afterwards, Cabet reveled in letters of thanks and praise for his work. He published many of the adulatory responses sent by readers. One woman from Angoulême wrote to tell him that her husband and children were all Communists. She was an active Icarienne and worked to "icariser all her neighborhood marchandes. . . . We discuss all that is in your book. Without a doubt you would ridicule seeing women who surely never have the logique or politique, discussing among themselves, not only all the serious and wise docteurs, but also all the less profound docteurs and often being

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[118] Le Populaire, Dec. 21, 1845. This article was preceded by one on "Réunions Fraternelles ou de Famille" which noted that "after the publication of Vrai Christianisme, we will publish a Cours Icarien in 4 page serials." All the communists were invited to have small gatherings with their wives and children to read together, to discuss, and fraternize." They would not be like secret societies, nor against any law, still, he added a note of caution: "We know that many desire these meetings; but we exhort them not to presser (push them)."

[119] Ibid., Mar. 26, 1846. The Polish uprising was in the February issue. In the April 25 issue, they had collected 2,981 francs for the cause. In April, Vrai Christianisme was delayed. 'Nearly ready' in May and in June, he promised it would be out in 5 days. It was.

[120] Ibid., August 28, 1846. Added reports on the community "Progress in America" where the "Union of American Associationists" were "directing the Socialists in United States" certifies Cabet's interest in these Fourierists and helps explain his exceptional gestures of unity toward Considerant and the Fourierists. He invited Considerant to debate the merits of their systems.

opininated. I don't despair of our Icarianisme."[121] Words of enthusiasm also came from readers with elevated social ranks. A professor told how "enchanté and ravit (delighted)" he was by Cabet's text.[122] Others informed him that they were anxious to become Icarian disciples and fulfill the "noble, saintly mission" of Communism which reason would bring to all the earth.

In August, Cabet told readers that as soon as Le Populaire became a weekly, he would publish "interesting feuilletons (serials) that would be especially consecrated to women."[123] But he lacked the necessary 50,000 franc cautionnement fee. Nonetheless, he had proclaimed that Icarians would bring about the emancipation of women, and he recognized that a series of essays on their behalf would help maintain women's support and aid in the movement's growth.

But Cabet's promising reveries were soon dealt a harsh blow for Pope Pius IX issued an encyclical that condemned communism. He called it a "perverse doctrine and contrary to the natural right," adding that an "admission of that doctrine would overthrow all rights, all things, all properties, and overturn the foundation of human society."[124] Cabet, of course responded to this cosmic indictment in like manner. "All the Evangiles,

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121 Le Populaire, September 27, 1846.

122 Ibid. Letters were reproduced from lawyers, Phalanstériens, Spaniards, and from Vienne, Lyon, Clermont, Toulouse, Nantes, Reims, that acclaimed the 'merit' and 'moral effect' gained from reading Vrai Christianisme. A supplement presented discussions and critics from among the schools. Topics like the divinity of Christ, property, Jews, inequality, egoism, vanity, and social science were among the issues generated for debate.

123 Ibid., Aug. 28, 1846.

124 Ibid., Dec. 25, 1846. [The doctrine of Papal infallibility was decreed in 1870.]

Apostles, Fathers of the Church, Bishops, Patriarchs, Popes, and Jesus-Christ himself, had preached the practice of the Communauté based on Fraternity and Equality!" he warranted. "Is the Pope then the Anti-Christ?"[125]

But Cabet hardly relished a contest with the Papacy. His decade-long effort to promote Icarian communist concepts and to prepare and publish his Christian defense of Communism, were excoriated in one sweep by Rome. How would Icarians react? Could the movement be salvaged? How would the women who longed to be emancipated respond?

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[125] Ibid. This defense was followed in a retaliatory fashion with, "Horrible Crime of a Priest," and other reports and refutations of the increase in attacks on Communism.

CHAPTER EIGHT

VENEZ! BONHEUR DES FEMMES EN ICARIE

The Pope's formal condemnation of communism at the end of 1846 added a new dimension to Cabet's thriving propaganda efforts which had convinced over 100,000 people to identify themselves as Icarian communists in a period of five years.[1] The Vatican placed the Voyage en Icarie on the Index of books which Catholics were forbidden to read.[2] The Pontiff's proclamation legitimized attacks against communists and provoked fear and hatred. It also created a serious problem for women who were not prepared to

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[1] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 145, 144-206, 206. This was an estimate given by an enthusiastic associate at Tours, Dr. Desmoulins. Johnson, "Étienne Cabet" diss., 339-40, 553. Johnson felt reasonable figures to be "100,000 to 125,000" in late 1846 "when the movement peaked." After tracing the multiple bases of Icarianism, he concluded that the typical Icarian would seem to have been 1) a poor journeyman artisan in a traditional, urban craft threatened less by technological change than by modernized business practices; 2) a person who was literate and possessed some propensity for a theoretical consideration of his situation; 3) a Christian, if not a supporter of the institutional Church; and 4) a family man of middle age who had already endured considerable hardship and who was frustrated by his own lack of mobility in a society that made equality of opportunity one of its chief values." For my purposes, the typical Icarian woman would seem to have been literate, Christian, and married to a journeyman artisan. A much larger figure was postulated by Emile Péron in Brief History of Icaria. Constitution, Laws and Regulations of the Icarian Community (Corning, Iowa: Office of Publication: Icaria, 1880), 5. In a review of the early years of propaganda, Péron stated that "in a few years the Icarian school counted 400,000 adherents, that is to say, more than ten times the number contained in all the other socialist schools." Likewise, Shaw offered the same figure. Albert Shaw, Icaria: A Chapter in the History of Communism (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1884), 19. "On good authority," adherents in 1847 numbered 400,000. The latter two authors had contacts with similar personnel in the Iowa Colonies. The 1880s figure may have been inflated, although the line between active and nominal Icarians would be hard to tally.

[2] Le Populaire, January 30, 1847. Cabet reported this in the paper saying that putting the Voyage on the index coincided with a missionary's tirade against Icaria as a place that existed only in the minds of its inventor. This, of course, was quite true, but the missionary's views were a further spur driving Cabet's decision to prove his system.

give up their Catholic affiliations but admired Icaria's egalitarian doctrines. Icariennes who had considered themselves "persuasive apostles," could no longer recommend Cabet's publications to their orthodox Catholic neighbors, nor use them as referents to show the advantages of life in communauté. In some instances, the ban was a catalyst for strengthening the beliefs of members who resented the papacy. In either case, the stepped-up tempo of pulpit "persecutions" was real and disconcerting. Because women were more inclined to follow rituals and defer to Church authority than men, those who openly espoused communism were subjected to intimidating forms of priestly and neighborhood ostracization. Many men had to face similar hostilities, but due to their often bellicose anti-clericalism, they had a supportive network that permitted them to ignore the edict. Such a defiant style of behavior by women was discouraged. Icarian husbands who had benignly indulged their wives Catholic religiosity, would now be likely to find that their continued support of communism constituted a disturbing factor in spousal relations.[3]

During the early months of 1847, both Government and Church authorities intensified their drives to suppress communism among workers.[4] Such harassment was not new, Icarian workers had been under official surveillance for some time.[5] The 1847

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[3] Ibid., May 2, 1847. Family discord is difficult to document. In this issue, Cabet reported on the activity of a priest in Viday (Orne) who had found subscribers to Le Populaire in his parish. The Priest exercised his authority over the young and their parents "to renounce their promised subscriptions to keep peace in their families."

[4] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 235-6, 241-2. "Communism held the allegiance of one-third of the workers in the large industrial towns of France."

[5] Ibid., 240-3. Johnson, Étienne Cabet" diss., 502. Johnson investigated the degree of "persecution" experienced by Cabet before deciding to go to America. In particular, he analyzed the harassments over the Bibliothéques (libraries), Cöeffe's reports on domicile

persecution was mild when compared with the police activity in recent years.[6] Cabet's focus on these "persecution" incidents in his press may even have served to check some of the over-zealous agents' actions. Previous efforts to stifle the movement had proved futile. Indeed, the sensational exposé of the clumsy attempt to prosecute Icarians in Toulouse had produced new recruits.[7] Cabet was regarded as "the most famous man on the left" by the end of 1847 after authorities had again failed to link him with conspiracy plots.

Pierre Angrand considered the "persecution" thesis to be a valid explanation for Cabet's emigration position in his study.[8] But the decision to leave France was far more complicated as Christopher Johnson's careful research has shown. Cabet had misjudged cross-class unity and he used "persecution" as a means "to advertise the cause," thereby convincing Icarians that it was necessary to emigrate.[9] The way "to keep Icarianism alive, and perhaps to see it conquer the unbelieving world someday, was to carry the band off to some uninhabited terrain, to flee from the great dilemma that the problem of class

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visits in Vienne, prejudice against three Icarians in Givors, and the Toulouse trial.

[6] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 240-1.

[7] Ibid., 128-34.

[8] Ibid., 241.

[9] Ibid., 19, 242-3, 207-260. Additional aspects of Johnson's research found that "Cabet possessed remarkable political acumen and immense powers as a propagandist. . . . once convinced of the truth of communism, he exhibited some of the traits that caused Jakov Talmon to place him in the mainstream of nineteenth-century "political messianism." Cabet became "a homme politique in the early 1820s and remained so the rest of his life." The emigration decision "arose less from previous conviction than from his earlier misconception of the nature of social change and the growing recognition that his strategy of left-wing cross-class unity was untenable." (19) Johnson followed the progress of Icarianism "from movement to sect" in Chapter 5. Angrand, Étienne Cabet et la république de 1848, 26-33. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 203-5. Shaw, Icaria, 18-20.

antagonism had posed."[10] Cabet's motion not only divided communists, but splintered the Icarian movement. Most Icarians refused to leave their country. Scores of interested workers did not have the means to leave if they wanted to.

Securing the support of women for emigration was far more difficult than enlisting that of the men. While some wives were interested in the prospect of affranchissement and community support for their families, few wanted to abandon their local habitats. The group that eventually left was only a minority of the Icarian membership in 1847-48.[11] A close examination of Cabet's writings shows that he appropriated evidence about persecution to advance his emigration drive. He repeatedly used the phrase "persecution brings progress" to keep this motive alive in the minds of his readers.[12] "Persecution" must be also be understood in the context of the social and economic disasters across Europe in early 1847. It was a useful tool for critiquing callous regimes' policing powers. The Icarians who were firmly convinced that it was necessary to emigrate, coalesced into a loyal, communist-christian sect which included a number of recently "converted" women.[13] Their 'conversion' was an important aspect of the saga, for 'demi-converts' caused trouble.

Police reports for some time had distinguished Cabet as the "chef des

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[10] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 235. Cabet's loyal band existed, but the "drive to win men of all classes had failed."

[11] Ibid., 283.

[12] Ibid., 241.

[13] Ibid., 207-260. Johnson's study of this shift toward a sect drew from a body of research sources including tallies of newspaper subscriptions, letters, and opposition press reports. The eventual group of emigrants after the February revolution was clouded by the events which mixed the loyalist Icarians with others who wanted to flee France, but the initial February 3, 1848 advance guard was "mission" oriented.

communistes." His writings were influencing the thinking of thousands of workers.[14] On January 19, 1847, Prefect of Police Delessert wrote to Duchâtel about the contents of socialist newspapers which he believed were misleading workers because they "present an exaggerated tableau of their miseries and a picture of happiness which would arrive by social renovation." Delessert added that these writings deserve "particular attention and the most active repression by the judiciary authorities."[15] Although Icarians were known pacifists, Cabet was one of the editors that these officials targeted. Consequently, on March 25, Duchâtel tried to prevent the forthcoming weekly publication of Le Populaire in Rouen on the grounds that it would appeal to the "popular passions" and have a "dangerous effect." The authorities were told to "proceed against this newspaper every time it appears to put public peace in danger."[16] Undaunted, Cabet put out his paper and fought the subsequent press charges leveled against him. They were dismissed by May 9, 1847.[17]

Friendly commentators saw Cabet's work in a different light. One popular author, Eugène Sue, described his role as that of a "man whose truly Christian heart gives such a

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[14] Ibid., 145. Police recorded this as early as 1844-45. Louis Blanc was equally influential with workers.

[15] Johnson, "Étienne Cabet" diss., 502. Sutton, Les Icariens, 44. Cabet learned about Duchâtel's report in March.

[16] Johnson, "Étienne Cabet" diss., 502-3. Johnson noted that this March 25, 1847 report convinced researcher Angrand (27-8) about the validity of his "persecution" thesis. However, this report was issued after Cabet's March 19, 1847 letter to Berrier-Fontaine asking him what he thought of emigrating to America.(This letter will be discussed shortly.)

[17] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 241. Johnson, "Étienne Cabet" diss., 503. Another charge against Le Populaire was brought to trial later, and Cabet was exonerated.

pacific, fraternal, and moral character to the just demands of the communists."[18] During the harsh winter of 1846-47, the communists' "just demands" for the people were exacerbated by the potato famine which engulfed Europe coupled with deficit grain harvests.[19] In addition, France, like England, suffered a financial crisis. Unemployment multiplied workers' distress. The social order on the European Continent failed to meet the elementary needs of its people and millions perished from famine and sickness. Le Populaire carried reports about the incredible misery of the people which was forcing thousands of Irish and Germans to emigrate to America to escape starvation and oppression.[20] Cabet commiserated with their distress: "What a sorrowful spectacle! What

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[18] Ibid., 145n2. Cabet reprinted this quote from Eugène Sue in his March 1845 issue taken from the Démocratie Pacifique. Numerous letters shared similar views.

[19] Le Populaire, April 4, 1847. Cabet noted this "financial crisis" occurred at the same time that France was plagued by famine. In Paris, 489,000 had received bread in March 1847. On April 3, 1847, bread was given to 650,000 along with 1,460,000 francs.

[20] Ibid., January 30, 1847, February 1847, March 1847, April 4, 1847. Cabet carried regular reports on bread and grain riots in France. In an article, "The Mal (Pain, evil), its cause and remedy," he concluded that the current misery was caused by the short-sighted Administration, the egoism of proprietors and farmers, the greed of merchants, speculators, and monopolizers. Cabet felt that the remedy to repair the famine would be found in a concentrated effort by the Public treasury to furnish half the funds, with the communes providing the other half. The thrust of Cabet's article was to revile the social system based on individualism and substitute Communism. In his review of other countries, he reported that the situation in Ireland was "horrible; the famine and misery are killing more human beings than have ever been killed by cholera." In February, Cabet printed a report on Abbé Constant who was imprisoned for a year and fined 1000 francs for suspicion of writing an anonymous pamphlet the "Voix de la famine" which "1) excited hate between the classes of society and 2) hate and suspicion of the government and the King." Cabet remarked that he didn't think Abbé Constant had written it, but was incensed because his name was brought into the dispute. He did not approve of Constant's writings. This incident obviously put Cabet on guard regarding press criticisms about the handling of the famine that would anger the government. In March, Cabet again referred to Constant and the pamphlet, which "appeared to us as infinitely dangerous for the people," indicating his fear of being blamed for inciting 'class' uprisings due to the famine. Le Populaire reports thereafter were generally composed as foreign factual excerpts which

appalling accounts!" he wrote in January 1847. "What excessive violence is occasioned by misery, by shortage, by the fear of famine, the ignorance and the blindness of the masses, who find themselves always the unhappy victims."[21] Beleaguered workers protested the rising price of bread and took part in food riots.[22] Participants with communist associations were doubly suspect.[23]

The timing of the Pope's ban on communism coincided with this winter of dreadful suffering. The widespread hunger and illness challenged those who held christian and communist ideals of equality and fraternity to find ways to reduce these casualties. Instead of fostering cooperation, the Church's schismatic message pitted Catholics against Communists and added to the people's afflictions. Icarians had often been singled out for domicile (residence) searches in the past and many were still kept under government surveillance. The Police confiscated copies of Cabet's books and issues of Le Populaire

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were less likely to "incite" the local populace.

[21] Ibid., January 30, 1847. In this same issue, he printed a letter from Un Socialiste regarding the plight of "five million Irish dying of famine" because of the "deficit of potatoes."

[22] Ibid., April 11, 1847, April 18, 1847. These incidents were widespread in Europe and in France. Cabet reported on the suffering in the countryside and sickness from malnourishment. Charity was insufficient. Pillage of grain at mills was countered by troops. Peasants threw stones at the gendarmes at Montignac, etc.

[23] Ibid., May 9, 1847, May 30, 1847. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 240, 262. Johnson listed the harassments and arrests of Cabet's correspondents and Communists. Chambry of Mirecourt was fired from his job because of his Icarianism. Communists were accused of causing the grain shortage. They were being scapegoated in a November 6, 1847 Le Populaire report stating that "The thief Cabet and his entire band of communists are monopolizers of wheat; it would be well to take these communist brigands, cut them into pieces and burn them." This build-up of anti-communist hatred climaxed after the February Revolution. In March 1848, Cabet and other Communists barely escaped with their lives from the frenzy of hostile crowds in Paris.

from their homes as proof of their communist affliation.[24] They took a list of addresses of Le Populaire subscribers that was in the possession of an Icarian correspondent in 1843, and proceeded to search over fifty Icarian households.[25] The pretext for these intrusions was the government's campaign against secret societies that might be inclined toward revolution.[26] Cabet always insisted Icarians were not a secret organization and urged followers to behave peacefully and have "civil courage" in the face of government hostility.

Along with the police assaults, bishops and priests were denouncing communism from their pulpits. To counter these clerics, Cabet inserted a column in his paper called, "Revue eccléstiastique."According to one report, several priests were quizzing communist workers in a friendly manner and pretending to side with them, but later on, these same priests criticized the workers about issues that would incriminate them to the police.[27]

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[24] Le Populaire, November 22, 1845. There was a report about a fellow-worker who turned an Icarian in to the Police who then searched his home and found he had a copy of the Voyage en Icarie. This would seem to put a damper on an Icarians desire to recruit "fellow" workers.

[25] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 128-34. This happened during the 1843 trial of Gouhenant and his communist associates in Toulouse. The Le Populaire office was searched as well. Cabet had traveled to Toulouse to defend them, but the authorities decided not to allow Cabet to represent them because he was not a member of the bar of the Haute-Garonne. Although this was legal, it was based on a seldom used article of the code, and raised public indignation. The negative publicity aimed at the government helped sway the jury which acquitted the Icarians.

[26] Le Populaire, Janurary 12, 1843, September-October, 1843. Among the reports was one where the Lyon police "brutally" persecuted workers in their domicile under the pretext of discovering a secret society. By the fall of 1843, Cabet's writings extended the continued police arrests in France to exemplify the persecutions of communist workers, the most "numerous class" across Europe. "Here is the mépris (scorn), la haine (hate), la persécution against Communists, the continuateurs of the first Christians!"

[27] Ibid., July 12, 1844, April 18, 1847, May 16, 1847. Reports like this would alert

Cabet understood the influence of the Church's political and monetary power. Heretofore, he had hoped that his logical arguments would persuade clergymen to support communism since it was the system that they practiced in their own religious communities. While lamenting the Church's vast resources, Cabet adroitly pointed out that the government granted Catholic groups freedom to associate as communities in France, but denied that privilege to other kinds of communities.[28]

The Church's chilling stand against communism had matured in the 1840s. When Cabet started writing material for his newspaper in 1841, an identifiable religious 'persecution' directed against communists was not a noticable element in his journalism. But it soon surfaced. At first, the headings above columns in Le Populaire used words like refutations, attacks, denunciations, and protests. However, by the fall of 1841, Cabet's linguistic constructions fused the Government and Church's opposition into one embodying 'persecution,' doubtlessly driven by the furor over ultra-communist ideas like Dézamy's. Milder word forms faded.[29] A few months later, Cabet explicitly outlined the

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Icarians not to say things that might incriminate themselves, even to sympathetic priests. The "Revue Eccléstiastique" column was a useful forum for reporting the luxurious wealth and spending habits of the Church. During the famine and bread scarcity of the 1846-47 winter, the report sarcastically listed how the clergy allocated 30,000 francs to purchase relics. They pointed out the gold, silk, and velvet extravagances of a Saint Anne's liturgical procession. Another item told about a sermon in which the pastor claimed that if the "exterminateur angel came to the preacher's commune and marked an ineffable sign on the door of each house where a girl had lost her honor, there would probably be no house which would not have the stygmate of the angel!" In Cabet's opinion, a sermon like that exemplified the priest's abuse of confessional secrecy.

[28] Ibid., March 9, 1843.

[29] Ibid., October 10, 1841, October 1844 (Johnson, Utopian Communism, 145n2. Issues from late 1844 and 1845 were dated by the month only.) Despotism and privileges should be replaced by a "social organization that would make misery disappear. . . . It is the fault of the Governments and the Priests." This issue had a supplement with details of

expanded role of the Church as persecutor under the heading, "Persécutions et calomnies contre les doctrines." He reported that two bishops and the editors of l'Ami de la Religion, l'Union Catholique, and l'Univers Religieux [30] had warned that because of communism, France was "destined to see the crimes of heresy reappear." Cabet responded to the Catholic editors' charges by asking why the priests and bishop's doctrines were "not

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political and religious repressions against communists. In an 1844 article, "Persecutions contre le Communisme," he identified the "numerous enemies" as Police, the rich, and the Priests. The "Catholic clergy have become so rich, so ambitious, and so jealous, it is not astonishing that they reject the equality and the fraternity of Communism like the pagan Priests repulsed Christianity." In effect, Cabet equated Catholic Priests with the Pagan Priests of antiquity, a terrible association which was unlikely to win them over to his side.

[30] R. Howard Bloch, God's Plagiarist: Being an Account of the Fabulous Industry and Irregular Commerce of the Abbé Migne (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 1-3, 11, 14, 17-18, 26, 38-9, 67, 90. These were three of the most powerful catholic journals of the day included in segments of Bloch's text. They carried articles authored by Abbé Migne or about him. Abbé Migne was one of the most potent figures of the "reconstruction catholique" and the driving force behind the Ateliers catholiques. Bloch calls them, "the industrial City of God" - book factory. Abbé Migne not only published books but catholic newspapers with his editorials. He hoped to reverse the damage to the Church from the Revolution. Bloch noted that French priests had increased from 36,000 in 1814 to 47,000 in 1848, verifying Cabet's agitation against their numbers. Abbé Migne's editorial policy was against the rationalism of the enlightenment, against positivism, and against protestantism. Bloch calculated that Abbé Migne published "a book every ten days for 30 years" beginning in the 1830s. The most famous, Patrologia Graeca, 217 tomes and 218 volumes; plus 81 tomes and 85 volumes on the Greek Fathers in Latin; 25 volumes Scripturae sacrae cursus completus; 25 volumes Theologia cursus completus; 18 volumes Démonstrations évangeliques des plus célèbres défenseurs du Christianism, 99 volumes Orateurs sacrés, 169 volumes of encyclopedias and nearly 600 other texts. Bloch found that Abbé Migne had an "iron will like the early Christian martyrs" and was a shrewd financier as well as an expert in marketing books. Abbé Migne exploited the labor of nearly 600 badly paid workers in his print-shops where they were forced to work in silence under conditions of severe discipline. Migne's voluminous works were considered by Firmin Didot as "the greatest publishing enterprise since the invention of printing" - the Ateliers catholiques were worth over 3,000,000 francs when he died. Cabet's prodigious output pales by comparison, but it is evident that he keenly sensed the extent and influence of Migne's production. Vrai Christianisme with its readable and simplified exegesis should be considered in the context of this background.

persecuted since they prescribe the Communautaires doctrines for themselves. Why are the priests not calomnieraient-ils (slandered), since you calomniez the Communistes?"[31] Despite the validity of his contradictory premises, "heresy" was a serious matter for Cabet to disprove.

From 1842 on, "persecutions" was the term used to report aggressive activity against communism. At the same time, Cabet was attempting to diffuse charges directed at him by drawing diverse political factions into the reform arena. "Why persecute the communists?" he asked. "Why always call it a utopie?" Are not other "reforms also utopies? Les utopies democratiques, les utopies republicaines, les utopies phalansterriennes, les utopies de Lamennais, les utopies de Pierrre Leroux, les utopies de Lamartine, les utopies du National lui-meme!"[32] Communism was simply "too beautiful" and, like a Court reporter had said, "our Communisme Icarien was seduisant (seductive)."[33] His article also called attention to the hate directed at the "numerous classes" (workers) by those who did not desire the happiness of all men and did not see them as fréres.[34] It concluded that "Communism was nothing other than a school, a moral,

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31 Le Populaire, February 27, 1842.

32 Ibid., February 10, 1843.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid. Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 387. Johnson noted that while the Christian-Communist link helped convince many workingmen, this emphasis was also responsible for the "adherence of the bulk of Cabet's bourgeois followers." This bourgeois list includes Dr. Desmoulins, Dr. Rabyrin, a professor, journalist Elléna, merchants Laty and Finet, and Charles Chameroy himself. The overlap in Icarian class partisans sustained Cabet's hope that wealthier Frenchmen would recognize the benefits of communist equality and fraternity and delayed his recognition that the bulk of the bourgeoisie did not support his system.

a philosophy, a sorte (kind) of religion that adopted all the principles of Christianity in its original purity."[35]

Catholic ecclestiastics would presumably be as repelled by Cabet's portrayal of communism as a "kind of religion" as the Government officials were over his structural proposals. By January 1847, church and police had stepped up the pace of Icarian persecutions. Cabet could not shrug off the devastating long range effect of their repression on his followers, despite his spirited retort that the Pope might be an "anti-Christ." His slanderous label offended orthodox Catholics but quite likely boosted the spirits of anti-clerics. Regardless, the cohesion of Cabet's movement was in danger of being damaged by paramount forces and he had to act to salvage his doctrine. He had hoped to persuade his countrymen to begin organizing their society like the ideal one in the Voyage, albeit gradually, but a decade had already passed and, unlike the Fourierists, he had not been able to initiate any concrete demonstration of his system.

It is possible to conjecture that the ten year period Cabet set out in the Voyage as the time devoted to propaganda was drawing to a close (1837-1847). The character Eugène had declared, "I would best like to have the Communauté commence in ten years with enlightened people [rather] than have the Communauté commence in one year with people who are too uncertain in their opinions."[36] Cabet and his network of actionnaires had diligently worked to enlighten others, but setting up a Communauté in France was impossible now. In the past, Cabet had opposed overseas community experiments. As late

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35 Le Populaire, February 10, 1843.

36 Voyage, 537.

as September 27, 1846, he was pointing out to readers the "futility of attempts to construct partial communities."[37] However, the papal decree was an unexpected factor that appears to have effected his redirection.

On January 3, 1847, Cabet wrote Berrier-Fontaine in London that, "in my conviction, communism will be lost for a long time if I can not direct and defend it as I want." He restated his opposition to those "who want to separate from me because I will not proclaim atheism and revolutions."[38] It is not clear why he felt pressured by communists to declare for atheism just then, perhaps, to sever religion and the Papal opposition from their basic ideology. Cabet's determined efforts to align communism with christianity undoubtedly troubled the rationalism of many communists. As for revolutions, Cabet was known to be a pacifist, even though this contradicted the role of Icar and the violent revolution in his fiction.

Understandably, as Cabet surveyed the new year, his aggravated state of mind was driven by a number of irritants including a shortage of funds to publish a weekly. Class was an underlying problem. When he asked his former associate, Deputy Lamartine, for a loan of 30,000 francs to make his paper a weekly in late September, Lamartine refused.[39]

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[37] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 218-221. Johnson followed his anti-emigration arguments into 1847. Among his statements were those that "emigrations deprive the popular cause of defenders" in July and September of 1842 and in the 1843 Almanach. (A charge leveled at him!)

[38] Cabet to Berrier-Fontaine, January 3, 1847. CIS SIUE folder 2. Cabet discussed the problem of "personalities," the "danger excited against me," and the "furor of our enemies."

[39] Johnson, Utopian communism, 228, 228n60. The three letters were dated August 31, 1846, September 17, 1846, and October 1, 1846 and are stored at the IISG. (Since he asked for 30,000, perhaps, he had 20,000 of the 50,000 francs needed for the weekly cautionnement.)

This loan request suggests Cabet was actively searching for a way to expand his movement. A weekly form of propaganda would "multiply the number of men capable of the common life."[40] All this suggests his thinking in the fall was directed toward adding men with a weekly press. However, by January 1847, it was not 'capable' men, but 'persecutors' who had multiplied.

Whether Cabet believed persecution meant progress or not, he adapted this theme and accepted spiritual rhetoric from correspondents than went beyond his rationalist creed. As a political propagandist, he wrote to "satisfy both the humanists and the fundamentalists among his followers."[41] Those who emigrated to Icaria retained an admixture of both ideologies but were convinced of the truth of Icarianism.[42]

Facts about various European emigrations appeared regularly in Le Populaire. Cabet also had friendly relations with men like Wilhelm Weitling who visited him in December 1846 before he left for America.[43] Weitling founded the Arbeiterbund

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[40] Ibid., 220.

[41] Ibid., 233.

[42] Ibid., 258-9. In his final analysis, Johnson concluded as well, that the movement contained "two contradictory trends." One group was influenced by Cabet's basic idealism but increasingly "rejected his authority, his pacifism, his religiosity, and his simple utopian concepts of social reconstruction." The other, "true believers" of Cabet's promises of an "ephemeral New Jerusalem," followed the overseas project and "insulated themselves from the outside world."

[43] Cabet to Berrier-Fontaine, December 1, 1846 CIS SIUE folder 2. Cabet wrote that Weitling was coming to see him and was then going to America. Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 352-374. The chapter on "Icarian Influence Abroad" included the contribution of Wilhelm Weitling to the spread of Cabet's ideas in Switzerland, Germany, and London. Weitling's "system" was similar, but not identical with Cabet's. He was not against overseas colonies. He had been arrested and expelled from Switzerland. At his trial in 1843, Weitling claimed he was an "Icarian." After his prison term, he emigrated to London. Weitling examined the various communist systems and found "that of Cabet is

(Workingmen's League) in Missouri and joined a group that began two German Communist colonies in the United States, Communia and Sociality in 1846-47. Their constitutions were based on Cabet's Credo communiste.[44] Thus, despite his general objections to poorly organized foreign colonies, he had contacts with men who were busy establishing American communist colonies in 1846-7. A well-planned, large emigration loomed as a solution to his predicament.

Women posed a special problem. Icarian Communauté was family and Cabet had to hold women's faith intact to complete his system. Their normal reluctance to resettle in a foreign country was made worse by the added imperative that they defy the Church. Maintaining the allegiance of women for his emigration was certainly on his mind, for barely a month after the decree, he engaged a female author to write instructive essays for

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the best." (372). Weitling was in close contact with the German physician, Dr. Hermann Ewerbeck who was devoted to Cabet's doctrines. Under the pseudonym, Wendell Hippler, he translated, Comment je suis communiste, Credo, L'Ouvrier, and La Femme.

[44] Gerd Alfred Petermann, "The Communia and Sociality Colonies and Their Roots in the German Social-Reform Movement of St. Louis, 1846-47" Communal Societies: Journal of the National Historic Communal Societies Association vol. 10, 1990, 1-23. In this essay, Petermann noted that the founding of the communities of Communia (August 18,1847) in Clayton County, Iowa, and Sociality (July 1847) near St. Joseph, Missouri, were associated with Wilhelm Weitling and the St. Louis, Missouri Arbeiterbund (Workingmen's League). They branched out from the St. Louis communisten-Verein (St. Louis association of Communists) whose president was Heinrich Koch and which had a later alliance with Weitling's Arbeiterbund. The colonies 'community of goods' followed the "teachings of Etienne Cabet" whose "influence occurred before he (Cabet) devised his plans" for his colony in the United States. The St. Louis group lectured on Cabet's Credo communiste in April 1846 and had it translated into German. Forty-six charter members passed a constitution and program on March 28, 1846 titled, Glaubensbekenntinis (Credo) in the spirit of Cabet which had passages that were "more or less literally taken from Cabet's Credo communiste. Both of these colonies were located in a proximity to the Iowa Icarian 1860 colony (land purchased in 1852). After Communia dissolved in 1864, some of its members migrated to Iowa's Icaria. Sociality only existed for a little over a year, however, it permitted women to vote "in matters directly pertaining to them."

women's readers in Le Populaire.[45]

Jenny P. d'Héricourt

For the next year, Cabet effectively employed the literary talents of Jenny P. d'Héricourt (pseudonym, Félix Lamb).[46] She composed stories for a special section of his paper, comparable to the popular serialized tales written by George Sand for a rival journal.[47] Her narratives were a useful forum of Icarian propaganda and had a distinctive appeal to women. D'Héricourt's first story in 1847 was called "Pierre Bénard" and was

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[45] Ibid., January 30, 1847. In the August 28, 1846 issue, Cabet promised readers that there would be "un feuilleton intéressant spécialement consacré aux femmes" when his paper became a weekly. It was not until April 4, 1847 that it became a weekly, therefore, it seems that he advanced the timing for the women's feuilleton due to the Pope's threat, his evolving emigration plan, or d'Héricourt. He moved to Rouen where the weekly fee was less, but the travel piqued him and he noted they would move back to Paris when they had more funds. This issue reported details on Robert Owen's community, a clue that he was planning to contact emigration friends in England or already had.

[46] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 92n79, 93. Johnson discovered that Félix Lamb was Jenny d'Héricourt (1809-1875). She was thirty-eight years old when Cabet hired her and had published a novel, Le Fils du réprouvé (The Son of Outcasts) (1844) in Paris about the problems of a former convict. See Karen Offen, "A Nineteenth-Century French Feminist Rediscovered: Jenny P. d'Héricourt,1809-1875)" Signs, 13 Autumn 1987, 144-152. Offen learned that she was born Jeanne-Marie-Fabienne Poinsard in a Besançon village called Héricourt. She used the pseudonyms Félix Lamb, Jeanne Marie, and in 1854 signed herself "Mme J. Poinsard d'Héricourt, maîtresse sage-femme (mid-wife) de la faculté de Paris." (A diploma she earned about 1850.) When she was eighteen, she had received her first diploma of Institutrice and at the age of twenty in 1832, married Michel-Gabriel-Joseph-Marie whom she left in 1836. Her husband was employed at the Chambre des Députés in Paris, which suggests a source for her introduction to Cabet.

[47] Le Populaire, May 8, 1842, July 11, 1847. Cabet also attempted a previous feuilleton series in 1842 to "review literature, beaux-arts, novels, poems, etc., and to examine them principally to report on their morality and utility." One issue was signed by A.M. and carried a poem by M. Marchand. Another one on June 5, 1842 was signed by L.M. (possibly the Marchand brothers) These initial feuilletons disappeared in a few months although literature reviews were part of the paper from time to time. On July 11, 1847, a feuilleton of George Sand's work was excerpted from l'Éclaireur de l'Indre related to marriages for money. Sand declined to sign it.

realistically set in the cold, freezing month of February with characters whose "pale faces showed the specter of hunger" and where a "mother and her child were dying of starvation." D'Héricourt contrasted these portraits with those in a splendid Parisian hotel where privileged women attended a ball arrayed in their precious jewels whose "price could have lodged, nourished, and clothed nearly all the poor in the capital."[48] D'Héricourt's moving themes harmonized with Icarian morals and even used characters who called themselves Icarians. In particular, her essays stressed that the unfortunate treatment of women was due to the faulty social organization. The feuilletons addressed topics like marriage, work, egoism, luxury, poverty, suicide, orphans, criminals, and prejudices. Class was an undercurrent in the scenes, but d'Héricourt was more apt to stress charity and forgiveness.

Like Cabet, d'Héricourt blamed society for these unhappy scenarios. Well-to-do families were interested in increasing their property and arranged their daughters' marriages to men they did not love. Women had little education and earned miserly wages by sewing or as servants. These conditions created the poverty which in turn, caused hapless girls to seek money from prostitution. This abject system caused infanticide, abortion, and suicide. D'Héricourt declared that there would be "none of this in Icaria!" Such misdeeds and vices would disappear in a society where men and women were treated as equals.

An appreciative reader wrote a letter complimenting "Félix Lamb" on her stories which he noted were "all too true."[49] Many of d'Héricourt's feuilletons were closely

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[48] Ibid., January 30, 1848.

[49] Ibid., July 25, 1847. "R" in Rennes wrote that "the feuilleton is very good also, and

coordinated with Cabet indicating her role as one of his confidants. For example, one week before his announcement that they were going to Icaria, d'Héricourt's chapter mentioned the dream of the "travels of M. Cabet." A clear hint that she was part of the inner circle who knew what was to come.[50]

Cabet's decision to emigrate first appeared on March 19, 1847 in a letter to Berrier-Fontaine.[51] It began with the news that Le Populaire would be a weekly in April, and published at a considerable distance from Paris. Despite the

> great difficulties, the great fatigues and the great costs: the misery is such that if I wait until we succeed with 50,000 francs of cautionnement, we will probably have to wait a long time; because I have decided to sacrifice all to have an organ which can defend us properly againt the persecutions which menace our cause and our progress. When I have the 50,000 francs I will return to Paris.[52]

The letter also related that his son-in-law Favard had pneumonia and they feared he would die, perhaps the next day.[53] After this sad news, Cabet added an unexpected P.S., "Very confidential - [what] If I would go to found an Icarian colony in America for more than 100,000 workers."[54] Barely three months had gone by since the papal condemnation and

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if we have a reproach to address to its author, it is that it is too true. . . "

[50] Ibid., May 2, 1847.

[51] Cabet to Berrier-Fontaine, March 19, 1847. CIS SIUE folder 2. Sutton, Les Icariens, 45.

[52] Cabet to Berrier-Fontaine, March 19, 1847. CIS SIUE folder 2. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 95.

[53] Le Populaire, April 11, 1847. Cabet's only daughter Céline's husband Favard died on March 30 at the age of 27 after a "long sickness with horrible suffering, supported with a rare courage, victim, like a lot of workers, of a detestable social organization, victim also, perhaps, of his devotion to the people's cause." His funeral eulogy read, "Favard, you were a good spouse, good son, good brother, good friend, good citoyen, good patriot, man of progress, ardent and wise, courageous and prudent, full of devotion to the cause of the people and humanity."

Cabet was now anxiously soliciting Berrier's opinion about a large colony in America. But he approached the topic cautiously. Would his friend understand the "persecutions" that led to his revised position?

Berrier waited nearly a month before he replied. On April 13, 1847, he wrote, "Do not think of colonizing. There are too many dissolvent causes at work in society today for one to flee from it."[55] When Cabet answered a week later, he indicated his annoyance with Berrier's blunt "no"

> The project that I communicated to you is of the highest importance, and my mind is nearly made up because it will be the only means to avoid the persecution which is being prepared.
>
> However, you answer me with a single word: do not think of it, without giving me any reason. This manner of treating a confidence of this nature after one month makes me unhappy with you.
>
> Please give me your reasons and without delay; for I am going to explain myself in number 5 [Le Populaire].[56]

"Persecution" was the sole justification for the emigration. This project was on his mind when the first weekly issue of Le Populaire (April 4, 1847) appeared. In it, he stressed the "redoublement of calomnies against our doctrines, the menace and similar commencement of a vast persecution against our frères." In this situation, "all our hesitations disappeared" and we decided to "transport this publication to another town (Rouen)" and to make all the "necessary sacrifices" for our "mission."[57] Although Cabet told readers that a "vast

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[54] Cabet to Berrier-Fontaine, March 19, 1847. CIS SIUE folder 2. Sutton, Les Icariens, 45.

[55] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 497.

[56] Ibid., 497. He replied on April 20, 1847.

[57] Le Populaire, April 4,1847. Rouen cautionnement was 12,500 francs (50,000 in Paris).

persecution" existed which required "sacrifices," he did not elaborate on the "mission."

A series of debates with the Fourierists about the nature of their systems also appeared in the paper. The two doctrines had some common points, "notably: the association, the organization of work, and attractive work. The principal difference with the Fourierists was their distribution of products which had unequal proportions of capital and talent."[58] Cabet also noted that they "place reason under the slavery of the passions," a reversal of his position.[59] The theoretical links between communism and socialism were still being refined, but unity between these two movements seemed remote. Along with these ideological disputes, another section of the paper, "Faits de désordre social (Facts of the social disorder)," was over-flowing with news of accidents, explosions, grain riots, murders, and deaths by suicide and starvation. Désordre tales were saturated with impoverished, abused women, child-abandonments, infanticides, and tales of murderous wives who poisoned their husbands. After documenting these lurid accounts, Cabet prompted readers to recognize "from the following whether the society is well organized that produces these calamities!"[60] Such news items absorbed many pages. Nonetheless, on April 11, under the heading "Calomnies - persécutions" Cabet introduced

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[58] Ibid. The debate suggests Cabet hoped to unite the two groups. (On his terms.)

[59] Ibid. This was in an article about Lamennais's attack on the "immorality of Fourierism" which "we could approve also." He hoped to educate readers on the "Divers systèmes socialistes."

[60] Le Populaire, April 11, 1847, May 16, 1847. "Désordres" was a standard feature of the paper for some time, but there was a higher number of reports about the misery, fear, and anxiety among the survivors of the previous winter's food shortages. Among this issue's outrageous reports was the massacre of 2,000 negroes in Africa by a merchant who "could neither export his slaves nor allow them to be free." After the May 9 announcement, Cabet argued, "This is a reason to say: Allons en Icarie."

another division. "In our next number, we will develop a long series on these hostilities, which will reveal a vast system of persecutions on the part of priests, the privileged, and the powerful; but we do not have any fear! Persecution will double our energy, accelerate our progress, and render more prompt and more certain the triumph of our doctrines."[61] This plan would yoke the coveted side effects of persecution with his forthcoming emigration (unannounced).

On April 25, 1847, Cabet informed Icarians they would "absolutely find a remedy against these persecutions. We have found one which is perfectly infallible, which would be altogether peaceful. We will make it known in no. 5 or no. 6 - That will be one grandissime secret!" In the next issue, a section on "Calomnies et hostilités du clergéé" reinforced the fact that bishops and priests were actively engaged in persecuting communists all across France. Once again, Cabet refuted the Pope's encyclical and reminded readers that the Church Fathers were communists who shared all things in

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[61] Ibid., April 11, 1847, April 18, 1847, May 16, 1847, June 13, 1847. The clergy spent 30,000 francs to bring relics to France. Cabet compared the number of students influenced by Catholic education with lay education. There was a report on a publication by the bishop of Rennes who attacked the francs-maçons, protestants, and called Communism the "most exécrable (loathed) doctrine" with its "plague of books and lampoons which appear everywhere teaching this evil." A May 16th essay captured the expectation that persecution was useful, "La Persécution fait le progrés." Everywhere that "Communism is watched, it makes apostles," Cabet maintained, and cited a newspaper in Blois where "yesterday, not a single man was occupied with Communist doctrines; today, they have their partisans." Instead of terrorizing the workers, it had produced a "contrary effect." Although the author of the Blois piece was not a Communist, he defended the rights of all and was concerned that "if today they forbid the rights of Communists, tomorrow they would forbid the rights of everyone." He concluded with his view that hidden persecution served to propagate the Communist doctrines. Another journal supported this claim. By June 13, 1847, a letter writer "F.L" (Paris printshop worker) told Cabet that the Communists around him "thanked the gendarmes for giving them the honor of calling themselves the Cabets." They had become more Communist in three months than they were in three years.

common, except "women and children." Thus, "when the Pope anathématise (anathemized) Communism" he fights and "anathématise the doctrine of Jesus-Christ and plays the role of Anti-Christ."[62] A clergyman in Reims burned a copy of Vrai Christianisme. The following week, a "Résumé sur les Persécutions," summarized the current situation:

> Hé bien! Communist Icarians, is it possible to have any illusions about the existence of a vast system of persecutions on the part of the privileged of all kinds tactically coalesced against Communism, due to the effect inspired by our immense progress?
>
> Here are l'Etat Major (staff) of Bishops with their army of Priests, the Pope at their head, who abused their sacred power in order to wither Communism, denature it, and slander it in their encyclical letters, in their mandements (summons), in their preaching, in the pulpit, in their confessionals, in their excommunications, and their damnations, and exploitations against the influence of the father and mother, on the women, and on the very credulous peasants!
>
> Here are the proprietors, the rich, the capitalists, the manufacturers, the patrons who are in league with them to prohibit Communism and expell the Communist workers, and deprive them of work and bread!. . .
>
> Here are the powerful government organizations who with the Procurers of the King and the Police, with the Prefects and the mayors, with their household visits and seizures, with arrests, processes, with the arbitrary abuse of their Agents, with the maneuvers and the cunning of the Police who come to frighten the populations, stirring up dangerous angers against the Commmuists.
>
> Here are the journalists, the democrats, the socialists, who render themselves accomplices of the persecution!
>
> And here are the ultra-Communists and the revolutionaries who compromise us everywhere; because the progress of Communism is such today, that all the Parties, republicans, or democrats, or reformists, from top to bottom fail to see the the large Communist party everywhere.[63]

After diligently listing the foes surrounding them, Cabet assured readers that, "We men are convinced of our doctrines" and with the courage of "martyrs" will not retreat. Icarians would "resist the persecutors." They would persevere to bring about the "triumph of

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62 Ibid., May 2, 1847.

63 Ibid., May 9, 1847.

Fraternity. We will fight for its propagation and triumph!"[64] Then, he asked, "But by what means?" and offered his remedies. "Not by revolution, but by Propagande légale et pacifique." In the face of persecution, Icarians would be calm and moderate, increase their patience, be filled with goodwill and demonstrate their true brotherhood.

> . . . The remedy! . . . - Yes, the remedy? And your secret? - Oh well, listen!" He who the world adored as a God, and he, if he is not a man, is the most devoted, the most sublime and the most divine of all men, Jesus, who proclaims us his disciples, Jesus said to his Apostles: "If they persecute you in one country, go to another."
>
> Following Jesus's counsel, and since they persecute us in France, we are going to Icaria!!
>
> ALLONS en ICARIE![65]

This announcement surely surprised many readers. The succeeding columns in this issue restated the "persecution" rationale and briefly explained Cabet's plans. He offered these stirring words to his followers which seem appropriate to quote in their entirety:

> Since we are persecuted in France, since we are refused all rights, all liberty of association, of meetings, of discussion and peaceful propaganda, we are going to try to find our dignity as men, our rights as citizens of Liberty with Equality in Icaria!
>
> Since we are left without work, and without bread, exposed to the horrors of famine, we are going to try to find work and abundance in Icaria.
>
> Since we see unhappiness for our women and children, we are going to try to find happiness for our families and for ourselves in Icaria.
>
> New *Hebrews*, proud and independent like them, but more enlightened by modern civilization, guided by Humanity's intelligence and by the experience of all the past centuries, we leave the House of servitude to go to conquer a promised Land, a new *Earthly Paradise*!
>
> Pursued like Jesus and his disciples by new Pharisees, we are withdrawing like them to the desert, in a virgin land, purified of all stain, which will offer us all the treasures of its fruitfulness.
>
> New *Crusaders*, we are going to a holy land, not to dig up a tomb there, but to construct the cradle of a new Jerusalem or a perfect City! . . .
>
> New *Navigators*, we are going to discover or found a new World, where there will be the Reign of God and of his Justice! . . .
>
> New *Missionaries*, we are going to preach or rather realize *Fraternity*, and

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[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid.

inscribe it in our laws and our institutions, such as on our monuments and always in our hearts.

Everywhere, in our time, there are swarms of parties of the old rich, who are founding new branches, and that is the colonizations like Africa, Europe, and America, where they civilize their populations: we are going also to found the rock of Humanity, we are going to found one French, European, universal Icaria!

Today, the misery and the love of liberty drive populations everywhere towards America. We are going also! Children of France which regularly consider themselves as the star of human people, but which do not want to be the servants and soldiers of the advanced-guard, we are going to found an Icaria for Liberty and Equality, we are going to realize the ideal of Philosophy, of Religion and of Fraternity!

And what epoch was ever as favorable? What Emigration was ever without the chances of success other than that of the Icarian Emigration, with the steam engines, with the steam boats, with the railroads, the telegraph, with the electric telegraph, with all the powers of the actual industry.

This will not be a small Emigration, a small partial test. . . . If our calculations are not mistaken, if our predictions are not illusionary (because we don't have enough positive verifications), we can count on ten or twenty thousand Icarians who will be able and want to leave, and soon we will be able to count one hundred thousand and perhaps millions; it will be an industrial army of all the professions which will come to found with us one People and one Nation! . . .

This will not be an onslaught of men without ideas, driven solely by misery and egoistic desire to ameliorate their personal lot; these will be Workers filled with hearts, intelligence,and instruction, these elite men, examined and approved, admitted or chosen like the first Christians, who, like them, have the same ideas, the same opinions, the same sentiments, the *same heart* and *same mind*, and who, like a single man, illuminated by faith, devotion and enthusiasm, are going to conquer happiness for their posterity, for their Country and for the entire Humanity, more than for themselves! . . .

And we are not leaving by chance, but with a plan, discussed and adopted in advance.

And, during the necessary time for preparations for the first departure (probably in a year or less), we will examine and we will discuss all the questions, we will call to our side all those who have knowledge, all with advice, all those with experiences, and all the savants and all the friends of Humanity! . . .

And we will immortalize our benefactors and give their names to our towns, to our villages, to all our monuments! . . .

And over there, in Icaria, with our Icarian princples, what wonders and marvels!

Nothing by *chance*, all by *reason*. - Each for all, all for each. - Each according to his *abilities*, to each according to his *needs*. - First the *necessary*, than the *useful*, than the *agreeable*, without any other limit than the possible, the reason and equality.

The first time, perfection in everything: you will see why!

Here, in France, the strongest objection that has been made to us is this: How can you ever make a new Society from an old Society, with its prejudices, habits, these countless obstacles? - But over there, nothing is the same, the even country, expansive and well covered! There will be some obstacles to designing the territory, to choosing the culture of each land, to tracing the routes and paths, to placing the towns, the villages, the large industries. In the first outline, there will be the most beautiful and perfect routes, towns, and villages, the most magnificient workshops, the perfect lodgings, furnishings, clothing, foods, hygiene, education, in a word, perfection in everything! . . .

Here, at this time, no one listens to the Communist or popular democratic Power! What a period will follow the transformation! How long before the Communauté will be completely realized! - Over there, on the contrary, the Communauté will begin instantly; and in 20 years, the population of men is instructed and completely Communist, a generation of children is raised up in the way of Communism, and the Communauté finds itself completely and perfectly developed and achieved! . . . - For the instruction of men, there will be all the liberty of meeting and discussion, all the courses, the books, the necessary journals. - For the education of children, which we give them, in some years, one hundred thousand children of six years, and we will show what their human intelligence and human heart can be with an army of Communist instructors, with the best methods of teaching, with all the social power consecrated to render study agreeable and perfect their education!

Here, they are fighting us and we are repeating endlessly: without inequality of fortune, without individual property, unlimited and hereditary, without rivalry, the Communauté will be servitude, misery and savagery. - No, we respond. - If, we reply to them. - No. - If. - And we are discussing or disputing it eternally. - But now more allegations and denials, more disputes, we are going to try, to experiment, to prove, to demonstrate. You await that experience! When you have our faith, we say to you: You come! Since you don't have it yet, remain, and leave us attempt the experience for you as well as for us!

As for the rest, we will allow and we will make easier all the experiences and all the reasonable essays on all the systems!

And what careers open in Icaria, whereas nearly all careers are actually congested and closed in France and Europe! There will be an army of doctors, of professors, etc.etc., etc.

There, in Icaria, the Marriage and Family in all their purity and in all their perfect happiness; all the world married; no celibates, no dowries; the woman reestablished in her rights and her dignity. . .

No servants, nor any prolétariat, no slavery. . .

The machines multiplied to infinity, to relieve man; work purged of all danger and all excessive fatigue, easy and short, work rendered attractive, by every means.

The beaux-arts raised to the finest degree of development and perfection.

In Icaria, neither bankruptcy nor worries; neither trial nor passports; neither spies nor police; neither executioners nor jailers.

> Neither religious intolerance nor superstitions; Christianity in all its purity!
>
> Neither inquisition nor oppression of any kind, but the most pure Democracy, the most real Liberty, the universal Suffrage in all its truth, *all by the People and for the People.*
>
> Nor any sterile, stupefying, and oppressive military service; but all the citizens national guards and exercised in the handling of arms.
>
> No person will be happier than another, nor some happier than he.
>
> And what a metamorphose, what an immense amelioration! Here, the men of progress are battered every day, humiliated, unhappy, suffering, tortured; . . . there, in Icaria, each day will bring progress, a conquest, a victory, a satisfaction, a material joy, or interest! a moral! . . .
>
> Reflect then, Icariens! we will have a comfortable climate, a beautiful sky, a virgin, fertile land, covered with powerful vegetation, producing without much effort, and it will be able to give us nearly all the fruits and all the animals of our country.
>
> And in our moving from France, we will never forget that she is our mother. What has been her harshness towards us, we will never cease making our voices known for her happiness; we complain the same to our persecutors, because, *they do not know what they are doing*, and they are victims like us of the bad social organization which has treated them badly since their birth.
>
> As of today, we will take with us all the habits of the most moderate language, the most tolerance, the most good will and most fraternal, as we redouble our efforts to command the esteem of our adversaries and our enemies.
>
> As for those of you who are not able to follow (and we believe the number will not cease), they will always form with us the grand *Icarian family* and will always be our most cherished fréres. . .
>
> One always throws in our face the words *dream* and *utopia* . . . . Icarians, we are going to close the mouths of our detractors! We are going to found and realize Icaria!
>
> . . . Cabet.
>
> A great and new era will begin for Communism, for Socialism, for Democracy, and perhaps for Humanity.[66]

Here was Cabet's clarion call, a virtual Icarian Declaration of Independence. He delivered it with a rousing conviction in symbolic, religious phrases. The reason "we are going" was made clear. It was because "we are persecuted in France." Icarian emigrants were to be proud and independent "new" Hebrews, Crusaders, Missionaries, and Navigators in a new World "where there will be the reign of God and his Justice." This was a far cry from a

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[66] Ibid.

speculative little school outside Paris, it was a giant undertaking with thousands of men, perhaps millions. It was the real thing - the realization of the Icaria of the Voyage - a "new era" for faithful Icarians.

While this move was undoubtedly discussed with Cabet's closest advisors, it was portrayed as a defensive response to the build-up of church and police harassments and arrests. Their persecution, he claimed, justified the Icarian departure. It followed in the wake of the past winter's unspeakable famine, unemployment, and related material anxieties.[67] Ultimately, it was Cabet's decision, but he launched it with more faith than money.

In his study of the "new" direction of the movement, Johnson analyzed statistics from November 1846 to November 1847 and found that over 30% of the 1846 subscribers were no longer with him in November 1847. In addition, 50% of those in 1847 were new. Despite Cabet's talk of an enthusiastic response, "the emigration announcement was widely opposed by Icarians." The loss of "old Icarians (as well as gains in new converts) were due to it."[68] Other evidence of Icarians' disapproval for emigration came from a "propagandist for La Reforme" who said that in "many towns" like Nantes, Tours, and Lyons, the Icarians had censured the emigration. Twenty-eight Nantais Icarians formally protested that the "struggle for popular rights" had to be fought in France. Cabet claimed they were "ultras" trying to discredit the communist movement.[69]

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[67] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 234-9.

[68] Ibid., 247-8.

[69] Ibid., 248-50. Cabet tended to label protesters as "revolutionary communists." The Lyon clique of Cabetists did not fully reflect the broader current of opinion there. Cabet printed some of their objections to "leaving the field of battle." Cabet "seems to have

Although the Icarian saga had begun, no one knew where Icaria would be. The following week in response to "thousands" of such queries, Cabet wrote, "You must bear with the fact that it is my secret, in your common interest, until the negotiations have been made."[70] It appears that Cabet had explored several feasible locations and expected Icarians to follow him anywhere.

"Workers, we are going to Icaria," was the headline over a May 16 article. After Cabet presented his inventory of Icaria's potential benefits for workers, he added, "In our next number, we will prove that the realization of Icaria will be a happy one for women everywhere, for their children, for the elderly, for their countrymen, for the rich themselves, for those who remain here, since it is for everyone, everywhere."[71]

Femmes, venez en Icarie!

The next week, the caption read, "Femmes, venez en Icarie!"[72] Interested readers were quite likely disappointed by the scant twenty lines that followed. Cabet advised them to read his brochure on La Femme. Afterwards, he would demonstrate how the organization of Icaria "is for you." For those who had already had this conviction, "say to yourselves: Allons en Icarie!"[73] After this quick dismissal of women, Cabet moved on to ennumerate seven important items regarding the sources of money that would be used to

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deliberately misrepresented the "great enthusiasm" that his call supposedly generated."

70 Le Populaire, May 16, 1847.

71 Ibid.

72 Ibid., May 23, 1847.

73 Ibid.

finance the emigration.[74] These economic concerns were understandably, uppermost in his mind.

The caption, "Femmes, venez en Icarie!" was repeated the next week. It was followed by one sentence, "In our next number, we will show that Icaria will be a earthly Paradise for you." This was followed by a letter from a communist in Albi who wrote that his wife asked him to tell Cabet that "she was transported with joy." She was "revived, and a light more brilliant than the sun seemed to light the way."[75] Hesitant women readers could sustain Cabet's delay once more because this issue carried other news that would be of interest to them. Icarians were going to have a costume that would not be like the present styles which are "vicious and unreasonable." Before the departure, "if it is suitable, we will choose clothes for work and clothes for leisure for men, women, and children that will be the most perfect for all relations, with commodity, simplicity, and elegance. For that perfection, we are soliciting all views, all counsels, all ideas and all plans."[76] The tantalizing project of contributing suggestions for dress reforms would very likely generate excitement among women and momentarily distract their attention from the missing

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[74] Ibid. After listing the likely philanthropist's contributions, the probable loans, the "great subscription," the common pool of everything from everyone who goes, number seven on the list "fixed a minimum apport social (required fee) of 600 francs," an amount equivalent to a years' wages for many workers.

[75] Ibid., May 30, 1847. Chambry in Mirecourt was proud to announce to his brothers that "the confidence is electrifying." Reports on other "Emigrations" (to America) - English, Irish, Italian and German helped Icarians identify themselves as part of a larger emigration movement.

[76] Ibid. In the 1830s, the Saint-Simonians had designed special costumes to identify their members. Likewise, in less than a month, Icarians were making plans to draw attention to themselves with their clothing styles. Unity and utility of apparel were also in the Voyage scenes.

column.

Next week, under "Women," Cabet again put off their concerns. "The article that we want to consecrate to Women must be pushed ahead, we are forced to reserve it for number 11." This week, women could settle for inspiration picked up in a letter written by "Adele D." She offered her own and her mother's "weak expression of joy and gratitude" for the Icarian example of "happiness never before achieved on earth."[77] Women might recognize that Cabet was busy responding to critics like "R . . ." who chastised him for "terminating his mission on our continent" to be a "new Columbus." While acknowledging that priests and the "Grands" were persecuting Communists, "R" felt that the blood of martyrs would "fertilize the land" and they should not be "fleeing Europe." Readers knew that Cabet detested violence and had no wish to have Icarian "martyrs" shed blood in France. He told "R" that "Today, we can only say that the emigration and the colonization incontestably appear to us as the path the most short and the most sure to realize all the ameliorations."[78]

When issue number 11 appeared, the promised article on women was still missing. "Women," Cabet wrote, "We lack the place for that capital article, which we desire to consecrate the necessary length to." If women were disappointed, when they read through the printed letters, they would find two men who confirmed that they and their wives had already decided to go to found Icaria. Others wrote that they hoped to be part of that "first crusade to the promised land." There was no indication in these letters that women

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77 Ibid., June 6, 1847.

78 Ibid. "J.A.," a Parisian tailor, wrote that he and his wife were going.

were any less inspired to leave for America than men. Still, nearly all the correspondents were men or a representative writing for a group like the 65 Lyonnais who designated themselves, "disciples of Christ." [79]

Next week, beneath the headline, "Femmes" Cabet noted his "regret" that the article had to be delayed, adding that "some women have written to us that women are unhappy to see that one is occupied less with them, than with the men; but they will go to found Icaria if we desire, because the men en masse have put their happiness as that of the women and desire to render them their dignity."[80] Women could subsequently review Cabet's statements on "equality" in an article which may have been prompted by their complaint about unequal space. Equality in Icaria, he explained, was not absolute, but relative to the needs of the individual. To illustrate this, Cabet used a simplistic example about workers who would receive all the tools that were necessary in Icaria, but they would not all need the same tools for their work. That would be "ridiculous and absurd." Women's complaint that he was more "occupied" with men than women had brought up a related and troubling topic.

Cabet apologized again the next week and presented serious reasons for the article's delay. He was forced by the Procurer of the King to spend 5 days in Rouen to save Le Populaire. "We have made a good article in favor of Women! - It will be as convincing for them as the following letter writer," he noted.[81] The writer was a Parisian

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79 Ibid., June 13, 1847.

80 Ibid., June 20, 1847.

81 Ibid., June 27, 1847.

Icarienne who was going to Icaria - to that "promised land. . . . Fraternity! Equality! Unity! Community!" Women could also inspect letters from three men whose wives were going with them. Icaria's "Social Contract" was in this issue. It claimed that, "We will all be Associates, all Citoyens, all Equal, all Frères . . . there would be no dowry . . . no celibates, no oppression in marriage, no scandals nor disorders in families."[82] These "Social Contract" promises sounded good to women.

Cabet's columns in the next two issues were occupied with defending his emigration from criticism by communists like Marcelino Prat and setting up "correspondance centers" as recommended by a land agent, Charles Sully, in London.[83]Both Prat and a fourierist writer, Victor Hennequin, asked, "Where is your expedition going? . . . Who will direct Le Populaire?" Cabet dodged the first question by alluding to having only published 5 or 6 numbers and not knowing all, but assured readers that the paper would continue when they left. As for women, d'Héricourt composed a feuilleton about the "misfortunes which result from marriages based on money, on the price of a dowry, and not on reciprocal sentiments, tastes, and conveniences."

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[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid. July 4, 1847. Cabet printed a letter from Charles Sully who wrote that "a Communist emigration to America has been the object of my studies for many years." Sully envisioned a "Communist state" and was "entirely at your disposal and your orders." Berrier-Fontaine in London had sent Sully's letter to Cabet. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 244-7. Communist D. Marcelino Prat wrote a brochure in June 1847 which argued that Cabet wanted to "spirit away a loyal group in order to satisfy a desire for power." He added that "Everyone has the presentiment of a revolution" because of the worker's misery. It was at this moment that Cabet was going to "carry off from France her purest children, her most intelligent and devoted patriots." Cabet's leaving would take away the worker's only voice. Prat predicted his colony would fail and wondered, "what government would cede an area large enough to sustain a million people?" Johnson's research uncovered numerous documents with similar themes.

On July 18, 1847, a column headed,"Femmes," stated that

> Women play a principal role at the head of all great enterprises, and nothing of importance can succeed without their assent and their cooperation, each will understand that it is for us a capital object to demonstrate that the foundation of Icaria interests them more than men, because it is there that the women can find all their rights, all their dignity, all their happiness. Some are impatient that they could not see the appearance of the article consecrated to them, their impatience could not be equal to ours, and it is with inexpressible regret that we find that it is impossible for us to have it today.
>
> But we spent many days in the process, the travel, the general assembly, the removal, and a sudden and grave indisposition. At the last moment, working on the article was impossible. We will not publish our number 7 without the article that we have the greatest desire to present.[84]

It would seem reasonable that Cabet was under unusual duress. After moving Le Populaire to Rouen, transportation added to the problems he had dealing with the positive and negative views about his emigration.[85] Women very likely understood. However, Cabet's effusive apology suggest that some women refused to be ignored and had made their complaint known. Since May 16, interested women were carefully reading the paper and Cabet had put off the promised article on women ten times.

At last, "Femmes," the headline read on July 25, 1847. Under the sub-heading, "Their unhappy lot in the actual society," Cabet presented his long awaited discourse. It began with "recent facts" about the "frightening accidents women are exposed to in manufactures." For example, a young girl's clothes were caught in a mill, and her arms were broken. She was in agony for three hours before being removed. A low-paid,

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[84] Le Populaire, July 18, 1847.

[85] Ibid. The response to the emigration appears to have brought about a rush of Icarians who were selling their belongings in preparation for the departure. Cabet counseled them not to sell too hastily and lose money. He told them that the "Communauté will have a vast liquidation and have agents everywhere," to prevent their being fleeced by unscrupulous buyers. This would also help salvage as much capital as possible for their venture.

pregnant thirty-year old woman from Lyon was abandoned by her husband and her rich family. She jumped from the fourth floor to her death. Another incident uncovered a "pretended baron" who seduced a girl. There was a report about a poor woman and her child who were starving and begged for some bread from a servant at a large farm. The owner refused, but the servant allowed her to sleep in the stable promising some bread in the morning. When he brought it to her at dawn, he found she had died of starvation during the night. Her infant lay beside her trying to get nourishment from her frozen breast. Another account of deplorable conditions involved two male defendents who were sentenced to eight days in jail for their drunken, abusive treatment of wives and children. Cabet concluded this grim section with his pronouncement, "These are some of the numerous misfortunes that the actual social organization brings down on the heads of Women."[86] Next he launched a discussion on the differences between classes of women starting with the most numerous class, the Prolétaires. He began with a stark portrait of misery for infants whose mothers were forced to work during pregnancy and afterwards, suffering from hunger, cold, and humidity. This was because the "bad social organization condemned them from birth to misery and all its consequences."[87] When daughters of the Prolétaires were six years old, these little girls were forced to work in the countryside, in fields, in households, in workshops, or in manufactures where they were condemned to fatigues and sicknesses. If they married, they were tormented by worries and sometimes had a brutal husband or "one who is occupied with active politics, which are cares and

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[86] Ibid., July 25, 1847.

[87] Ibid.

anguishes of another kind."[88]

Then, Cabet contrasted the hardships of the working women with the problems experienced by women of the bourgeoisie or the aristocracy. They were not given 'true' instructions, nor did they have a solid education to defend their rights and dignity. Marriages were arranged for "pride and money, and the laws, the work of husbands, condemn them to obey their spouse."[89] Obedience led to the subject of slaves. Cabet wrote that women were really slaves, not like an individual negresse or as in the ancient times, when "a husband had the right of life or death, and repudiation: but the women en masse are the slaves of men en masse where they do not have any right and men impose all the laws dictated by their caprice and egoism." When Jesus came to save humanity, his first concern was to be compassionate and indulgent toward women and "to be their liberator and their protector, and to proclaim her equal to man, daughter of God, as good as Man and his sons."[90] Pharisees had attacked Jesus for "trying to realize the liberation of of women and the deliverance of humanity."[91]

However, women were supplied with bad instructions which resulted in religious superstitions and prejudices. A woman should not have to "submit to a perpetual domination since Nature made her equal to man in intelligence." Young girls, especially if they are poor and have no dowry, are condemned to be celibate, but they should have the

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[88] Ibid. This remark about politican's wives suggests that Cabet's wife Denise was a Prolétaire. Politicans overall, were unlikely to have wives from this class.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Ibid.

right to the "honorable title of spouse and the happiness of a maternity protected by law!"[92] Poor girls should not have to stay virgins or be attacked by the "mass of men" who seduce them or "have illegitimate liaisons" where "some succumb to temptations (elsewhere very natural) of coquetry, pleasure and fortune." Some have to care for elderly parents, and become unfortunate victims who are often betrayed by patrons. Even those who marry in their miseries, have "anguishes for their children and worry about their daughters."[93]

After these detailed examples of the "actual states" and "class" differences of women in society, Cabet adressed his readers directly: "Admirers of Jesus, of his doctrine and devotion, we Communist Icarians want to resume and continue his work and his legal, pacific propaganda . . . to realize the rights and dignity for Women."

The next section announced the "Bonheur des Femmes en Icarie."[94] Happiness would be secured in an Icarian Constitution where woman would be "declared the daughter of God, sister of Man, his associate and his equal, free like him." All girls would receive the "same education as all boys, with some modifications that would be necessary as indicated by nature. Nothing would be neglected to make it as perfect as possible." Little girls would not have to submit to work that would hinder their physical development and in a short time the Communauté will produce a "generation of young, strong, gracious, agile, adroit women who will be capable of making their husbands happy and of

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92 Ibid.

93 Ibid.

94 Ibid.

giving beautiful children to their country. All will be nourished, clothed, well lodged, habituated to propriety and all the hygenic precautions to prevent sickness and fortify their health. Work in childhood will be in the household, or in the workshop as an apprentice of a special profession."[95]

The article restated the situation from the Voyage about marriage without dowries, and considerations for pregnant women. All prostitution, infanticides, adulteries, quarrels, poisonings, and crimes will disappear. It will not be necessary to lie, or worry about children or husbands. All these "marvels" will not be realized when they first arrive, it will take some time to ameliorate and perfect them.

> For us, it is the WOMAN, everywhere that we want to emancipate and deliver, to render her rights, to assure her happiness. Mother of the human race, hope of the future, source of all our tender joys, as spouse, daughter, mother and sister, it is for you that we will brave the Ocean to go to found the earthly Paradise, certain that then the Paradise of Humanity will follow.
>
> And when we are ready to leave, after discusssion, we will propose to our friends of the first departure to take a solemn engagement of devotion to the happiness of WOMEN and HUMANITY.
>
> And, we have the conviction, that the proposition will be accepted with acclamations of enthusiasm.
>
> We are going, WOMEN, examine, study, take all the time (without any person pressing you too much), and you will see that it is you always who must desire the realization of Icaria, for your happiness, for that of your husbands, and always for that of your daughters and children.
>
> You are the angels of legal and pacific propaganda.
>
> And the triumph of the holy doctrine of Christ is assured on earth by you!
>
> - Cabet.[96]

This romantic eulogy was consonant with La Femme. What was different about this document? Women who were coaxed to be "persuasive apostles" in the Voyage were now "angels of legal and pacific propaganda" working to realize Christ's doctrine. Cabet's essay

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95 Ibid.

96 Ibid.

also set out a quasi-class division and vividly portrayed the lives of women of the prolétaires, but he passed quickly over bourgeois and aristocratic women. Although he noted their lack of "true" education and their slavery in arranged marriages, he chose not to criticize the wealthy women's excess luxuries or etiquette affectations. Undoubtedly, he hoped to win their support with its attendant financial aid.

Nonetheless, in his account of women's "actual" state, Cabet had composed an uncommonly sensitive analysis of their conditions. He pointed out to women that the "laws" that "condemn them to obey their spouse" were "the work of husbands." In addition, "men impose all the laws dictated by their caprice and egoism." This was a rare male critique of other men's 'capricious' law-making power over women. Still, Cabet did not suggest that women ought to participate in designing better laws. Instead, he promised that Icarian men would take a solemn pledge of devotion to their cause.

After reading this article, women would imagine that the underlying purpose of the emigration was to improve their conditions which would in turn make their husbands happier. Cabet's republican motherhood standard of healthy, happy women would produce robust children for Icaria. However, Cabet cautioned women to "examine, study" his proposals, and to "take all the time (without any person pressing you too much)." His paranthetical notation implied that men were already pressuring reluctant wives.

"Femmes, venez en Icarie!" was Cabet's call for women to help "found Christ's earthly Paradise," a place where they and their sisters would find "bonheur." While some women were warily undecided, others reacted positively to Cabet's tribute to their sex.

CHAPTER NINE

'CONVINCED' ICARIENNES AND THE 'UNDECIDED'

The women who had needled Cabet to fulfill his commitment to publish an article on women's condition in Icaria were momentarily appeased. But the task of persuading less zealous women remained.[1] A pessimistic letter that captured this problem appeared in Le Populaire a week after Cabet's essay on women. It was sent by H.P., a house painter in Paris. He wrote to profess his devotion and enthusiasm for the emigration and then asked "to be permitted to address" the following question:

> Do you think that there will be enough women who will decide to leave? I'm very fearful that they will not. Will you, I pray, respond to this objection which has not been presented in Le Populaire. Nevertheless, if you judge that silence is necessary on that question, I will respect it, and that [your silence] will not have the least effect on the confidence that I have placed in you. It is one of the things which one cannot always explain, nor will it undermine the faith of those who are not more sufficiently convinced. In that case, if I can obtain from you a private response, you can count on my discretion.[2]

H.P.'s guarded inquiry in conjunction with Cabet's previous warning that women must be allowed to "take all the time (without any person pressing you too much)"[3] to decide about emigrating, shows that a conspicuous number of women were refusing to go to Icaria. His awareness that "silence" on this question might be necessary points out that Cabet's earlier order to "suppress talk of women" was still in force and very likely reached

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[1] Le Populaire, July 25, 1847. This assumption is supported by approving letters from women which will be discussed shortly. Many were still hesitant. In this issue, Rivard "regretted very much that he did not have the power to sign up for the first departure" but hoped "that his wife would have perhaps, decided" by the time of the second departure.

[2] Ibid., August 1, 1847.

[3] Ibid., July 25, 1847. Cabet placed this advice at the conclusion of his article on women.

this proselyte. Either way, H.P. assured Cabet of his loyal "discretion."

Two weeks later, three letters from women related to this matter were printed in Le Populaire. The first was from twenty-three Icarian ladies of Paris who offered Monsieur Cabet their "Thanks, a thousand times thanks, for us and for our daughters." They appreciated his efforts "to regenerate us" and to give us the title, "daughters of God." They were glad our "père"[4] was "making our rights known to us." And now, "we have hope for the future. . . . What a sublime mission for women!"[5] The second letter was signed by one hundred and thirty-five Icarian women who "blessed" Cabet for his "noble" project. "Yes," they agreed with the hundred explanations he gave about "our sex from infancy to death, which is constrained to surrender to the law of submission that men have made and which has presided over the greatest iniquity; because in the distribution that has been made for us, our lot has been sorrow, care, and slavery." They "adhered with joy and happiness" to his plan to "emancipate us" and proposed "to go, with you, to found a colony to realize your divine Voyage en Icarie." They were also "convinced that one must prefer quality to quantity" and were "persuaded that you [Cabet] render us worthy to participate in the formation of a society that must regenerate all Humanity." The third letter affirmed the devotion of two hundred women from Lyon who had collected donations to help Cabet return the paper to Paris.[6]

These three letters represented nearly four hundred women who praised Cabet for

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[4] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 217. Johnson found that the "term father was rarely used until 1846, when the sectarian trend became discernible."

[5] Le Populaire, August 15, 1847.

[6] Ibid.

his survey on women. In addition, one hundred and thirty-five explicitly stated that they wanted "to go with you, to found a colony." Their collective support would seemingly quel the fear articulated by H.P. that "women would not decide to go."

At the end of August, a letter from a woman named Justine affirmed that she "absolutely partook of the sentiments of our père." Justine asked to be permitted "in the name of my sex, to give you testimony of our gratitude for the article that you consecrated to us. I hope that it will augment the number of our sister Icariennes."[7] Justine's remarks disclosed that not only men like H.P., but women also knew that the "number" of sisters needed to be "augmented." Besides her individual message, two hundred Lyonnaise women signed a group letter telling Cabet that, "we are leaving with those who are most dear; our husbands, children, and our brothers. We will find a family in Icaria, [where] the joy of all will never be troubled by the sorrow of anyone." They expressed their hopes in a short verse:

> Cabet, new Columbus, you have cried to us: Land!
> And transported with joy, we are burning to reach that land;
> We smell the perfumes of that other hemisphere
> That your profound mind came to reveal to us![8]

The register of these two hundred signatures plus the previous three hundred and thirty-five raises the total of voluntary adherents to over five hundred women in France by the end of August.[9] "Generous hearts" in England, Switzerland, and Spain also wrote

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[7] Ibid., August 22, 1847. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 255. Justine also said, "Oh! our père . . my blood, my life belong to him!"

[8] Ibid. It is impossible to determine if they were the same 200 women from Lyon who sent money to help bring the paper to Paris on August 15th.

[9] Since the approximately 535 signatures were attached to three letters, it is difficult to speculate if all these women were actively planning to go to Icaria or just hoping they could. Perhaps, they were simply voicing their agreement with Icarian changes for women.

Cabet to applaud "Partons en Icarie!" as the signal for a "holy emigration." Their letter had the names of "five women who joined their signatures with their husbands."[10]

The impact of these women's laudatory writings was reinforced by d'Héricourt's 'all too true' weekly messages. In addition, the August 22 issue carried a spirited rebuttal by d'Héricourt to an Abbé named Ledreuille who was counseling the poor not to abandon their country. D'Héricourt asked the Abbé if he did not see the "general demoralization, the despair of the masses, the agonies of his fellow man!" Furthermore, she could not find "any progress produced by that other doctrine, the *egoistic status quo*."[11] Ledreuille had accused the Icarians of borrowing their communism from religious communities, and d'Héricourt replied, "What was wrong with that?" Unlike the religious orders, she countered, Icarians were freer to choose and they did not have to practice a "subhuman" celibacy. "Non, non," she argued repeatedly to his charges. Icarians were not like Catholics. They did not need to have a priest accompany them when they left for America, as he proposed. Ledreuille was also wrong to think that no rich people were being converted by the Voyage.[12] She reminded the Abbé that Jesus had said the rich could not be saved by guarding their fortunes. Today, she was certain, rich people and priests would persecute Jesus if he returned to the earth.[13] D'Héricourt's arguments illuminate several

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[10] Le Populaire, August 22, 1847.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid., September 5, 1847. As if to prove d'Héricourt's claim about the rich being converted, this issue carried a paragraph about two Icarian men (unnamed), each with 100,000 francs of dowry money who were planning to marry two girls who were even richer. The men were resolved to go to Icaria, but met resistance from the girls' families. They therefore, "renounced their marriage and fortune projects to conserve their independence."

things. Catholic clergymen were busy examining and discussing Cabet's system. As a voice for women, d'Héricourt had displayed her energetic anti-clericalism and defended Cabetist logic about the value of life in a community. And, although she argued rich people were being converted to Icarianism, she still placed the rich in the category with priests who would 'persecute Jesus' today.

After this reply to Ledreuille's charges, editorial attention was directed to Fourierist critics at the end of August. Public lectures were taking place that raised divisive issues about women. After d'Héricourt's article, Cabet informed readers that the next number would be a "happy occasion to complete our ideas on *La Femme* and to show how the Icarian system is superior to other systems [in its ability] to assure the happiness of women, and following that, the happiness of men."

"War" Against Libertine Lovers in Icaria

Cabet's notice that he would compare women's place in other systems began with a surprise topic the next week, the non-existence of "the lover" in Icaria. The article opened with his announcement that a Déclaration de Guerre (War) by the Phalanstérienne school had been sounded.[14] It was being conducted by Dr. M.V. Hennequin who had inserted "three pieces in the pages of Démocratie [Pacifique] to counter the Icarian system regarding Women, Marriage, and the Family, and against M. Cabet."[15]

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[13] Ibid., August 22, 1847. Aside from Félix Lamb's serials which had occasional book reviews, this was the only instance of d'Héricourt's signature on an article outside of her section.

[14] Ibid., August 29, 1847. The directors of the Fourierist school had distributed "thousands of free examples" of Appel au ralliement des Socialistes which was a "true manifesto of war against M. Cabet personally, and they addressed it to all Communists."

[15] Ibid. Cabet cited his paper's circulation of nearly 4,000 cf. to theirs of only 2,000.

Hennequin's attacks were copied. He had distinguished several "real life" emotional situations in Cabet's system that could occur between a husband, wife, and l'amant (the lover). In Icaria's communism, "The lover is suppressed leaving the husband and wife in a perpetual tête-a-tête." Therefore, Hennequin chided, "Following that admirable respect for liberty in Icaria which distinguished all the Cabetist inventions, the celibate is suppressed; [and] you are obliged willy nilly to be harnessed to one woman; and as that woman does not have a dowry, she absolutely pleases you, and it has been decided by law that she will always please you." Given this situation, Hennequin deduced that a man would provide himself with a wife in his tender youth and never dream of courting any other woman. From then on, he asserted, "there is no love outside of the household." But, he asked, "is there love inside?"[16]

Hennequin went on to postulate that "Love was assuredly guaranteed by the government. - And the widows? - They remarry with the widowers. - Love holding a candlestick and covered with a night-cap will dictate respect for all of Icaria. . . . Each evening the Icarian spouses will snuff out their candle and say: good night!" Hennequin concluded, "Decidedly, Icaria is a very amusing society. It will not be difficult for Communists to find a better ideal . . . and another chef."[17]

The "greater number of Communists were Icarians . . . and are too intelligent to need our response . . . nevertheless, we will respond, because we are convinced it will be useful to Communism."

[16] Ibid. The caption read "Les Femmes en Icarie" with a sub-heading, "Attacks of M.V. Hennequin counter the Icarian system on women and counter M. Cabet." Undoubtedly, amusing behind-the-scenes discussions were taking place about Icaria's lack of a Hennequin "lover."

[17] Ibid.

After printing Hennequin's "outrageous" statement, Cabet paused to vent his anger at this "personal war" which encouraged Communists to find "another chef," as well as Hennequin's 'denaturing' of the Icarian system. Furthermore, Hennequin had maligned Cabet's dream of Icaria as a "monotonous society where one would perish from boredom" even though he still believed there would be "amorous intrigues which steal into marriage in this civilized comedy." Cabet protested that ideas like this could not remain unchallenged. Women, marriage, and family were such "important subjects, it is imperative to respond."[18]

Cabet's lengthy rejoinder began by reminding Hennequin about the serious consequences that amorous intrigues and lovers brought into the current state of marriage. His list included: "rivalries, jealousies, engagements, suspicions, worries, hates, duels, scandals, disorders, abandonment of infants, disavowal of paternity, servility, hypocrisy, lies, treasons, poisonings and murders!" Then he pointed out that it was Hennequin's "esteemed system of the Phalanstère" that would "conserve and perpetuate all that which is the most disorderly." By suppressing the lover in Icaria, Cabet contended, his society would "reestablish harmony in the household, order in society, and assure the happiness of women, husbands, children and the lover himself."[19]

The problem of suppressing the lover, Cabet continued, was not as "unreasonable, simple-minded, or laughable as young Hennequin had affirmed." How to do this? He had "consulted all the experience and all the intelligence of Humanity, and certainly the

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[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

problem is not unsolveable." To suppress the appearance of a lover in a household, it was necessary to "assure the happiness of all spouses." Lovers only troubled households where spouses were unhappy. In Icaria, "husbands will be true lovers for their wives, and true wives will be the mistresses of their husbands." Cabet set out eight conditions in his system that would bring about the suppression of lovers after one or two generations. Summarized briefly, they were:

> 1) Education - The education of both sexes will "ameliorate the human species" and young boys will be habituated to "decency, respect and the cult of the woman."
> 2) Work - "L'oisiveté (idleness) is the mother of all vices and one of the principal causes which drives lions and dandys to bring trouble into the families and the households."[20] The Communauté suppresses not only the lover, but suppresses "idleness and opulence." At seventeen and eighteen, youths choose professional or industrial work and begin their education in that area. Machines and inventions will be used to make "work easy, short, agreeable, and the principle source of joys for women as well as for men. Work will be one of the strongest guarantees of the happiness of spouses."[21]
> 3) Liberty - In the choice of a spouse - Young people will be able to choose spouses "without dowries, heritage, money, or individual property."
> 4) Divorce - If by chance, the hopes for happiness are not realized by the spouses, the Communauté can break their bond and permit another choice. After several generations, there will be no need for divorce.
> 5) Well-being - The misery of some and opulence of others was the principal cause of seductions, corruptions, prostitutions and all the disorders that the rich lovers bring into families. This will be replaced "with the ease, well-being and abundance for all without exception; according to the rule of first the *necessary*, then the *useful*, then the *agreeable*. All will be perfectly lodged, clothed and nourished."
> 6) Beaux-arts - "Far from suppressing the beaux-arts, we will cultivate them to

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[20] Voyage, 315-6. Cabet's past association of idleness with the rich who "seduce sons and daughters of the workers, and bring shame and disorder to their families" was basically the same.

[21] Le Populaire, August 29, 1847. Cabet views work as a "principle source of joys for women as well as men." Women will be advanced by being permitted the "joys" of work measured as activity performed outside of the household. Cabet did not consider household tasks as "work" and assigned all household labors to women and children in the Voyage and insisted on it later in America. Women's 'double' day remained intact, despite the lure of a professional status.

> embellish the Communauté. Certainly we will forbid obscene paintings, which are the delights of the rich lovers and the unfortunate prostitutes of today; but music, singing, painting, sculpture, architecture, just as flowers, perfumes, plays, feasts, games, and fine attire will be employed."
> 7) Fraternity - As a base for all well-being, we adopt the principle of "christian fraternity, which we make a religion. We adopt for a guide that maxim: Don't do to others . . . etc., do to others . . . etc. Also, we respect the women of others as we desire to respect our own" and the same sentiments for the young.
> 8) Cult of the woman - "We repeat, because it is a capital point in the Icarian system, to render to the woman all her rights and all her dignity, we want men to concentrate on her all his happiness, where he will consider her as a divine species . . . source of all his joys . . ."[22]

Under this system, Cabet assured readers, all Icarians would have the opportunity to raise a family, to have them educated, and to marry without constraints. All would voluntarily and freely adopt the institutions of marriage and family. Dandys or lions who wanted a place where lovers would be free should not come to Icaria.

Furthermore, Hennequin had claimed that suppressing celibates and lovers would destroy liberty in Icaria. "Liberty, even in the Phalanstère," Cabet retorted, "obliged them to live in a common building and eat in common, etc." No other social system had organized liberty better than his where marriage was the most "natural" means for parents to raise a family. As for Hennequinn's pejorative phrase that a man had to be "harnessed to one woman," Cabet indignantly cried, "what an expression towards women! what respect on the part of a young man!"[23]

Then, Cabet reminded readers that Hennequin was "too young to treat lightly a

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[22] Ibid. I have condensed these eight points. The one on education was much longer. The only one that had not received much prior attention was number 2 on "Work and idleness." The religious dictum that "idleness is the devil's workshop" was ingrained in Cabet's consciousness as the "cause of all vices." The wealthy nobles disdain for manual labor was also at stake.

[23] Ibid.

man who was close to sixty and who had been devoted to the cause of humanity for forty-five years. . . . and had the affection of a great number of citizens." After this reprimand, he turned his attack on the eccentricities of Hennequin's "Dieu Fourier who had said (at Nantes) that Jesus Christ was not his precursor and he had founded the Fourierist era to replace the Christian era."[24] This fact served to label not only Hennequin, but all of Fourier's followers as people without respect for Christ.

After penning a few more insults to the "young persifleur (mocker)" and the "savant instructeur phalansterien," Cabet singled out a minor error in his report and used it as his final weapon in this battle. Hennequin had incorrectly written that "in Icaria a widow could only marry a widower," to which Cabet indignantly asked, "Where did you see that? What textual citation, passage, chapter, page?" Since this was not part of his Icarian teaching, the "poor young man" was an "impudent liar!"[25]

Women were left to ponder whether the issues raised by an "impudent liar" had validity. Would there be adequate emotional liberty in Icaria? What would a society be like without lovers or amorous intrigues? Would wives actually enjoy an exclusive "love in the household" with a secure husband in his "sleeping-cap" affectionately saying "good-night" in their "perpetual tête-a-tête?" Such provocative ideas had never been discussed in the pages of Le Populaire before. Cabet might easily have ignored Hennequin's criticisms about lovers except for their appearance within the inflammatory charge that Communists should find a new leader because of Icaria's presumed systemic defects.

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[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

Did Cabet win or lose this theoretical 'war' against the lover who caused familial disorders? Regardless of his reader's assessments, he had made it clear that a lover or a celibate was banished from Icaria, where everyone was expected to marry. Although ideas about liberty in Icaria had been raised in the past, now it was plain that "dandys and lions" who prized liberty were not welcome.

After this exhaustive reply to Hennequin's charges, Cabet announced that from then on, he would not provide any further responses to "our declared enemies." Objections that were "amicable and well meant, reasonably sincere, and could be enlightening" would, of course, be answered. But for now, "we must concentrate our efforts on our project. We will march straight ahead to our goal without being detoured."[26]

Despite this emphatic disclaimer, another column on Hennequin and women appeared two weeks later. It was published while Cabet was in London meeting with Robert Owen and titled, "Attaques de M. Hennequin contre le système Icarien sur les Femmes. (Suite et fin)." The essay began by poking fun of Hennequin's vapid romantic scenario where a husband and wife were blowing out the candles, "going to sleep, snoring all night to begin again the next day." One was to pity Icaria's "poor spouses whose only affectionate speech was 'Good night!'" The husbands "never say anything all day to their wives, nor offer them any flowers, never write any verses, or souvenirs, and have no sentimental palpitations of the heart, etc., etc. Oh! these Icarian villians!" Following this bit of humor, Cabet claimed that he was not worried about the kind of love that was bought and sold by the rich - "egoistic, despotic, purely material, and nearly bestial." That type of love, he assured readers, was not like the "true love between a man and woman in

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[26] Ibid.

the state of perfect equality and liberty, which is not simply material or physical, fragile and passing like youth and health, but a more spiritual and moral love" which would be found in their conjugal association. Others are "perfectly free to prefer such and such a system," but "the mission of enthusiastic Icarian men and women is to come and found Icaria with us."[27]

The Fourierist's indelicate injection of the subject of passion into Cabet's movement, aside from making his theories look foolish, doubtlessly brought to mind the 1830s Saint-Simonian 'free-love' troubles. They had attempted to find new definitions for love and marriage in the coming new world order, but the authorities squelched their lectures and arrested their spokesmen. At their trial, they used religion as a defense of their activity.[28] This shield enabled Père Enfantin to be freed after seven months in prison.[29]Now, scarcely more than a decade later, Cabet was challenged to present a refined ideal of love in his Icarian system that would not imply 'free-love' beyond marriage. He had to extinguish improper talk which would reflect negatively on his movement and add to the danger of his arrest.

But Cabet's retreat from responding to his "declared enemies" did not end the battle for the allegiance of women. After his last retort to Hennequin, he offered several

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[27] Ibid., September 12, 1847.

[28] Carlisle, Proferred Crown, 216, 217, 218-221. Issues of women, morality, and male-female relations were the "focus of the accusations." Enfantin read from "Le Nouveau Christianisme to establish their religious character" but they were found guilty on all accounts.

[29] Ibid., 230, 231. In April 1833 a law was passed that recognized the religious character of the Saint-Simonian movement. Enfantin was freed on August 1, 1833.

compensatory measures to women who were hesitant about joining the emigration. He assured them that all their worries would be addressed, "You will be called to discuss all questions related to your interests."[30] Still, he conceded, there are "a number of questions particularly about the young people from fifteen to twenty, and about married or non-married women, which will have to be discussed and decided separately."[31] Like his advice to all applicants, he urged women to study his Catéchisme Icarien which was printed in the Almanach.[32]

New Christian Icarians

Relative to this catechism material, Cabet wrote an article on September 5, 1847 that reviewed the method used by Christ for organizing the first Christians.[33] It was intended to illustrate the "analogies between them and us" and it included the early Christians efforts to instruct others.[34] Under the heading, "Organisation des premiers

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[30] Le Populaire, September 5, 1847. This sentence was included in the "Conditions d'admission" column which preceded a list for the "Mode d'admission."

[31] Ibid. This was the week after Hennequin's first refutation.

[32] Ibid. See Robert Magraw, The Age of Artisan Revolution, 1815-1871 Volume I (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1992), 63. Magraw noted that Lyons republican workers had published a New Republican Catechism in 1833. A non-religious 'catechism' was not exceptional.

[33] Le Populaire, September 5, 1847. I presume the article was written by Cabet although there is a heightened religious tone to it that suggests that Krolikowski (pseud. Charles) may have been the actual author and Cabet simply okay'd it.

[34] Ibid. Cabet explained to readers: "the Catechism was an oral instruction that the catechist or the instructor gave to the assembled catechumens, that is to those who they desired to instruct, who were not children, but men and women who understood the doctrine of Fraternity and the christian morals or fraternal [morals], and exhorted them to practice it everywhere." This description distinguished Cabet's usage as an effort intended to instruct adults, not children.

Chrétiens," Cabet explained how Jesus and his apostles had "electrified" audiences and how they were "followed by women." In a very short time, they regularized their association, founded the first church in Jerusalem, and began a "vast propaganda to convert the world and organize churches everywhere." The Apostles exposed their doctrine to others and then selected the first converts. These chosen members admitted others "under the condition of confirmation by an Apostle." Then, they were instructed for two years. After a solemn examination of conscience and denunciation of Satan, the new Christians were baptized. They "placed all their goods in common and practiced Communauté." The Christians also employed a number of symbols and emblems like salt, oil, sign of the cross, etc. Cabet's account ended with the statement that "at the present time, we can, new Christians, adopt or imitate all that which is rational, useful, noble, [and] popular. This is what we will endeavor to do next."[35]

In this analogy-laden discourse, Cabet claimed Icarians were to be 'new Christians' who would instruct others. Readers were familiar with catechisms, and now, the Almanach had one prepared for them. They were going to "adopt or imitate" the rational and the useful aspects of Christ's early church formation. The article also hinted at some kind of metaphorical baptism and confirmation ceremony. At this juncture in the movement, Icarian religion was an open-ended process that would eventually result in a more formal codification, even though Cabet had already worked out many details in a printed catechism (in the almanach).

It is important to recall that Cabet had criticized the Saint-Simonians for

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[35] Ibid. A Catechism was in the Almanach, so this "imitation" project was planned earlier.

attempting to turn their communitarian movement into a religion in the Voyage. Yet, now he was doing a comparable thing. In his earlier writings, he observed how the Saint-Simonians' proposed a "new" Christianity that was a "new" religion. They had priests with a leader that "they called Pope and Père, and an elected government which was part monarchy, aristocracy, and a theocracy armed with absolute power."[36] In Vrai Christianisme, Cabet denied that his movement was a "new" Christianity but the "true" one. However, in this essay, Icarians were being referred to as "new" Christians, a reversal of his distinctions between the 'true' and 'new' referents that he had used to separate his followers in the past. Because this article on the codification aspects of Icarian religion appeared at the same time that Cabet was engaged in publishing debates about love, several pertinent questions need to be considered. Was Cabet's fear of being arrested for talk related to "free-love" the reason that Le Populaire carried the religious material on Icarians 'adopting' the aegis of the early Christians? The Saint-Simonians had been indicted not only for violating Article 291 of the Penal Code on public assembly, but for offenses against public morality. After their leaders' convictions, they won their freedom because the legal system set up a classification for them as a religion.[37] In like manner, this published document of Cabet's could be used as legal proof that Icarians were as much a religion as the Saint-Simonians. This would serve to exempt Cabet from prosecution if improper "love" discusssions offended "public morality" and caused the authorities to bring charges against him.

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[36] Voyage, 521.

[37] Carlisle, Proferred Crown, 171, 215-22, 231.

Regardless of Cabet's editorial intent, the sensational topic of love relationships had been revitalized in mid-1847 by young Dr. Hennequin and others who speculated about the emotional consequences inherent in his forthcoming experiment. Pierre Leroux, who was known for his writings on love, allied with Cabet and censored the Démocratie Pacifique editors for their attacks.[38] Heretofore, Cabet had avoided talk about social relationships with "free love" connotations which might ruin his rational conception of Icaria. But now he had to calm concerns about love, marriage, and family for those who would join the colony. Invoking the 'pure' religion of Christ was a useful tactic that could be construed as a complementary way to subdue wild talk.

While 'new' Christian Icarians were working out their organizational elements in early September, Cabet traveled to London for two weeks to investigate colony locations in America with Robert Owen.[39] During this same period, Le Populaire published a proclamation from twenty-two Icariennes who wrote that they were "truly free women" who were "preparing to receive the baptism of equality in a virgin land."[40] Their adoption of "baptism" terminology was repeated by another correspondent who wrote, "Fraternity

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38 Le Populaire, September 12, 1847. Another element related to this topic was the reports about the Duc de Praslin who murdered his wife over a love affair. Cabet pointed to it as an example of the corrupt love affairs of the rich. It was a heinous crime due to the social disorder, but there would be "None of this in Icaria!" On Leroux's relationship to Cabet, see Johnson, Utopian Communism, 216, 68. Johnson considered Leroux "about his only close friend among the major socialist thinkers." Leroux held a "spiritual egalitarianism" form of communist thought.

39 Le Populaire, September 19, 1847, and September 26,1847. A published letter of Cabet's from London dated September 14th stated that they (Owen, et al) had "many conferences."

40 Ibid., September 5, 1847.

is the baptism which prepares us for the promised land." The paper also published an excerpt from a conversation between an inquisitive magistrate and a communist worker with spiritual referents. The communist defended his right to call the Voyage his breviaire (bible).[41] He had "studied all the systems, the Saint-Simonians, the Fourierists, [and] had found good in all, but a mixture of bad also, and none seemed to satisfy me." The speaker fortunately had "encountered a lady who was well instructed and who spoke with enthusiasm of your Icarian communism and the Voyage en Icarie." He had since "read it for the fourth time" and had come to view it as his "bréviare." Now, he planned to be one of the first to leave and work to "convert" others, even the Prefect who questioned him.[42] Calling the Voyage a bible and considering conversion experiences as "baptisms" reflects the effective responses of 'new' Christians to Cabet's religious ideas and the movements' noticeable shift toward sectarianism.[43]

After he returned from London, Cabet counseled Icarians to have "Courage, perserverance" in the face of persecutions. One of their "brothers" had written him about his understanding of the sacrifices of time and money that had to be made for Icarian ideas today. Icarians' views often invoked calomnies, hate, and suspicion from others. All that will pass, he reflected, "because I am not staying in my country." He added that he had "the hope of a reconciliation" with his wife. Cabet attached a footnote to this sentence:

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[41] Ibid. This was defined as both a breviary and figuratively, as a bible. A breviary was an ecclestiastical book with hymns, offices, and prayers used by clergymen for canonical hours.

[42] Ibid. It is an interesting point that an instructed "dame" called it to his attention.

[43] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 254-5. This type of religious language was part of nearly all those who responded to Cabet's call to emigrate.

"This woman [the writer's wife] did not want to speak about Communism nor Icaria; but here is a new letter from her husband, [who is] transported with joy, where we learn that, naturally and by herself, his wife had read the Populaire and found herself already demi-convertie (half-converted)."[44] Cabet had divulged his concern about the problems men were having with their wives stubborn attitudes toward Icarianism. He was reassured by the fact that after reading his paper, she was beginning to change her mind. Other husbands with non-icarian wives could derive hope from this incident.

While Cabet savored this "half-converted" woman's reconsideration, sixty women from Rouen wrote to inform him that they were fully converted. They affirmed their disgust with Hennequin's attacks, and argued that the "chains of the actual society" were worse for women than those of being "harnessed" to one husband. They were insulted by Hennequin's remarks about their sex and wrote that, "We Icarian women have complete faith in the loyal genius and profound chef of Communists that you are. We have decided to follow you and put into practice the holy law of Fraternity and Equality."[45] Another "affluent person" from Switzerland reported reading "your response to M. Hennequin" and remarked that he did not approve of his "libertine ideas." He also wanted to tell him that "in our canton, we will furnish a brilliant contingent for the first departure."[46]

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[44] Le Populaire, September 12, 1847.

[45] Ibid., September 19, 1847. An instructice in a village of the Alps wrote approvingly of Cabet's views on women and his writings about men 'making laws,' which she had been following. "If the men make the laws, the women make the morals," she noted. Although she was "persuaded to give women a serious education" and asked God to bless him, it is not clear whether she planned to go to Icaria.

[46] Ibid. The letter listed their occupations.

Meanwhile, the classes in Toulouse that Doctor Hennequin conducted on social doctrines had been ordered closed by mayor M. Milhès who refused any further authorization for his teachings.[47] Although, Hennequin's courses had examined the doctrines of Pierre Leroux without any problems, the "atheist" doctrines of the Fourierists were the primary cause of the local electors' complaints. Cabet gloated at this crackdown by the police and remarked that the mayor's act supported the "bad faith" directed at him.[48] The public censure of Hennequin's lectures allowed him to claim victory in their "war." In his analysis of this outcome, he concluded, "Hate is a beautiful thing!" The persecution of Icarians was turned into "an occasion of triumph" which brought out their "innocence" and "courage."[49] Cabet's vision of the proper kind of love in Icaria triumphed over that of the libertine Fourierists and offered a respectable contrast to the marital discord in the actual society. As if to certify this point, Cabet summarized the weekly criminal news clippings in this issue by stating that the "murder of women by their husbands has become an epidemic."[50] While his stark conclusion was not supported with genuine statistical evidence, readers were left with few doubts about the present state of marriage.

After this victorious end to the war, Cabet turned his attention to further details of the emigration.[51] He published a Contrat social ou Acte de Société pour la Communauté

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47 Ibid.

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid., September 26, 1847.

50 Ibid. These violent cases typify the lingering social effects on family life due to the previous years food shortages, unemployment, and dire economic displacements. There were many reports of suicides and infanticides. Fortunately, the fall 1847 grain harvest improved.

d'Icarie in the paper. One alarming sentence read, "We do not hesitate to say: M. Cabet will be the Directeur-Gérant for ten years." Cabet's blasé usurpation of power ignited a controversy among communists that submerged talk about love relationships for a time, but did not thwart or defuse his drive to enlist the support of women for the emigration.[52]

Femmes, convertissez

The problem of recalcitrant women troubled Cabet. After an essay urging Icarians to submit their requests for admission, to prepare their 600 franc apport (capital), to

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[51] Ibid. Cabet published one other 'apology' about Hennequin when he returned from London. It seems a 'delayed' letter from Hennequin had traveled from Rouen to Paris and arrived after his departure. He dismissed its contents with, "there is not a word of truth in the attacks of M. Hennequin." Another supportive letter regarding his replies to Hennequin followed this article. It was from 200 Communists of Vienne, with 41 women's signatures. Women were part of the education articles in this issue where Cabet called for both men and women instructors. See letter: f. Cabet to Cabet in London, n.d. Cabet Collection, CIS, SIUE. This is the first preserved letter written by Mme Cabet that I have found. She wrote to Cabet and Céline (mes chere amis) in London. Her handwriting is legible but not as even and precise as her husband's. The letter contained minor bits of information about their affiliates - Beluze wanted to know when he would return to Paris; a man named Gaudron complimented "his life" (possibly biography) and had 1,000 francs; and Cabet should "consult a doctor directly" as well as take his medicine for sea-sickness. She asked him to give her regards to Mme Berrier. She hoped all her good friends in England had not forgotten their French (friends). Mr. Durand speaks french like a "premier gentleman," she noted and signed herself, "suis votre femme et mere (your wife and mother). f. Cabet." Recently widowed, Céline Favard, traveled to London with her father. It appears that Mme Cabet actively assisted Cabet with his Icarian pursuits and was in touch with their associates and attentive to his physical well-being. See Charles to Cabet in London, September 12, 1847, Cabet Collection, CIS, SIUE. Mme Cabet added a few lines to the end of this letter written by Charles telling him that she had dinner with M and Mme Berrous (?) and signed herself Denise. There were several lines from Beluze to Cabet, wishing him good health and a better trip with his respects to Mme Favard.

[52] Le Populaire, September 26, 1847. For a fuller discussion on the opposition to Cabet's ten year Directeur-Gérant, see Johnson, Utopian Communism , 252-3; Sutton, Les Icariens, 49, and, Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 210-211. The few women who alluded to the Gérant issue approved of it. Men, however, charged him with being a dictator and wanted to hold elections for this office. Cabet responded that if they were held, the electors would choose him.

instruct and moralize one another, Cabet shifted his advice to husbands who must be sure that they have the consent of their wives for the emigration:

> A husband who would leave in spite of his wife and who knows that it would render her unhappy and abandoned, lacks the first duty of an Icarian and does not merit the title Icarian. This [behavior] would compromise us so much that he would not be useful to us. He should not present himself for the departure. . . . It would be better for these true Icarian men to persuade their wives and have them determined to leave with their children, and then choose the departure [time] that will be the most convenient for them.[53]

This section was followed by one headed, "Ne pressez pas trop vos femmes! (Don't press your wives too much!)" in which Cabet offered his analysis of women's reluctant state.

> The departure is something so new, so extraordinary, that it is not astonishing that some wives of Icarians hesitate to take part in the expedition themselves. A large number are truly convinced, truly devoted, and truly courageous. They are determined to brave all for their children and their husbands. But others are frightened of a long sea voyage, of the alleged dangers on land, of presumed uncertainty about the success of the Emigration, or of the Icarian regime of Equality and Fraternity. Do not torment them by your efforts to reassure and convert them. Leave them have an entirely free spirit. Engage them only to read and to reflect! When they hear the other resolute women, when they see many happily effected departures, when they understand the wisdom and marvels of the establishment, and when they consider the general unhappiness or the future uncertainty for their children in Europe, and the happiness and security for them in the Communauté in Icaria, their maternal tenderness, their affection for their husbands, their reason, their general sentiments and example, will be joined together. Then they will be converted naturally and they will have the courage of Icariennes.[54]

Cabet's detailed enumeration of the grounds for women's resistance to emigration stands in sharp contrast to the nearly five hundred women who had recently signed letters of support for his "holy mission." This split in the ranks is hard to explain, but it is clear that there were many more willing husbands than wives.[55] Cabet advised these men to be

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[53] Le Populaire, October 3, 1847.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 250. Cabet "over-represented" the "great enthusiasm" that his call generated. I would add that some women's firm resistance to

patient with their wives for they would be converted "naturally" when they saw and heard "resolved" women leaving and realized how great Icaria was compared to Europe. He did not want unhappy or separated spouses in Icaria. Both must want to go to Icaria. Since husbands were having trouble convincing their wives, Cabet surmised that women could be the key to winning over other women.

On October 17, 1847, the caption, "Femmes, convertissez (Women, convert)" appeared in the paper. Cabet's unctuous instructions to women followed:

> It is you who have the most interest in the establishment of the Communauté for your children and for your daughters, more than for yourselves.
>
> It is you who have the most patience, gentleness, and persuasive talent. It is you who have been generally accorded to be the more persuasive apostles. Every since the first Christian women showed so much enthusiasm, courage, and ability to convert to Chrisitianity, women have inflamed and supported the zeal of the first Christians.
>
> Preach to your sisters! Show them that Icaria is the salvation and the happiness of spouses, of mothers, and of their families!
>
> Convert the young people, and raise them from their wild dissipations, and divert them from debauchery by making them sense that respect for Woman and for one union is commended by the heart and spirit, and it is where they will find true happiness.
>
> But, don't be overzealous! One says that Woman is more gentle, more patient, more indulgent, and in a word, better than the man. Always prove that in effect, you are better skilled to inspire the love of order and of virtue, devotion, and fraternity, without ever troubling peace and harmony![56]

Cabet summoned women to imitate their legendary Christian counterparts. They were not only called to convert other women, but youths as well, who might be inclined toward "wild dissipations." These fellows needed to be shown that respect for one woman and one union would bring them "true happiness." All this must be done with gentleness and

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leaving may have convinced their husbands not to go. Cabet did not want to break up marriages or begin his colony with conflicts between spouses. Icaria was to be a happy family community.

[56] Le Populaire, October 17, 1847.

patience, for women should not be "overzealous." Subtly, Cabet had urged women to think that their gentle, patient abilities were better than those of men. Not once did he suggest that women should use their 'reason' to convert others, nor did he mention 'equality.' Besides these omissions, he explicitly warned women that they should "prove" their ability to convert others without "troubling peace and harmony." These orders exposed Cabet's virtuous, passive, gender script for women in Icaria. Nonetheless, he called for women to convert other women with this missionary model. In the meantime, he initiated another strategy designed to rally their support.

Réunion d'Icariennes

Two weeks after urging husbands not to press their wives too hard and telling women to convert women, Cabet announced a "Réunion d'Icariennes." He explained that he had changed his mind about requests from Paris Icariennes who had for a "long time wanted to come to the office of Le Populaire like the Icarians [men]." They wanted "to discuss their interests and help us with their intelligence and lumiéres (wisdom). Everything is fraternal between them and they want to acquire the means of making useful propaganda." But it was "prudence," he cautioned, "which we commend more and more to take to guard our course, [that] ordered us not to hasten them, and we have been deprived of the advantage of these réunions." Now, however, Cabet had found that "as we prepare to depart,

> the moment appears to have come to be more appropriate, and we have the perfect right to invite whom we please to come and pass the evening at our place. Nothing could be more worthy of approval than the reunions of women. They have no other goal than to generally adopt the legal and pacific propaganda to instruct, moralize, bring concord and peace. In a word, to assure the happiness of their children and of humanity.
>
> On Sunday the 17th, [October 1847] sixty-three Icariennes, accompanied

> by their husbands, came at our invitation. If one could mention the brilliant reunions of the rich and [their] luxury, one could, perhaps, not quote any more remarkable and generous sentiments as a reason [for gathering] than the satisfaction that inspires such aimable fraternity.
>
> Instead of the frivolous and useless talk about things of the toilette, theaters, or galant adventures, we discussed questions together which were interesting to the general happiness of women and their daughters.
>
> One Icarienne proposed to adopt a symbol on the costume for the moment of departure and for the trip, a sign of something that would symbolize fraternity and equality.
>
> Another Icarienne proposed to work one extra hour in Icaria, to be able to provide the transportation for poor families who do not have the apport.
>
> A third brought up an objection made about Communism, and she maintained that order in work would be reconciled perfectly with liberty.
>
> A fourth responded to another objection made about duties, and maintained that no other system was more favorable to artists that the Icarian system, nor more appropriate to the inspirations of genius.
>
> Many other questions had arisen; and this first reunion proved to us, if we have need of proofs, that women will yield nothing to men in the discussion of their common interests.[57]

Cabet's belated capitulation to Icariennes' requests to meet at the office of Le Populaire like the men, was not only a victory for women, but a reflection of his relief that Hennequin was discredited, which subsequently softened his "prudence." The "rich," he argued convincingly, held "brilliant reunions" so why shouldn't they? The Association law against gatherings of more than twenty people was, of course, always a worry.

The portrait of these women and their spouses gathering in the newspaper office suggests a lively scene in which Cabet had to accommodate questions from one hundred and twenty-six people. This figure corresponds rather closely with the sixty-nine advance guard men who would depart in about three months.[58] But the exceptional point about this

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[57] Le Populaire, October 24, 1847.

[58] Ibid. There is no verification that they were the same group, nor is there any evidence to the contrary. That no more than sixty-nine men left in the first advance guard suggests that these sixty-three were part of Cabet's steady followers and that very few newcomers joined after this.

report was that Cabet had taken the time to delineate four issues that the women discussed. Their remaining interests must have seemed routine. It was not surprising to learn that one woman wanted a symbol designed to wear on their uniforms. She probably was part of the group that was sewing special Icarian clothing. Nor was it strange to hear that women were worried about the poor who lacked apport. But the woman who volunteered the idea that they could work an extra hour in Icaria to earn funds for the poor, displayed her failure to realize how the new work system would operate. Her naive image of a voluntary (private) allocation of overtime wages shows that she did not fully appreciate the fact that individual hourly payments were not part of Icaria's labor compensation. Workers were not free to choose a particular application for the profits of their overtime. Of course, "poor funds" could be designed with extra working hours, but it would have to be written into a community law by men.

Another acquiescent spokeswoman believed that "order in work" would fit "perfectly with liberty" which denoted her acceptance of Cabet's rationale of liberty as obedience to laws. As for the woman who entered into the debates about artistic inspiration and freedom, she had somehow determined that Icaria would be a very favorable system for artists, who under ordinary circumstances, desire a flexible degree of liberty that was not part of Icaria's orderly labor system. On the other hand, artists needed material support while they created their artistic products and Icaria's subsistence guarantees would be an invaluable aid. Although their joint meeting showed Cabet "that women would give up nothing to men in the discussion of their common interests," he offered no viable procedure for their imput to become practice.

Nonetheless, women engaged in lively exchanges with men at this first gathering. They were the ones who initiated the idea of a mixed sex forum and had successfully argued to overcome Cabet's "prudent" reservations. A second meeting with sixty-six women and their husbands took place the next week. Its report in Le Populaire was diluted to a four line commentary about women's "generous hearts."[59] Cabet had many things to attend to after making these conciliatory overtures to women. When he exhorted them to "convert" their sisters, some must have asked him just where were they going in America. Others were willing to place their confidence in his ability to choose a good location. Meanwhile, the converted, trusting women set about to support Icaria's "mission" in their own manner.

Women's 'Amazing' Devotion

Jewelry was the symbol of Icarienne sacrifice in the newspaper at the end of October. Three women writers offered an assortment of jewelry that they collected to help "realize our cherished Icaria," to help "furnish the necessary money for the advance-guard,"[60] and to "diminish the pains and fatigues of the good Monsieur Cabet."[61] Somewhat discomfited by the nature of these women's support, Cabet explained that "We have not desired to provoke the sacrifice of jewels, and we have hesitated to accept them;

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[59] Ibid., October 31, 1847.

[60] Ibid. This concern with helping the advance-guard was in a letter from D . . . and his wife.

[61] Ibid. This is the first mention of jewelry, yet there were three letter writers and two different columns by Cabet related to this expression of women's "devotion." Certainly the money from the sale of jewelry had some financial value, but it should be borne in mind that jewelry was something that women were able to give without disrupting their overall family finances.

but a young girl, who came with her father, brought us her silverware. We declared that it was for her and her parents' pleasure and happiness. She said that if we refused it, she would sell it for us and bring us the price. Women who are bringing their jewelry have shown the same resolution."[62] Although Cabet had not anticipated that he would become the recipient of jewelry donations, he graciously accepted these gifts from women, who had historical precursors in the 1789 French Revolution as recently recorded by Jennifer Harris:

> On September 7, 1789 a group of eleven wives and daughters of artists, including Mmes David, Moitte, and Vien, who sympathized with recent events, dressed themselves in white, stuck tricolor cockades in their hair and publicly donated their jewelry to the National Assembly. This kind of donation which was soon to become common, had a prototype in Roman history in a story recounted by Plutarch in the Parallel Lives, a source well known to educated men and women in the late eighteenth century.[63]

Whether Cabet recognized this precedent is unclear. Jewelry was not the only unsolicitied contribution he received, although it was a perplexing one, for jewels had no value in Icaria and someone would have to exchange them for money to purchase useful supplies. Others donated more practical goods like tools, books, paintings, and fabrics. In Paris, "some Icarienne women made a point of going to the houses of their friends to have them subscribe, and they received 962 francs, of which one gave 100 francs and another gave 300 francs. Many women brought 10 or 20 francs and little coins like 5 sous, which they economized from their commerce . . . What was more amazing was the women who

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[62] Ibid. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 215. He included but did not elaborate on jewelry donations.

[63] Jennifer Harris, "The Red Cap of Liberty: A Study of Dress Worn by French Revolutionary Partisans 1789-94" Eighteenth-Century Studies Vol. 14, no. 3 Spring 1981, 283-312., 292-3.

offered their jewels, their rings, their ear-rings, their watches, their broches, and their chains."[64] The popularity of this charitable initiative suggests that many women viewed Icaria as a worthwhile, good, but costly venture. Even if they had no plans to go there, they were willing to help the project in their own inimitable way. It was not uncommon for women to be involved in solicitating help for benevolent causes. They 'amazed' Cabet with their collections.

Cabet commended the women for their sacrifices, but he was equally pleased by the ardor shown by a young man, "an actionnaire of the Populaire, a skillful worker, who, from devotion to my person or rather to our principles, has offered to fill all the functions of a domestic servant at our side. [He was] ennobled in my eyes by the motive that animated him." The devoted young man Cabet referred to was Beluze.[65] He printed his letter:

> Dear citoyen Cabet,
>
> I have reflected on the request that you had made to us. You indicated that you wanted a convenable domestique (suitable servant), and asked if we knew of one.
>
> The more I reflected, the more I was convinced that you wanted someone more than an ordinary servant; because the one that you would choose must have boundless devotion; certainly aptitudes that are not those of the ordinary servant profession. It is dominated by this rationale that I leave you to judge the value of that which has decided to have me write to you and to put myself at your disposition. If you find in me the necessary qualities to fill the functions of that charge, I will regard myself to be honored to be your servant.
>
> Meanwhile, I pray you to receive the assurance of my devotion,

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[64] Le Populaire, October 31, 1847.

[65] Maitron, Dict. biog. IV, 188-90. Jean Pierre Beluze (1821-1908) was a relative newcomer to Icarianism. He was born in 1821 and was close to Céline's age. Her husband Favard was twenty seven when he died in March 1847. Beluze was his friend and married Céline in 1863 when he was forty-two, but in 1847, he was a twenty-six year old ébéniste (cabinet-maker). See Johnson, Utopian Communism, 209, 290, 294. Beluze was part of Cabet's 1846 commission.

My fraternal greeting,

P. Beluze[66]

Beluze's voluntary offer to fill the position of a "suitable servant" impressed Cabet. Exactly what kinds of service Cabet had in mind are obscure, but his willingness was sufficient to "ennoble" him in his eyes. Beluze's domestic work undoubtedly relieved him of many daily burdens.[67]

Cabet also remarked positively that the lively Icariennes' energy, reason, and devotion had "surpassed our hopes; and if we had any moments of doubt about success, we do not have any doubt today."[68]Additional reports indicated that jewelry donations accumulated along with tools, instruments, books, tablecloths, and even fourteen barrels of wine for use in the project.[69]

Several left-leaning politicans also extended nominal support for Cabet's innovative colony. Remarks by poet and Deputy Alphonse Lamartine indicated that, like Cabet, he championed a "national family without primogeniture." This would be a "true politics" of the people, "of reason, the right interests, and will of thirty-five million inhabitants." All citoyens, without any privileges, would "exercise their expressed and regularized rights and wills as a government. In a word, as Democrats."[70] Cabet had a meeting with

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66 Le Populaire, October 31, 1847.

67 It is hard not to point out the "domestic servant" contradiction in this drama. In the Voyage and in the Colony, Icarian families were not allowed to have servants. Women and children were to do the simplified household chores. It is easy to imagine that Beluze was less a household servant than a secretary-apprentice figure who attended to a wide range of chores.

68 Le Populaire, November 7, 1847.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid.

Lamartine in May 1847 and he reported that Lamartine "completely approved" of the emigration project, stating that "if he brought 6,000 to 7,000 Icarians to a new society, that would be a magnificient thing."[71] Cabet surely hoped to prove to Lamartine that this could be done.

Lamartine however, did not regard Communist ideologies in the same light as Cabet.[72] He composed a negative view of communism as a revolutionary movement for a Macon paper that Cabet objected to, since Icarian communism differed from the violent type designed to overthrow the government. Neither man wanted revolution.[73] Cabet reflected that if Lamartine would examine "his works, in his own hand, in prose and verse," it would be easy to prove that he merited the title of the "Emperor of the

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[71] Ibid., January 16, 1848. Cabet included this meeting in a short review of his emigration developments. Lamartine had also, "put me in touch with the American Consul in Paris, with whom I consulted and saw frequently . . . and who transmitted to his government a long note written by me, and who put me in touch with the president of the great society of the United States, constituted to favor Democracy."

[72] Ibid., November 14, 1847.

[73] Whitehouse, Life of Lamartine, vol II, 167, 173, 170-2. It is insightful that Lamartine asked his friend M. Louis de Ronchaud, one morning shortly before he wrote his incendiary text, Histoire des Girondins (1847), "If you held a revolution in your hand, would you open it?" This is the same phrase Cabet placed in the Voyage on page 565. It appears these two men not only shared metaphors but had a remarkable sensitivity to the discontent that surrounded the people. Whitehouse presented aspects of Lamartine's "ideal scheme" of government and its similarity to "socialism dictated by the principles of Christianity," which echoes many of Cabet's tenets. In Lamartine's letter to the Maçon tailor about Cabet and communism, he stated that "I am not a communist, because I have the well-considered conviction that communism would destroy at once property, family, labour, capital, and wages, even the State and the Nation . . . and the consequent extinction of Humanity." In a banquet speech on July 18, 1847 where 3,000 people sat at 500 tables, Lamartine painted a picture of "public hostility against the reactionary tendencies of the Crown." Afterwards he wrote a colleague in the French Academy that "I am far from desiring a revolution. . . . I have always striven to prevent it." Talk of "Revolution" was widespread.

Communists."[74] Cabet had appropriated Lamartine's eloquence many times to sanction his egalitarian views, but calling Lamartine a communist "Emperor" was a gross exaggeration, indeed an embarrassment, but typical of Cabet.[75]

Excerpted portions of other reformers' speeches at the banquets that were held in late 1847 echoed Cabet's hope that his colony would bring beneficial changes to its people.[76] Deputy Garnier-Pagès, "recommends to his friends, [that] we believe the foundation of one Icaria will be useful to everyone." His speech "admitted that some utopias are dreams" but that "M. Cabet had not yet realized his dream, which will be immense" and one day we may have in "the United States three or four great member villages" with prosperous agriculture and industry. In Garnier-Pages speculations on the future conditions in the colony, he also envisioned an Icarian journal that would be "read each week by more than a hundred thousand Frenchmen."[77] His praise was "received with

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[74] Le Populaire, November 14, 1847.

[75] William Fortescue, Alphonse de Lamartine: A Political Biography (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 112-14, 136. In Fortescue's observations of Lamartine's leftist opinions, he found that Lamartine referred favorably to the Saint-Simonians in his Voyage en Orient, but was critical of Fourier's ideas on free love which he believed would undermine the family. Fortescue noted that Cabet appreciated Lamartine's "gentle dismissal of communist ownership of property as a beautiful dream" and that he called him a communist without knowing it in his book and newspaper. Fortescue found that Cabet welcomed "Lamartine's recruitment to the left-wing opposition." He was regarded by them as "a prize." Fortescue reported his November 14, 1847 protest about communism in which Lamartine admonished Cabet again for his "beautiful dream."

[76] Andre Jardin and Andre-Jean Tudesq, Restoration and Reaction, 1815-1848 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983) translation, La France des Notables (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1973), 201-3. The banquet campaign began July 9, 1847 in Paris and other banquets followed in the provinces. Speakers argued for "electoral reform" and "political morality in general." The social problems of workers "spawned by the recent economic crisis were often evoked."

[77] Le Populaire, November 14, 1847.

pleasure" by Cabet.

Garnier-Pagès' encouraging words fit well with the headline on November 14, 1847, "On to Texas!" Preparations for the first departure were now under way. Sully, the Peters Company land agent, was "making preliminary arrangements" in the United States.[78] The long-awaited ideal of Icarian communism was a step closer to becoming a reality.

"Le Communisme déclaré inévitable" was the bold headline which Cabet designated to accord with recent material in the Gazette de France.[79] This outlook coincided with the view of a correspondent who included it along with his private objections for not going along with Cabet's departure. "Personally," he said, "if we are not leaving, here are our reasons: We believe that a revolution is near, or that the governments will be forced by the circumstances, to make profound and rational reforms; we have seen many socialists, who, nearly all, want a basic organization that approaches that which you desire."[80] Despite this clairvoyant writer and his friends' convictions about an approaching revolution and "pleasurably received" encouragement from socialists, the government and religious persecutions against communists had not let up. Cabet consistently defended his

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[78] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 255-6. Sully was a "young French bookbinder and 'zealous' Icarian living in London." He was in touch with Owen through a contact with Thornton, a friend of Cabet. See Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 212-3, 206. Cabet wrote in the Almanach in 1848, that he had "scientifically" determined the location for Icaria by eliminating lands between the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi. A chapter was devoted to a description of Texas. Owen had earlier contacts with the Peters Company about Texas for his own community projects.

[79] Le Populaire, November 21, 1847.

[80] Ibid.

principles from clerical attacks for readers.[81] He interrupted lines he was writing about the true chrisitian spirit of his Icarian Communism in November, to add stinging comments about the "new Pope" and remind readers once again that he had called communism a "perverse doctrine."[82]

While some correspondents expressed confidence in Cabet's proposed experiment, others called attention to its shortcomings. Many scolded him for charging such a large fee that the Icarians, in effect, abandoned the poor. He responded that at first they would only be able to admit those with the required 600 franc apport but once the Icarians achieved a successful colony, they would be able to bring in thousands of poor "beginning with the most capable and worthy, always in the interests of the others."[83] It is clear from Cabet's remarks that emigrating to Icaria was not an option for families who were unable to save up the equivalent of nearly a year's wages. Icaria would therefore, begin as a colony composed of more prosperous workers who would presumably, share their combined future fortunes to help poorer families emigrate.[84]

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81 Johnson, Utopian Communism, 246. In La Tribune lyonnaise, August, 1847, Johnson noted the authors's "mistrust of the persecution thesis." One should "not abandon his mother even if she is unjust" but stay "to defend her against the aristocracy."

82 Le Populaire, November 14, 1847.

83 Ibid., November 21, 1847. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 250-1. F. Lechapt was part of a large consensus of Icarians who disagreed with Cabet's plan to begin a colony in America which would reduce the number of communists in France working to better conditions for all. The 600 franc apport closed the "doors of Icaria" to workers forever. Lechapt believed that, "Cabet's departure would bring about a "retrograde movement" in France."

84 Johnson, Utopian Communism, 243-7, 249-50. Cabet's detractors called him a "coward" and his followers "runaways, deserters, or traitors." In June 1847, D. Marcelino Prat had denounced him for his attempt to "carry off from France her purest children, her most intelligent and devoted patriots." Prat also asked what government would be willing

Icarians understood that marriage was a prerequisite for joining the community. It was stipulated in the Voyage and had been emphasized in the recent debates with Dr. Hennequin. The attention drawn to Cabet's ideal of marital happiness with a "faithful companion" carried such an appeal for eight male correspondents, that they confessed they had changed their minds about remaining celibates. They wrote about their voluntary decision not to marry because of the egoisme attached to property and inheritance. However, after they learned about Icarian marriages from such a "respectable authority" as Cabet, they were filled with new hope and had cried tears of joy. The eight men had 14,000 francs, grains, tools, and a small scientific library to bring with them. Still, they pressed Cabet to tell them if "marriage will be de rigueur (obligatory) in Icaria."[85] He replied,

> If the happiness and the liberty which Icaria promises has determined these men to marry, who were resolved to remain in a celibate state, that is a triumph for the Icarian system.
>
> Yes, marriage will be the general rule. After the first generation, all the young boys and all the young girls will want to marry in Icaria. We are convinced that sooner or later, all those who leave not married will voluntarily marry; but, in the beginning of the establishment, we will tolerate some exceptions from those who have reasonable motives, in cases where the public order will not be troubled.
>
> Besides it is a question which will be discussed soon.[86]

Whether these celibates with their funds and supplies were simply too tempting to turn away or not, Cabet had retreated from his earlier stand against admitting bachelors to

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to cede an area large enough to sustain a million people? He noted "Everyone has the presentiment of a revolution." As for positive responses, Johnson aptly captured the basic theme of "pure and simple escape." He also documented the shift in subscribers and the "many new adherents" to Icarianism, even interested peasants. The emigration announcement changed the composition of Icarian followers.

85 Le Populaire, November 28, 1847.

86 Ibid.

Icaria who might turn out to be the dreaded "lovers." However, he cautioned, care must be taken for these "exceptions," so that they will not be a "trouble to the public order." It seems that Cabet compromised his marriage rule in order to "tolerate" bachelors for practical reasons.

Conversely, if unmarried working women wanted to go to Icaria and would agree not to be any "trouble to the public order" like the bachelors, they would find themselves doubly disadvantaged. In the first place, their low wages would make it hard to save 600 francs. If they had enough money, most women would need a husband to accompany them, or at least be able to enlist the aid of a father. This was not the case for men whose independence was accepted and whose jobs paid more. Thus, from the onset, unequal gender economics limited single women's chances to go to Icaria which, in turn, skewed the sexual ratio. This situation deprived many 'exceptional' bachelors who were allowed to come alone, of a future pool of marriageable women. Not only did this negate Cabet's family ideal, but he had unwittingly set the stage for the problems caused by potential 'lovers' in Icaria.

Meanwhile, Icariennes attended the fifth Paris réunion where more than sixty women and their husbands met in the salon of the Populaire.[87] The newspaper account stated matter of factly that the "evening was passed, like the preceding ones, in discussing questions which interested women, which were neither more remarkable nor less interesting." Cabet noted that they were going "to invite successively all the Icariennes.

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[87] Ibid., November 21, 1847. The use of salon was a change from the first meeting where Cabet used the term bureau. A salon would be living quarters most likely above the office. Extending hospitality to 120 people each week was no small task.

We exhort them to be bold about the discussion and to prepare the objections that they want to make, and to ask them clearly." His instructive commentary suggests that he directed the reunions and was impatient with timid responses or ill-stated objections by women. In addition, "Each must understand that they have hardly any place for the invited people, and they shouldn't bring anyone with them who hasn't received an invitation. Each must also understand that they cannot bring children." These directives reflect the presence of a number of unexpected guests and children who undoubtedly strained the Cabets' quarters, but they also provide evidence that Icarians were trying to bring in potential converts. The univited may have been curious friends, hostile critics, or even police spies. Cabet's solution was to assure them that all would be allowed to come "successively" with an invitation which would allow him time to select or reject guests. This unique forum had become an inordinate success.

Women's enthusiastic responses were upsetting Cabet. Their unusual jewelry collections and the crowd of strangers and children in his salon, were unintended consequences of his effort to attract womens's support, hardly what he anticipated. Still, he applauded the women's "truly admirable zeal" when they met at the end of November to talk about solving the problem of funding for the poor who wanted to go to Icaria.[88] They discussed a Caisse sociale icarienne (Icarienne's Social Fund). One woman wanted to have a general collection for the poor. Since the apport costs worried these women, it seems logical that they were in close contact with workers who would like to emigrate, but lacked the money.

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[88] Ibid., November 28, 1847.

Besides this Paris gathering of Icarians, Cabet called reader's attention to "petites réunions" that were being held in the "homes of some Icarians in other locations."[89] This communication would serve to diffuse reunions across France, to scale down news about the Paris center, and to prevent an overflow of enthusiastic guests on his doorstep. Cabet was very likely planning his December trip to London and wanted to avoid drawing attention to the meetings at his place when he was gone.

Meanwhile, the news reports indicated that money was flowing into the coffers from women as well as men. A.A., who was a widow wrote that she admired Cabet's effort to "rehabilitate woman in all her rights" and appreciated him "thinking of women, who for centuries had been forgotten." She asked to be inscribed for the first departure and said that she could give the Communauté 30,000 francs of good property or her annual rent of 1,400 francs.[90] Other correspondents sent assurances of 25,000 francs[91] and 110,000 francs.[92] A.R. from Sains-Richaumont had "some thousand francs to accompany" him to the "new Canaan, that promised land." He couldn't leave however, until his wife, who was a "demi-icarienne would be entirely" convinced. "That will be a little later," but he wanted to be inscribed for one of your departures.[93]

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89 Ibid. These smaller local groups were developing a network of centers for the donations.

90 Ibid., December 12, 1847.

91 Ibid., December 5, 1847. This was from a man, his wife, and sons.

92 Ibid. This information was part of a list in a letter. Others were bringing about 2,500 francs, and another 10,000 francs. They hoped to leave in the first or second departure.

93 Ibid. A.R. reported that the "work of propaganda advances here in a satisfactory manner."

The authorities worried about the tense atmosphere in France at the end of 1847. While they watched the unfolding details of the Icarian emigration, there were speeches being given at banquets that were critical of the government, and there was an alarming rise of specious talk about revolution.[94] On December 19th, Cabet was interrogated and released by the police. He published a transcript of their questions and his answers in Le Populaire.[95] The police had reviewed the political ideas in the Voyage and focused their questions on passages about Icar being a dictator and taking over the government. They pointed out that Icar's experiences matched the trajectory of events in Cabet's life. He denied having any plans for revolution and repeated his vow from the Voyage, that if he had a revolution in his hand, he would keep it closed. The police also alleged that he attacked deputies and judges in his book. Cabet admitted that he had always criticized bad legislators in all countries. The interrogators accused him of having a "commercial affair" in his own interests with sales of his portrait and biography. Cabet responded that the picture sold for less than it cost and like the biography was advanced by the actionnaires of the paper. In a clever rebuttal, he reminded them that d'Argenson had "struck a medal" of Cabet in 1833 and therefore, "You [the government] probably sell many yourself!"[96]

The contrivance for the police's interrogation session lay in some papers found on a "vagabond" named Dumotier who was a subscription "agent" for Cabet and put in Saint-Quentin prison for "conspiratorial activity."[97] Cabet called his arrest "an abuse of

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[94] Maurice Agulhon, The Republican Experiment, 1848-1852 translated by Janet Lloyd (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983) original, 1848 ou l'Apprentissage de la Republique 1848-1852 (Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1973), 23-5.

[95] Le Populaire, December 19, 1847. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 257.

[96] Le Populaire, December 19, 1847.

power, a monstrosity . . . We are going to Icaria where there will not be any Prosecutor of the King." Communist persecution by the government had markedly increased. In the course of the St. Quentin investigation, many of Cabet's agents' homes were searched.[98] One of them reported to Cabet that the Prosecutor told him he was conducting the search because he had to "stifle communism."[99]

In order to carry out his emigration plan, Cabet had to make a trip to London to sign papers for the Texas land. He was gone when the December 26 issue of Le Populaire carried the names of forty men who were already admitted for the advance guard. Beluze and the two Marchand brothers were on the list. There was a wine-grower named Buisson who may have been related to Cabet's earlier poetic correspondent, Mme Buisson; and Gouhenaut of the Toulouse trial. Many of the men identified themselves with three or four occupational skills. There was an architect-surveyor named Picquenard and a Dr. Leclerc who spoke English and German. These chosen men were advised to meet as often as possible to get to know each other. They were encouraged to develop the habit of fraternity in order to form a perfect union between them. The minute they set foot on the boat, each of them "will become a new man, we will pass as from death to life, we will

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[97] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 257.

[98] Ibid. Police also conducted searches of Icarians in northern and northeastern France.

[99] Le Populaire, December 26, 1847. Edouard wrote that he was suspected by the police because he had dinner with Cabet and spent an evening with him. The Prosecutor said to him, "I made you come here, because I must étouffe (stifle) Communism." Edouard answered that it was a "gigantic pretension to stifle an idea emanated by Christ" which placed him among Cabet's followers who were motivated by early christian mission metaphors.

have a true resurrection, and a true regeneration in our new world."[100] The names of those specifically selected for the first mission would be made known soon.

Cabet was still in London when he received a letter from Charles the day after Christmas. Mme Cabet and Céline penned a few lines at the end wishing him a bonne fête, for Cabet was born on January 1.[101] However, Charles had some disturbing news for Cabet. He had just received word from Caudron, the Rouen editor of the paper, about an account published in the Memorial de Rouen that was "against Mr. Cabet, Editor of Le Populaire and the Icarian Apostles."[102] Charles reported that, "It appears that Mr. C. met at his house with a certain number of workers who addressed des prédications des organisatrices (the preachings of women organizers). The Ministry of Justice has seen in these réunions at the house of Mr.C. a délit (offense, crime) against the law of Associations."[103] Charles urged him to "produce an article in the next issue" concerning this.[104] The police, it appears, intended to vigorously enforce the Law of Associations

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[100] Ibid.

[101] Charles to Cabet in London, December 24, 1847, and December 25, 1847. CIS SIUE. Cabet went to London shortly after being questioned by the police on December 19th. Charles wrote that "nothing extraordinary" was occurring. There were "many new requests for admission." and "our Ladies are doing very well, and charged me to transmit their compliments to you." On December 25, he noted that a mayor in Croix-Rousse arrested Fourierists who were having a reunion and set them free, and remarked on a Démocratie Pacifique letter by Lamartine.

[102] Charles to Cabet in London, December 26, 1847. CIS, SIUE. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 205, 241. Caudron was Cabet's correspondent in Rouen and a shoemaker's tool merchant who undertook the weekly publication of Le Populaire there in 1847.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Ibid. Charles to Cabet in London, December 27th and 28th. He referred to a Christopher Columbus article, and to a 4 page supplement "without the article on women."

related to gatherings of over twenty people. Cabet had tried to get around it by giving out invitations to women and their spouses for weekly réunions at his salon.[105] Now, he needed to compose a rebuttal to the account in the Rouen newspaper to offset a legal prosecution related to the size and non-political implications of his réunions. The organized Icarian women who were "preaching" at his place were an element of the criminal charges being raised against him.

In the meantime, the January 2 issue appeared with accounts of social disorders, ecclesiastical doings, and financial news. A column titled, "Persecutions" told about Fourierist réunions at Croix-Rousse that were challenged by the police and then permitted to continue, while Communists were being unfairly persecuted. This incident could have been inserted by Cabet or Caudron to offset surveillance of their reunions.[106]

A letter from Icariennes of Nantes under the heading, "Femmes a l'avant-garde" was placed in Le Populaire on January 2 that explained why women could not leave with the first departure. The letter writers thanked Cabet for wanting to save them from the fatigues of the avant-garde. "Certainly, dear père," they continued in an impatient tone, "some among us don't have any children, and others are not married, in a word free to leave and accompany the first avant-garde where many have family members. They will be just as strong to take part in the second avant-garde. They pray they will be admitted. This

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[105] Le Populaire, December 26, 1847. A dialogue that illustrated the police efforts to count and crack down on the number of people gathering at an Icarian's house was titled, "Interrogatoire de M. V. . . " After determining that M.V. was a communist and subscriber to Le Populaire, the police asked if he went to the Homblières to give Communist propaganda and to sing. "Yes," M.V. answered. "How many were you?" M.V. replied, "I don't precisely know the number; the house was full of people who were listening to us."

[106] Ibid., January 2, 1848.

would be the greatest happiness and the realization of all their voices."[107] These unmarried or childless Nantes' Icariennes viewed themselves as comparably free and strong as a man and believed they should be allowed to leave with them. The contents of their letter indicated that Cabet was refusing to allow women to participate in the first advance guard, citing the fatigues of the project, their lesser physical strength, and ties to children. However, they objected to Cabet's grounds for excluding them.

Likewise, seven other letter-writers pressured him to allow women to go. Their petition outlined four points related to the potential value of women's service in the avant-garde:

> 1 - If anyone feels ill, they will care for them.
> 2 - They would mend things which, without a doubt, could then be used quickly.
> 3 - They could make the meals and take care of cleaning up afterwards.
> 4 - They could, with your assistance, take care of the preparations for the elderly and for some who arrive after the first departure with their children.[108]

The Icariennes claimed they were strong and knew about the difficulties before them. They hoped Cabet would insert their reflexions, although, "we have need of prudence."

Another Paris Icarienne was even more emphatic in her logical arguments. She had the honor to be at the first réunion and

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[107] Ibid. Another letter from a dozen young girls from Lyon related how they had offered to help make the clothing for the demoiselles Icariennes. Their offer was refused "because the demoiselles desired to show more devotion and make more sacrifices." The spurned young girls talked it over and to show their sincere devotion, they each donated 5 francs. The twelve girls asked that their 60 francs be used to buy twenty chapeaux (hats) for the avant-garde. Their tale reveals the pride Lyon demoiselles Icariennes took in sewing the Icarian clothing.

[108] Ibid. A letter from Toulon Icariennes carried a stirring memorial to an institutrice who had "ardently desired" to take part in the emigration but had died. She "excited great enthusiasm among us." They sent a thousand francs for ten subscriptions to the paper. These tributes illustrate the success of Cabet's campaign to interest women and even young girls in his emigration.

. . . saw with what kindness and what indulgence you spoke to us, and I thank you, because, despite their ignorance, women understand very well all that you do for them.

As for me, I have a sore heart since you said that women could not be admitted for the advanced guard, [because] women are too weak to endure the fatigues and bad times like the men. My emotion was too strong to respond at that moment. But you know better than me, Monsieur; that women exist who have no less courage and devotion than men. History gives us examples, and if it is, like you have said, a cruelty to expose us to parallel fatigues, then is there any good advantage in refusing these brave workers some devoted women to take care of them if they are hurt or sick, to wash and mend their linens and clothing.

At this time, you are refusing to give a worker soldier that which the military soldier possesses, because all armies acknowledge that the husband's wives are part of the troops.

Don't think Monsieur, that I offer myself with a light and passing enthusiasm or with little reflection. No, I have considered this very well and I have anticipated all the power and courage of similar women.

As for myself, I am 38 years old and have endured hardships of all kinds. I learned at a young age to develop my courage, which has made me fear nothing for myself. Since I don't think that I am the only woman who offered herself, I pray you, Monsieur, to weigh my reasons. And, if you judge them in this way, share them with our colleagues on the admission commission.

Whatever your decision is, Monsieur, receive the assurance that my husband and I will always be devoted to your sublime enterprise.

We greet you fraternally,

Femme C. . . [109]

After printing these requests from women, Cabet restated his

confidence in the courage, energy, and devotion of women. We are very convinced that for all these qualities, as for a lot of others, women give up nothing to men and they are even superior in some ways. The committee of preparation, in accord with us, rendered complete justice: but we have unanimously thought that for the advance guard, notably for the first ones who must travel across the country, and surmount obstacles of all kinds, that women lack the physical strength necessary for a such a mission.

When we get to the large advance guard, which will leave about the end of March, then we will know the composition and the needs. We will examine the question again, and see if we can admit some wives with their husbands. We don't acknowledge this as an indispensable necessity.[110]

Cabet and the commission refused to change their mind, but would review the question in

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[109] Ibid.

[110] Ibid.

March to see if some "wives with husbands" could leave. This was a blow to the unmarried women, to Femme C. and other wives, especially those without children, who had not expected to send their husbands to Icaria alone.

While women could not exert enough pressure to be permitted to leave with the first group, they continued to bring in donations, especially of jewelry. In a published record of forty-six donors and their gifts, there were twenty-six who had given gold and jewels. Voluntary donations were spreading to "all the towns."[111] In less than a year, Cabet had rallied the support of many women who were converting other women, sewing uniforms, soliciting donations, and making general plans for themselves and their families to emigrate.

Women, like other readers, were undoubtedly alarmed when they read that Cabet had been arrested on January 5, 1848. He reported that two hours after he returned from London, a police commissioner appeared to confiscate over one hundred dossiers, all his correspondence, and all his books,

> on the pretext of an accusation not only of illegal association, but of escroquerie (swindling). They pretended that the project of going to found an Icarian Colony in America was a ruse, that we intended to prepare for a revolution, and to swindle money from Icarians. I don't have to tell you about my indignation over this infamy. . . . But I have, I hope, the protection of public opinion and the press; and, [though] I might have to be alone, I know I can defend myself against this most odious persecution."[112]

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[111] Ibid.

[112] Ibid., January 9, 1848; January 16,1848. Sutton, Les Icariens, 49. Sutton abbreviated details about this incident which do not adequately reflect the larger elements of the Icarian land decision. Cabet had been in London negotiating his land terms with money for a 5,000 franc down payment on Texas land offered by M. Pellegrini. He changed his mind and agreed to accept Peters and Sully's free Texas land offer, signed papers on January 3, and then hurried back to send the men off to begin constructing homesteads by July.

Cabet was conducted to prison. He sent copies of this letter to other journals in Paris who wrote articles in his defense. Beluze, Leclerc, R.Roussarie, and Rougier called for Icarians to "brave all the anger, surmount all the obstacles" just like the first Christians. "Redouble your zeal and devotion, you have justice and truth, and the triumph of your cause is assured," they stated. "We have the means to prove to our enemies that the odious persecution directed against our gérant will not weaken the confidence that we have in his integrity."[113] In Rouen, Caudron called "all the Icarians admitted for the Advance Guard to come to us immediately."[114]

The police arrest in January was a latent effect of Cabet's October decision to relax his "prudence" and allow Icarian women to gather at his place just like the men. These reunions propelled the women's enthusiasm which helped advertise the movement.[115] Their jewelry donations, door-to-door collections, and conversion work kept the Icarian project in the public spotlight. Caudron's December letter to Cabet in London about the meetings and "preachings of women" at his place, which were seen by the Rouen Ministry of Justice as a crime against the association law, very likely added to the charges against him.

After his release from prison, Cabet printed details about the land deal in Le

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113 Le Populaire, January 16, 1848.

114 Ibid.

115 Ibid. A.P. wrote about her enthusiasm for the holy doctrine explaining the difficulty she had talking about it to the egoists in her town. "Pardon me, dear Monsieur Cabet, for making an observation which you have probably already thought about. You will raise the woman to the level of man. You give her the right to pose these questions and to be able to understand them. That is what has given me the courage to write to you." A.P. was also concerned about poor workers who lacked apport and wondered if they could take up a general collection. She was the mother of a family which was bringing thirty to forty thousand francs to the Communauté.

Populaire on January 16 and his success[116]

> in getting the money for the enterprise, to buy the land, the books and the tools, and the transportation. I entered into negotiations with the Consuls, with the Companies, with the Governments. I sent an agent with 3,400 francs to pay for his trip. I myself made two trips to England, one for 10 days [September] and the other for 15 days [December-January] in order to buy the land. I had nearly concluded a marché moyennant (average bargain) 50,000 fr., of which 5,000 would have been paid on the account, and the rest in three, six, nine, and twelve months. I had another agreement by which I could acquire more than a million acres of free land and three million more at a low price if I could place emigrants there before the next first of July.
>
> I was so impatient to return to Paris to prepare the first departure to be announced for the end of January, that I left London a half-hour after having received the cession of M. Peters.[117]

This issue also carried further details about his December travels to London when he was "sick and suffering (from rheumatism and stormy seas)" to meet with M. Pellegrini, "a large proprietor in Texas."[118] He had nearly concluded the 50,000 franc deal with him

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[116] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 256. Johnson noted that the entire Texas area comprised 10.5 million acres between the Red River and the forks of the Trinity. Sully contacted Cabet in August, and discovered that the Peter's land offer was for "noncontiguous chunks of prairie land" in Texas during his September trip. In his November announcement, he failed to mention the "distribution problem." Sutton, Les Icariens, 46-7, 158 n13. Sutton's research showed that the Prospectus Grande émigration au Texas en Amérique pour réaliser la communauté d'Icarie (Paris: Bureau du Populaire,1848) was circulated by Berrier-Fontaine in London. It specified that "Cabet had contracted for a million acres and had already acquired three thousand of them in a "vast territory" along the Trinity river." Suttton concluded that this "misled everyone." Sutton's footnote drew upon research by Seymour Connor, The Peters Colony of Texas: A History and Biographical Sketches of the Early Settlers (Austin: The Texas State Historical Association, 1959), 142-9. Connor showed that "The French copy of the Concession clearly states that there were sections reserved by the government as belonging to the company "that Cabet might later acquire" either by exchanging some of his own granted sections "at the mutual agreement of the two parties: or by purchase at two dollars an acre."

[117] Le Populaire, January 16, 1848. Almost the same details were repeated in two sections of this issue, an unusual repetition that suggests the haste and disorder of Cabet, his office, and staff.

[118] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 225n1. Prudhommeaux drew upon the American communist historian Macdonald's remarks that in his interviews with Cabet during a July

when M. Peters brought him information about the free land which was more attractive.[119]

The speed-up of the departure attests to this change in plans. Had Cabet known earlier that he had to build homesteads on the 'free' land by July 1, he would not have proposed such vague plans as those mentioned on October 31, 1847, where he speculated about one or two advanced guards - one, of perhaps, five or ten directors who would choose the best place for health, housing, workshops, gardens, cattles, etc. The second (advance guard), of 200 to 300 people to build these "provisionary workshops for four large principal classes of work concerning nourishment, lodging, clothing, instruments, at first for their actuals needs, and then for the needs of future arrivals." There was no sense of a deadline on homestead buildings in this fall report which anticipated a large group of two or three hundred to build the shops and lodgings.

Women were told they could not go with the first group but some "wives" could go, perhaps, with the larger advance guard which would leave "probably about the end of March."[120] Tentatively, there were two groups expecting to leave sometime in the next three months. Although they were going to Texas, the exact location was uncertain before January 3, 1848. Plans were delayed by Cabet's three-days in prison.[121] And, despite the

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10, 1852 passage to New York, Cabet gave him an account of his time in England and in the United States. - "Doctor Berrier-Fontaine interpreted for me in all my conferences with M. Pelleg, with M. Peters." This poses a question about Cabet's fluency with conversational English at that time, but shows that he understood the land arrangements with the aid of Berrier-Fontaine.

119 Le Populaire, January 16, 1848. Cabet announced the departure of a Petite Avant-Garde after that of the agent and of 20 to 40 in an Avant-Garde. Although somewhat numerically confusing, he also noted another Grande Avant-Garde for March.

120 Ibid., January 2, 1848.

121 Ibid., January 16, 1848.

damage to his papers and office, the first departure was getting ready to leave. Their ship passages, passports, and travel gear, had to be transported to the port of Le Havre.[122] By the 23rd of January, the newspaper reported that they had sent agents to Le Havre and would "leave the 28th or 31st of January." The "first advance guard or Commission" was about 20 or 30, and they counted on a "superb advance guard of 40 or 50 or perhaps 60." The numbers in this group were much smaller than the fall predictions of two to three hundred, but even they were still in flux. A list of occupations showed they had two doctors, a surgeon, and a pharmacist to care for illnesses.[123]

The last issue of the paper before the departure from Le Havre had a letter from 1,300 Icarians in Lyon, which included 200 women. They told Cabet that the new persecutions "reinforced, if possible, our sentiments of confidence, of love, and of devotion."[124] Other Journals offered support for Cabet and Communism. There were letters of sympathy replete with the correspondents' shared disgust with the state of the

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[122] Ernest Marchand to Dr. John C. Abbott, Director, Lovejoy Library Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville, Illinois, April 26, 1976, Wheeler Collection, ACIS. Ernest Marchand noted that his grandfather, Armel Alexis Marchand (1813-1898) of the First Advance Guard had received his passport on January 25, 1848, just a few days before they left.

[123] Le Populaire, January 23, 1848. This issue carried positive remarks in letters from women and men as well as a lengthy report on conditions in Texas from a correspondent in Stockholm, Sweden - L.S. Grenay, who was inspired by his "holy doctrine" and was "impatient for the emancipation of women" and the "happiness for children" in Icaria. Grenay asked to leave with his wife, sons, and two daughters after taking care of his affairs.

[124] Ibid., January 30, 1848. B. . ., P. . ., and P. . . from Nantes repeated the argument that, "if Jesus returned to the earth, he would have trouble in the exercise of his divine mission; the tribunnals would stop him from accomplishing his work." B and his wife sent 100 francs towards their apport. A family with seven children sent their admiration.

present society. There were six columns of poetic songs of departure. D'Héricourt (Félix Lamb) composed a "Chant de Départ Icarien" with four choir sections - one for the advance guard, one for men, one for women, and a final one, for young girls. The advance guard sang about flying their flag of holy Communauté on American shores where there were no more vices, crimes, or suffering. "Equality will be advanced, Prolétaires, dry your tears." The men's chorus reminded the advanced guard that they were elected and that the "God of the universe blesses your experience, valiant disciples of Jesus." The verse by women moved them to look forward to a far away land where there was "no pale hunger, no bloody war, nor cruel daughters of pride." The young girls sang of their "zeal, to regenerate the universe . . . men and women are equal under the divine law of love. Yes, we will found in our country the temple of Equality! We will follow you to Icaria, Soldiers of Fraternity." Each verse was followed by the refrain,

> We are going to found our country,
> Soldiers of Fraternity,
> We are going to found in Icaria
> The happiness of Humanity. [125]

Much the same spirit appeared in a "Hymne Icarien;" in "Invocation Populaire" by R.; and in "Les Icariens" written by F. de V. Cabet declared that the committee of admissions was "very severe" and concerned that they choose seventy men of "quality over quantity." Of the seventy who were leaving, one had paid in more than 12,000 francs, three others paid more than 4,000, and others over a 1,000." Many had their "apport paid for by a friend, and with collections of comrades (at Nantes, Vienne, Givers, Lyon, Reims, Paris)."

Women's efforts also received recognition from Cabet who noted that "we have

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[125] Ibid., January 30, 1848.

employed for this [departure] use a part of the value of the jewels given by the Icariennes. They believed that there was no better way to respond to women's voices than to consecrate their sacrifices to help workers leave who lacked the money, but would be worthy and useful to the enterprise."[126] Cabet's tribute attested to the jewelry redemption that helped cover the apport of the less affluent workers that women worried about. An 'anonymous' woman who compiled a journal called, "Notes sur la Revolution de 1848" included a humorous poem about the Icariennes' jewelry collections titled, "Les Miracles du Père Cabet"

> Lucifer said o' Jesus;
> Transform that rock into bread
> And I will not argue with you anymore
> You will be the true God of the earth.
> Change that stone and it will be food.
> Oh well! that astonishing miracle,
> Our grand Cabet has effected:
> Our emeralds, our rubies,
> They disappeared, changed by him
> And they were transformed into a morue (cod)
> [Whit] Monday and [Maundy] Thursday
> The Icarians will eat the fish.[127]

The religious imagery caricatured in her poem aptly captured the "miracle." Indeed, Cabet had transformed 'emeralds' and 'rubies' into food for men of the advance guard.

A crowd of nearly five hundred spectators clamored to catch sight of the sixty-nine Icarian men uniformly clothed in black velvet tunics on the deck of the ship Rome on February 3, 1848.[128] Two hundred and fifty Icarians had accompanied them to the port of

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[126] Ibid. They had a total of fourteen crates, seventy trunks, and seventy traveling bags.

[127] "Anonymous Account of the Revolution of 1848" MS 1047, BHVP. The female author also penned on the same page, "Mme F. . .made a donation of earrings." The Icarian causes' religious fervor was apparent in her light-hearted assessment.

Le Havre. They held hands as they marched two by two in a silent procession. These Icarian 'soldiers of Humanity' had taken solemn vows the night before at a modest banquet with their friends. In his speech, Cabet reminded the advance guard that, "It is for women and children that you will brave the wind and the waves."[129] After the toasts and singing ended, Mme Cabet and Céline returned to the inn with the men's wives. They talked about their future life in the community which would guarantee the "well-being and security of everyone . . . education for girls and boys, instructions for adults; and women's participation in the administraton of the community." Mme Cabet added,

> All the men will vote, it will not be reserved for the rich taxpayers. Soon the women will equally be called to vote.
>
> Women will be instructed, informed, given responsibilities. They will develop their energies, their capacities, they will know the dignity, the liberty, the joy of totally participating in the life of the Icarian nation.[130]

Mme Cabet's comforting statement that "soon" women would "equally be called to vote" was surprising, for women did not vote in the Voyage, nor had Cabet promised them any such thing in his writings. Her remarks would be tested later when women settled in Icaria.

Cabet had a series of questions for the men who were departing. Did they know the system, doctrine, and principles of Icaria? Did they adopt the fraternity of men and of

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[128] Le Populaire, February 6, 1848. Gontier and Gontier, Allons en Icarie, 28. The Lyon Icariennes made the clothing and fourteen tailors sewed the black velvet uniforms. A preparatory commission arranged rooms for them.

[129] Buisson to Spouse, Le Havre, January 31, 1848. Grillas papers, CIS. Buisson confirmed his sense of being part of the mission "devoted to the happiness of humanity." He wrote that the "work of fraternity had commenced." Their youngest [child] will understand the "sacrifice on your part much later. All the goods are being prepared. I want to speak to Mme Cabet about you and pray her to see you often."

[130] Gontier and Gontier, Allons en Icarie, 34.

all people and its consequences? Were they devoted to the happiness of women, children, and the oppressed masses? After each gave an affirmative response, he signed his name to a contract.[131] Cabet bid them bon voyage, for he would not accompany them. A range of emotions settled over the crowd as the ship faded from sight. Cabet's utopian dream was becoming a reality. Returning to their homes, the wives and families of the men waited for news about their arrival in the Texas Icaria.

Le Populaire carried an account of this departure scene along with a letter from a F.H., a woman who helped organize a banquet in Louviers to celebrate four brave men who were in the advance guard. She asked the Louviers mayor for permission to have a farewell banquet for about thirty people. The mayor saw no reason to refuse and wondered why she bothered to ask. She told him they did not want to be accused of having an illicit reunion. The woman discussed the Icarian persecution problems with him, especially those that stemmed from Saint-Quentin which the mayor claimed was an "exceptional" situation. He asked her more questions about Icarians and so she gave him copies of the Voyage and Vrai Christianisme to study.[132] Women like L.H. were actively "converting" others, even mayors. Like Cabet, they understood the sensitive issue of obtaining permission to hold banquets.

On February 20, Cabet wrote an account of the Icarian departure banquet at

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131 Ibid., 34-7. The Gontiers noted "unhappy surprises in the barrels of nourishment. Too salty butter . . . bad wine . . . hundreds of eggs placed in layers of grain . . . and excellent hams."

132 Le Populaire, February 13, 1848. The adieu party lasted until 4AM. Other letters included one signed by 34 women at Rennes (of 71), who protested Cabet's arrest. A correspondent's reflections on the current situation led him to the conclusion that communism had no chance of being realized in Europe, only on the "soil of America."

LeHavre.[133] He also printed a report about "a reunion of one hundred deputies of the dynastic opposition" who went to the "house of M. Barrot [Deputy] last Sunday. They wanted to consider what means they should take to respond to the matter of the arbitrary department that opposed the banquet of the 12th arrondissement." Less than a week later, the hundred opposition deputies and Cabet experienced the cataclysmic reaction to the arbitrary refusal to permit the 12th arrondissement banquet. France's February revolution forever sapped the dream of a gigantic American Icaria and the emancipation hopes of thousands of Icariennes.

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[133] Ibid., February 20, 1848. The account carried speeches by Buisson, Rougier, Gouhenant, and Maillard to their frères.

CHAPTER TEN

1848: REVOLUTION, RIGHTS AND ICARIAN 'CITOYENNES'

The cries of "revolution" on February 23, 1848 signaled the overthrow of a French government for the fourth time in sixty years.[1] Each upheaval had altered the direction of Cabet's life and this time, revolution jeopardized his development of Icaria. Like other intellectuals, Cabet had investigated these cataclysmic episodes, written histories, and proposed remedies for them. By 1848, he had acquired a reputable understanding of revolution with its potential for useful change as well as the inherent dangers of counter-revolution. After publishing his celebratory headline "What a revolution!" Cabet quickly cautioned working-class readers to avoid all violence, pillage, and destruction.[2] His pacifist counseling may well have tempered the total amount of bloodshed.[3] Several Icarians were engaged in the fighting and there were reports that "Icarians everywhere

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[1] Peter N. Stearns, 1848: The Revolutionary Tide in Europe (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1974), 71-93. Angered by the government's refusal to permit a Banquet in the 12th arrondissement, a Paris protest parade of deputies, workers, and students was pushed back by police and disorder erupted on February 22 and 23rd. Barricades went up overnight. Most deputies fled as the crowds invaded the parliament building. The King abdicated and Lamartine proclaimed the republic. A provisional government was set up on February 25. Cabet's friend and former employer, Dupont de l'Eure was named President. Less than 400 were killed.

[2] Le Populaire, February 25, 1848. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 264-6. Peter H. Amann, Revolution and Mass Democracy: The Paris Club Movement in 1848 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), Chronology. Press laws were nullified. Cabet's newspaper was "sold and cried" in the streets almost daily for 5 or 10 centimes ('hawking' papers had been forbidden).

[3] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 265. Daniel Stern (Marie d'Agoult), Lamartine, and Pierre Leroux's works all stressed that Cabet's "moderate tone and support of the provisional government had been crucial in keeping the working class from further violence."

were revolutionaries," but Cabet was not one of the barricade fighters.[4]

Five days later, 2,000 excited Icarians assembled to ask Cabet questions in the grande salle de la Redoute in Paris. He formed a club called the Société fraternelle centrale. There were 3,000 people at the club's second gathering at the grande salle Montesquieu.[5] Those who wanted to go to the next meeting were asked to purchase a five centime carte (card, ticket) at the office of Le Populaire.[6] On March 4, 4,000 citoyens and 500 citoyennes gathered to hear speeches about the Republic's changes, especially the national guard plans and press fees. Women were seated in the galerie section. After the men finished their discussions, the audience "raised acclamations for the Republic and for Democracy." Cabet announced that "the women and the brothers leaving for Icaria will share with the Republic, our devotion and our voices."[7] He also asked women who planned to go to the March 6 session, "not to bring children who were too young."[8] Youngsters could be disruptive, of course, but the fact that so many women felt

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[4] Ibid., 270-78. Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 567-8. Cabet admitted that when he heard the first noises on the evening of February 23, he "ensconced himself in Gosse's comfortable quarters at 15, Boulevard Saint-Denis because he feared arrest."

[5] Le Populaire, March 2, 1848. This initial meeting was on February 28.

[6] Amann, Revolution and Mass Democracy, 56-60. Most Clubs found halls for hire in the "better" districts of Paris. Schoolrooms, the University of Paris amphitheater, Concert halls, Palais-National, churches, chapels, and even cellars were made available. Some were free. Cabet's rent of 110 francs was paid with members' 5 centime tickets.

[7] Le Populaire, March 4, 1848. Cabet's meetings of "Republicans - Democrats - Icarians" were attended by "elite Parisian workers, Icarian communists, and men of sense, order, and conviction" who discussed egalitarian National guardsmen's supplies, associations, education, and work.

[8] Ibid. Department delegates were invited. Secretaries took down the discussions.

comfortable enough to attend Cabet's Club reflects their regard for his acceptance of them. During the past year, he had invited women to his salon reunions and welcomed them in a friendly atmosphere. Thus, barely two weeks after the revolution, more than 5,000 citoyens and 1,000 citoyennes were filling the places at his Club hall (March 13).[9] It can readily be assumed that the majority of these women were Icariannes.

Since the July Monarchy press laws were without force, Cabet began publishing almost daily reports about the activities of the provisional government, communist demands, club discussions, and readers' letters.[10] He composed a detailed account of the King's abdication and included a caustic portrait of the Queen's behavior. "The Queen was carrying on like the grand devil," he observed, fully in accord with his negative image of queens and by extension women in politics.[11]

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[9] Ibid., March 19, 1848. After this, Cabet's Société fraternelle centrale met at the salle Valentino. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 272-77. Icarian clubs were also formed in Toulouse, Marseille, Montpellier, Nives, Toulon, Reims, Vienne, and Lyons.

[10] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 264-5. The Communists' demands listed by Johnson included the "right of association, individual liberty, freedom of the Press . . . guarantee of all the rights and of all the interests of the workers, the formal recognition of the right to live by working . . . the organization of work, and the assurance of well-being by work." They also called for the abolition of taxes on goods of primary necessity, the urban tariff, free and compete education for all, and a special regard for women and children.

[11] Le Populaire, March 5, 1848. Collingham and Alexander, July Monarchy, 411-12. The Queen commanded the King to stay and fight. "Better to die here than to leave by that door!" When they fled at 1:30 AM in their carriages, she remained, hoping to have her nine year-old son recognized as king or "die there." The Duchess made an appeal from the balcony to the deputies, but could not make herself heard. Whitehouse, Life of Lamartine, 205, 213. In this version, when he announced his decision to abdicate, Queen Marie Amélie burst into tears and urged him to reconsider (from Daniel Stern). Cabet had a somewhat different view. It was the "Queen who cried, "leave me!" in a very irritated accent to spectators who did not know what to think."

On March 2, the provisional government reduced the price of bread. Royalty and titles of nobility were abolished and the national guard was opened to all adult citizens. Symbolic trees of liberty were planted and the death penalty for political offenses and slavery in the French colonies ended.[12] To prove its support for workers' "right to work," the government set up National Workshops and reduced the work day to ten hours in Paris and eleven in the provinces. A "Commission of Government for the Working Classes" met at the Palace of the Luxembourg on March 1.[13] But the most radical decree of all authorized universal and direct suffrage. This caught the attention of Icarian women whose consciouness was already focused on issues related to women's affranchissement, equality, and their inclusion in 'universal' affairs.

Amidst all these marvelous reports, Cabet also had to acknowledge that the revolution was causing "changes" in Icarian plans, however, the "general design"

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[12] Anthony Denholm, France in Revolution: 1848 (Sydney: John Wiley & Sons Australasia Pty Ltd, 1972), 40-3. Georges Duveau, 1848: The Making of a Revolution translated Anne Carter original 1848 (Paris: Éditions Gallimard,1965) (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967), 77. Jean Dautry, Histoire de la révolution de 1848 en France (Paris: Éditions Hier et Aujourd'hui, 1948), 111. The March 6 decree ended colony slavery in six weeks.

[13] Frederick A. de Luna, The French Republic Under Cavaignac 1848 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 93-6. "Many 'notables' quietly fled Paris" while in the country, 'notables' expressed what Tudesq called the "sacrifice of convictions" rallying publicly to proclaim themselves Republicans. "Notables participated in republican demonstrations, eulogized workers, and even wore emblems of social revolution." Marx observed, "All the royalists were transformed into republicans and all the millionaires of Paris into workers." Denholm, France in Revolution: 1848, 50-60. Louis Blanc was appointed President with Albert as Vice-President of the Luxembourg Commission. Participants proposed cooperative agricultural colonies, lodging houses, and a national bank and insurance system with available cheap credit. The Clichy prison was emptied after prisoners for debt were freed and it was converted to a workshop that employed 2,000 tailors who had orders to sew uniforms for the new National Guardsmen.

remained, he wrote on March 12.[14] At the very least, these "changes" directly concerned the sixty-nine women who were expecting to follow their husbands, brothers, and fathers to the Texas Icaria. Women's loyalty to the emigration was still intact, according to a dialogue printed in Le Populaire on March 16. It related how an unidentified woman had answered questions about Icarians posed by a military school student. She told him about her attendance at their Club, her knowledge of the Icarian system, and responded to his inquiries about their departure. As she returned to her home, a second gentleman asked her, "Are the Icarians not leaving?" She replied, "Whatever one thinks about them, monsieur, they are not leaving their country before they have assured and affirmed liberty . . . Icaria is the daughter of France: Icaria defends her mother, her liberty, and her independence. After that, one will leave, monsieur." Following this conversation, an article headed, "Départ pour Icarie" specifically commented on the state of the Icarian plans.

> Some people are spreading the opinion that we do not want to depart for Icaria any more. That is either an error or a falsehood. We are not going to abandon our project. We will be leaving. Only, the departure will be delayed till about the 15th of April. We will be less numerous, because these unexpected events are detaining

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[14] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 265. Le Populaire, March 12, 1848. Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 570-71n1, 571. The initial mood of fraternity raised hopes for Icarian reforms in France, at least until the reaction set in. Cabet never spoke out against the Texas plan as he immersed himself in club politics and stepped up press coverage. Sutton, Les Icariens, 51. Sutton concluded that Cabet decided to "dismantle the operation." While I agree that the entire project changed (and contracted) in the next few months because of the rapid deterioration in Cabet's working-class followers' economic conditions and the virulent anti-communist backlash, I don't find clear evidence to assert he decided to "dismantle the operation," as Sutton did. It is hard to determine whether the movement seemed stalled because of Cabet's added interests or simply because of the impact of revolution on his followers resources. Johnson reported that an Icarian named Gosse published a pamphlet, Pacha d'Icarie, which attacked Cabet for ignoring the First Advance Guard and "not calling a halt to the Texas expedition while in reality he was no longer interested in it, hoping instead to bring Icarianism to power in France." I would argue that Cabet wanted both a Texas Icaria and Icarian reforms in France, until the elections and backlash.

> us from doing differently. But we will be leaving in September, [and] departures will follow each month and will be as numerous as possible.[15]

Readers could readily understand how the destabilizing effects of revolution altered Icarians' immediate situation. Likewise, there was a measure of truth in rumors that some Icarians were not going to leave, especially if they believed that social conditions would improve in France.[16] Many workplaces, however, were experiencing awkward adjustments to the National Workshops and family incomes were uncertain.[17]Anxiety about economics caused Icarians with marginal resources to reevaluate their emigration goals.[18]

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[15] Le Populaire, March 16, 1848. After this item, Cabet announced Sully's arrival in New Orleans where "all was well" with the advance-guard. He reported on three other letters from M. Dominique in Texas, M. Vavasseur, and W. Weitling who referred to the possibility of meeting with Cabet in New Orleans. Berrier-Fontaine to Cabet, February 26, 1848, IISG. This document revealed that "our friend, Michelot, leaves today for Paris" and brings a "brochure" on the departures for America. Information about the establishment of Icaria in Texas was being promoted across Europe. Cabet had to continue the Texas Icaria or lose credibility elsewhere.

[16] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 265. Stern, Lamartine, and Leroux reported that "His followers flattered themselves that they would see their association realized on the soil of France."

[17] Sewell, Work and Revolution, 243-76. Denholm, France in Revolution: 1848, 60-3. M. Èmile Thomas headed workshops of 100,000 by June. Blanc's vision was for workers to pursue their business with State loans while they worked for their own profit in a joint venture. This was not what happened. Marx saw them as a grandiose label for "tedious, monotonous, unproductive earthworks at a wage of 23 sous. English workhouses in the open." Lamartine felt "they rescued the masses from starvation and despair, saved society from tumult, and property from pillage."

[18] Stearns, 1848: Revolutionary Tide in Europe, 82-89. Stearns noted the "trivial" jobs for workers. "The government was trying to woo the workers with titles, not substance." For a social account of workers, see Priscilla Robertson, Revolutions of 1848: A Social History (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), 65-91. For workers and the Luxembourg Commission, see Sewell, Work and Revolution in France, 243-276. For the 1848 work situation in local regions, see Ronald Aminzade, Class, Politics, and Early Industrial Capitalism: A Study of Mid-Nineteenth-Century Toulouse, France (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981), 149-192, and Christopher H. Johnson, The

A few weeks after the February uprising, faithful Icarians who had staunchly resisted the "persecutions" directed at them during the past year, were dismayed to find they were now the brunt of even more hostile attacks.[19] Communist leaders and sympathizers became scapegoats for the people's latent economic and social fears. Cabet repeatedly produced articles to defend Icarians from exaggerated charges that communism was "atheism, materialism, plunder, pillage, theft, agarian law, land divison, destruction of marriage and the family, promiscuity of the sexes or the community of women, savagery and bestiality, and all the means of violence and terror of the gallows."[20] He insisted that "Icarians profess the purest morals and adopt not only religious tolerance but the holiest and most sublime Religion, that of Fraternity of men and peoples! . . . for seven years," he reminded readers, "they have always showed themselves to be the most energetic defenders of Marriage and Family!" Cabet's claims were largely ignored and many of his followers were targeted as instigators of violence, fires, and machine wrecking.[21]

Life and Death of Industrial Languedoc, 1700-1920 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 118-148.

[19] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 266, 260-63, 268. Until the elections, Cabet "took the brunt of the rabid anticommunist drive." Johnson discussed the "specter of communism" that was already present in 1848. He found that "no one was more important in making it so than Cabet." Communists were serving as scapegoats for misery before the revolution. Cabet published, Bien et mal, danger et salut après la Révolution de février (March 12, 1848). In his opinion, the grande bourgeoisie were already "recouping" their losses. Cabet wanted the new national guard to include all citizens, armed with simple uniforms. Workers should be able to hold high ranks.

[20] Le Populaire, March 7, 1848. "Calomnies contre les Icariens." Cabet's large following among the workers and their actions in the revolution undoubtedly fueled these charges.

[21] Ibid. Cabet had supportive accounts on Icarians 'good' behavior in Lyon, Toulouse, and other areas. Icarians were using their freedom of discussion to meet and explain their doctrines.

In the midst of this troubling atmosphere, Icarian women were afforded an extra opportunity to further their political understanding. They went to sessions of the Société fraternelle centrale and listened to the exciting discussions (as auditrices).[22] Most of the over 200 popular clubs were off-limits to women. Like Cabet, the Fourierists also admitted women, but neither allowed them to speak.[23] In this exceptional setting, several fearless women who were associated with Cabet, banded together to promote their rights and organized women's clubs where women could express themselves.[24] Their names

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[22] Ibid. It is significant that Cabet now referred to women as citoyennes, a political term that he did not used in the Voyage nor in earlier references. (Voyage women attended Assemblies as spectators, too.) A list of clubs was in the March 19 issue. See Thomas, Les femmes en 1848, 45.

[23] Moses, French Feminism in the 19th Century, 128-130. Other clubs that focused on women's rights were: Club de l'Emancipation des Femmes (founded by Fourierist Dr. Malatier w/Adèle Esquiros and Jeanne Deroin); Union des Femmes; Collège Medical des Femmes (both founded by Dr. Malatier); Comité des Droits de la Femme (by Mme Bourgeois Allix); Association Fraternelle des Democrates de Deux Sexes; and the Société Mutuelle d'Education des Femmes (by Deroin). The most radical club was the Vesuvians to be discussed shortly. Feminists were active in democratic-socialist clubs. They were permitted to express their opinions at the Club des Amis Fraternels, the Club de la Montagne, the Club Lyonnais, and the Club de l'Emancipation des Peuples. Feminist articles were published in journals like the Fourierist Democratie pacifique and even antifeminist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon allowed Pauline Roland to publish a column after November 1848 in Le Représentant du peuple.

[24] Thomas, Les Femmes en 1848, 45-50. Michèle Riot-Sarcey, La Démocratie à l'épreuve des femmes: Trois figures critiques du pouvoir 1830-1848 (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994), 23. Riot-Sarcey's study focused on Eugénie Niboyet, Jeanne Deroin, and Désirée Gay who were all familiar with Cabet. She noted his hesitancy on the 'delicate' vote issue at the club (201), but did not use his 1840s newspapers (350 cite: 1833-5, Le Populaire prospectus 1835-41[?]). Cabet's connection with Felix Lamb (d'Héricourt) was also ignored despite Riot-Sarcey's knowledge of Karen Offen's essay on Jenny P. d'Héricourt (325n88). She did recognize d'Héricourt's position as secretary in the women's club (187) and her philosophy book. She used La femme as a source but not the Voyage or Vrai Christianisme. Riot-Sarcey's thesis that the feminists were continuing the 1830s projects was correct, however, as I have already shown, similar issues were supported by Cabet and these three feminists viewed him as one who was on their side, an overlooked point .

appear at the head of the list of 1848 feminist leaders and all drew inspiration from their prior experiences with Cabet and his sympathetic writings. The impact of his Icarian proposals for gender equality on feminists lingered in France long after he and his followers left for America. Studies of the feminist movement of 1848 have shown that it was "intimately aligned with Socialism. All the heads of the schools - Saint-Simon with Enfantin, Bazard, Olinde Rodrigues, Fourier, Pierre Leroux, Cabet - had imagined a very important place for women in their divers systems and had sometimes given them a special mission in their social reconstruction plans."[25] Considerant, Fourier's chief propagandist after his death in 1837, should also be included in this register.

The idea of setting up political clubs for women was not a novel idea in 1848. For a brief period during the 1789 Revolution, a cadre of feminist women organized clubs to demand equality and rights comparable to those of men. Their requests were soon rejected and orders were issued to close their clubs.[26] Once again in 1848, feminists combined their voices to demand improvements for women. For over a decade, Cabet had stressed that women should be treated equally. Articles in Le Populaire during these years were authored by Désirée Gay, Jenny d'Héricourt, and George Sand, all of whom stand out in the chronicles of 1848 feminism. Eugénie Niboyet was another leader who had considered Cabet to be a worthy spokesman for women.[27] Likewise, Jeanne Deroin read and admired

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[25] Hippolyte Monin, "George Sand et la République de Fevrier 1848" La révolution française no. 38, December 1899, 543-61, 553. Thibert, Le Féminisme dans le Socialisme, 170-1.

[26] Melzer and Rabine, Rebel Daughters, 3.

[27] Paulin Niboyet to Cabet, December 20, 1847, Cabet to Niboyet, December 21, 1847 [Response] Archief Cabet, IISG. (Paulin was Eugénie Niboyet's son. See Moses, French Feminism, 128.) Niboyet wrote that he read Cabet's paper every Sunday "with

Cabet's writings and was especially activated by the revolutionary possiblities to demand better conditions for working women.[28] These five identifiable women were active in clubs and workers' associations. Sometimes, they used pseudonyms as they edited journals and wrote for the socialist press.[29] Though united on many proposals, feminists were divided over the issue of women's immediate participation in politics with men, an issue which likewise troubled Cabet. When they left for America at the end of 1848, the Icarian women who attended his club and followed the feminists' causes carried a heightened interest in securing women's political rights, a development that Cabet had not foreseen in his pre-1848 affranchissement vista.

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lively interest" and proposed that he publish his social novel in "eight or ten feuilletons (plus a second part)." Cabet responded that the novel was "too long and absorbed with a single subject . . . [and] too inconvenient for me to accept your proposition." He added that "I leave tomorrow at 5PM [for London]. If by chance you would like an interview, you could find him later in January." Niboyet's son and other men like Victor Hugo and Jean Macé wrote articles that were published in the Voix des femmes and lent masculine support to Eugénie Niboyet and her feminist colleagues.

[28] Adrien Ranvier, "Une Feministe de 1848: Jeanne Deroin," La Revolution de 1848 no. 4 (1907), 317-355, 351, 340-51. Deroin read Cabet (and Proudhon) and in August 1849 proposed 52 articles for L'Association fraternelle et solidaire de toutes les associations which reflected Cabet's working groups, education, clothing, professions, etc. from the Voyage. Riot-Sarcey, La Démocratie à l'épreuve des femmes, 110, 170-78, 244.

[29] Thibert, Le féminisme dans le socialisme français, 313-340. Feminists "enlarged the field of action for women . . . The vote, the work of education, and organization of women's work" were at the forefront of their agenda. They encountered prejudice and fear. The women of 1848 were "our sisters in combat" who brought public attention to the need for reform of the Civil Code. Many unidentifiable feminist names have been lost to historians. Women used pseudonyms and initials to conceal themselves from families and from public 'impropriety.' A typical example is that of Jenny P. d"Héricourt who wrote as both Felix Lamb and Jeanne-Marie. For this detective work, see Johnson, Utopian Communism, 92 n79. Johnson discovered that Lamb and d'Héricourt were the same person. See Karen Offen, "A Nineteenth-Century French Feminist Rediscovered: Jenny P. d'Héricourt, 1809-1875" Signs: vol. 13, no.1.

Felix Lamb's columns had been a regular feature in Cabet's paper for over a year. They ended when she took up the post of secretary for the women's club, Société pour l'Emancipation des femmes, on March 18, 1848.[30] She and Gay worked with editor Niboyet on La voix des femmes, journal socialiste et politique, organe des intérêts de toutes which began March 19, 1848.[31] Gay also edited La Politique des femmes, journal publié pour les intérêts des femmes et par une société d'ouvières[32] and founded a club for women workers, le Club fraternel des lingères (seamstresses).[33] Articles in the Voix des

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[30] Le Populaire, April 9, 1848. D'Héricourt (Felix Lamb) signed a letter to Cabet noting her position as the Secretary of the Société pour l'Emancipation des femmes. On pages 172-4 of her later text, Woman affranchised, d'Héricourt revealed that in the 1830s, her mother was a "zealous Protestant and very austere in her morals [who] disapproved of Saint-Simonianism, and never permitted anyone to speak of it in my presence except to condemn it; she took great care that not a line of the new doctrine should fall under my eyes." Her "curiosity" caused her to become acquainted with what were called "immoral dogmas" and some years after, she made the acquaintance of a Saint-Simonian "lady." It was vital to "acknowledge the good they have done."

[31] Thibert, Le féminisme dans le socialisme français, 313-14n1. Société pour l'Emancipation des femmes collaborated with Eugénie Niboyet, Suzanne Voilquin, Elisa Lemonnier, and Jeanne Deroin and had a common volonte (will): "that of not being excluded from the new social order." Amann's 1975 study did not have information about clubs formed by women. Moses, French Feminism in the Nineteenth Century, 127-151. Moses documented the continuity between 1830 feminists like Désirée Gay, Eugénie Niboyet, Suzanne Voilquin, Jeanne Deroin, and Pauline Roland who were leaders in 1848. See: Groult, Pauline Roland, 164-173, 270. Roland (1805-1852) was a Saint-Simonian who directed Pierre Leroux's Boussac commune school's "egalitarian program." A friend of Désirée [Veret] Gay, Roland remained at Boussac and did not take part in the 1848 enterprises of Deroin, Niboyet and Gay in Paris. When Leroux was elected, she returned to Paris and worked with Deroin on the association of seamstresses and instructices. She received a six month prison sentence for her part in Deroin's 1849 "illegal association" plans.

[32] Thibert, Le féminisme dans le socialisme français, 366. Two issues of Gay's paper, June 15 and August 5 can be found at the Bibliotheque Nationale. Amann, Revolution and Mass Democracy, 47-9. Several hundred papers appeared in Paris between February and the June days.

[33] Thomas, Les Femmes en 1848, 48.

femmes record the persuasive logic that d'Héricourt had been exposed to in her collaborations with Cabet. Although Sand advocated social ameliorations for women, she refused to be associated with the Voix des femmes writers.[34] In its first issue, the editors asked, "What do we want? We want our total and complete emancipation, that is to say to be recognized as equal to men in that which pertains to intelligence." This was the same affranchissement (emancipation) message Cabet had been prescribing for women, although he might have had reservations about using the word "total."[35] The Voix des femmes writers claimed that women's "rights were unshakeably proclaimed, developed, and endorsed by the courageous head of the socialists [Cabet]."[36] They demanded the "instruction of young girls and women" which was "particularly appropriate to the fraternity that tends toward universality," another of Cabet's adages.[37] In particular, on March 31, the Voix des femmes argued for women's inclusion "to each according to his capabilities; to each capability according to its works," the popular Saint-Simonian slogan that Cabet used in his Voyage and press.[38] His concept of "utopian pacifism" was likewise

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[34] Stearns, 1848: Revolutionary Tide in Europe, 80. Sand composed Bulletins for the provisionary government and aroused a storm of controversy in one which stated that if the elections did not turn out in the people's interest, they should again "mount the barricades." Sand was accepted in a literary world privileged by men and urged them to improve women's situation.

[35] Claire Goldberg Moses, "The Evolution of Feminist Thought in France, 1829-1889." The George Washington University, Ph.D., 1978, 165. Voix des femmes, March 19, 1848.

[36] Thibert, Le feminisme dans de socialisme français, 160 (quoted from Voix des femmes, no 11). Thibert noted that opposition journals ridiculed Cabet for his support of the socialist women.

[37] Moses, "Evolution of Feminist Thought," diss., 165. Voix des femmes, April 14, 1848.

present in an article on April 16 where the Voix des femmes journalist stated that women "should cause no more noisy riots. But every time that something shall turn against them, their devotion should not fail."[39] After the April 16 uprising, Gay had drafted a promise that "the workers of the second district will not revolt violently; they know that women get their strength from their calm and their perservering will."[40] Woman was "like a ray of sunlight and love to enliven man's intelligence."[41]Since these feminists were advocating that women would cause no more "riots" and promising they would "not revolt violently," there can be little doubt that the opposite had been the reality.

Gay also hoped to gain representation for women in the new National Workshops.[42] She stated in the Voix des femmes that the government must not only permit women to attend meetings with other women about the Workshops, but it must "permit them to go to men's general meetings, so that men and women can enlighten one another and agree on common interests."[43] Her dual-sex 'enlightenment' argument had just recently been used by Icariennes to convince Cabet to hold joint sessions for them. Many of the messages in the Voix des femmes reiterated key phrases from Cabet's oft-repeated expressions on women's equality.

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38 Ibid., 162. Voix des femmes, March 31, 1848.

39 Ibid., Voix des femmes, April 16, 1848.

40 Ibid., Voix des femmes, April 20, 1848

41 Ibid., Voix des femmes, April 23, 1848.

42 Riot-Sarcey, La Démocratie à l'épreuve des femmes, 111-14.

43 Moses, "Evolution of Feminist Thought," diss., Voix des femmes, April 18, 1848.

The mulitiplication of popular clubs aided the circulation of feminist information. Their rapid expansion was an unprecedented revolutionary phenomenon in 1848.[44] On March 1 Paris had 5 clubs; by the 10th, 36; the 15th, 59; and by mid-April there were 203 clubs involving a hundred thousand people.[45] Of these, five to six thousand were Icarian men and women in Cabet's Club.[46] The major topics of consideration were election dates, candidates, and the process of recruiting National Guardsmen from the ranks of ordinary workers. Programs at women's clubs, however, added the controversial demand that they be included in the "universal suffrage" decree of March 5.[47] Discussions centered on women's equal place in the determination of "universal." Women drew up petitions to read before the provisionary government.

Less than a month after the revolution, a woman named Antonine Andrée de Saint-Gilles [Gieles] presented a speech to the lawmakers advocating women's equality. She was accompanied by several women, artists, workers, writers, and professors. As

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[44] Amann, Revolution and Mass Democracy, 36-7.

[45] Ibid., 33, 33n2, 34.

[46] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 267, 267n22. Cabet's Club "was always accorded first billing in the reports of the Voix des clubs." Johnson found that Lamartine wrote in his History, (376) that Cabet's Club had an attendance of 7,000 to 8,000. The hall held only 5,000 and the Voix des clubs reported on March 13, 1848 that 1,500 were turned away from the second meeting. Amann, Revolution and Mass Democracy, 62-3, 28-29n58. Amann regarded Cabet as the "chef d'ecole" and his "faithful Icarians" as "almost entirely from the lower class." His club was "an orderly meeting of the faithful" assembled to "get the word" from Cabet. Amann claimed the highest figure for attendance was 6,000 including 1,000 women. Cabet's club had the largest working-class following and was one of the few who permitted women in the galeries.

[47] Le Populaire, March 7, 1848. Cabet printed the 13 Articles of the "Decree of the Provisionary Government" (March 5, 1848) concerning elections to the National Assembly. Article 5 stated that "Suffrage will be *direct* and universal."

Cabet had done in his Vrai Christianisme, her speech drew justifications for women's equality from biblical verses. She explained how a historical, "saintly council" had ruled that woman had a soul and was the "companion and equal of man." As such, she should enjoy "political rights and social rights" and be "well-known as the equal of man in all the functions which are not of their nature, the exclusive privilege of strength."[48] The issues surrounding women's right to be treated equally were framed in religious language and de Saint-Gilles expressed them publicly in the hope of winning the new government's support. Cabet had a copy of de Saint-Gilles' proofs of women's equality which were in agreement with his own.[49] Specific points on gender equality nearly identical to those in her address were also reproduced in an article in the first issue of Voix des Femmes (March 19). Three days later, delegates from the Comité des Droits de la femme went to the Hôtel de Ville

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[48] Thomas, Les femmes en 1848, 34-5. Read on March 16. Moses, French Feminism, 139-40. See Karen Offen, "A Nineteenth-Century French Feminist," 153, 156. Right after the revolution, d'Héricourt organized a group of thirty women to "claim the civil enfranchisement of women." She may have been with these petitioners (or, de Saint-Gilles?), especially since their arguments have the familiar ring of Cabet's writings. She knew about Vrai Christianisme and went on to write La Christianisme et la Question des Femmes (begun 1857), and La Bible et la Question des Femmes. In 1857, she argued that "neither the old nor the new testament could be invoked on behalf of women's equality." This was an intellectual leap beyond her ideas in 1846-8.

[49] Antonine Andrée de Saint-Gilles, president of la réunion, May 16, 1848, Papiers Cabet, BHVP. A 3-page essay by de Saint-Gilles among Cabet's papers is evidence that suggests Cabet knew her or at least had read this material. I am not sure it was the same text as the one presented on March 16, but she was concerned with women's equal status. De Saint-Gilles explored religious reasons for women's position, including Saint Paul's verse on equality - neither slave nor free, male nor female - and other teachings by Christ on marriage, in her effort to understand whether women should be part of liberty, equality, and fraternity. However, she was troubled about women's brains, and worried because they were not as strong as men and had different aptitudes. Equality, she noted, "would change the face of the earth." Riot-Sarcey, La Démocratie à l'épreuve des femmes, 189-90, 327. Spelled Saint-Gieles, her petition was noted in La République, March 21.

where the Mayor of Paris, Armand Marrast, received them politely.[50] This delegation of women presented a petition:

> In the name of the principle that has been proved by the experience of all times, that the men who make the laws do so to their own benefit and therefore to the detriment of those deprived of that sacred right, you proclaim: "The election for all without exception." We come here to ask you if women are included in this grand generality as they are in the rights concerning workers. We are all the more justified in asking you this question since you have not designated them in the categories to be excluded!

Mayor Marrast was embarrassed and responded that "Women had never possessed political rights. . . . and the provisional Government could not make such an important decision. Only the National Assembly would be able to grant a decree to claim them."[51] It is noteworthy that these petitioners were using the same logic about men making laws for "their own benefit" that Cabet had brought to the attention of women six months earlier in his newspaper.[52] Nonetheless, the rebuked delegates from the Comité des Droits de la femme had little choice but to accept the Mayor's postponement. On March 26, the Voix des femmes published Marrast's reply that only the National Assembly could produce a decree for women's rights.

'Election' rights for women was an exciting topic. Three days after the Voix des

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[50] Thomas, Les femmes en 1848, 36. Moses, French Feminism in the Nineteenth Century, 140. This is Moses' translation. Joan Wallach Scott, Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 87. Deroin led the delegation to Marrast. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 268. Mayor Marrast had entry into the "high councils of the provisional government" through its secretary, Pagnerre, his "puppet."

[51] Thomas, Les Femmes en 1848, 36-7. Moses, French Feminism, 140.

[52] Le Populaire, July 25, 1847, August 15, 1847. Women thanked Cabet (Aug.) for informing them about laws made by men for men's benefit. Because of his words, they saw that their sex was constrained "to surrender to the law of submission that men have made."

femmes' report on the Mayor, a discussion of women's inclusion in the 'universal' suffrage law was raised at Cabet's Club. D'Héricourt recalled the lively scene:

> One evening in 1848, as M. Cabet was presiding over a well attended club, he was requested by a woman to put the question: "Is woman the equal of man in social and political rights?" Almost every hand was raised in the affirmative; in the negative, not a hand was raised, not a man protested against the affirmation. A round of applause followed from the galleries filled with women; and M.Cabet was somewhat disconcerted by the result. He seemed to be ignorant that the people, always eminently logical, are never guilty of quibbling to elude or to limit the principles that they have adopted.
>
> This vote of the Cabet club was repeated in three others in my presence.[53]

In order to test whether others besides Icarians supported women's vote, d'Héricourt had monitored this subject in other clubs and discovered similar enthusiastic reactions. At Cabet's Club, she had compelled him "to submit the vote question to his numerous disciples." She stood "on the stage, [and] counted the hundreds of hands raised voting 'yes.'"[54] D'Héricourt's strident behavior on the club "stage" was an exception to the rule allowing women to be 'listeners' only (in the gallery). Somewhat bewildered, Cabet commented that he was "not annoyed to see a certain disorder manifested following the interest that inspires you on this question. Nevertheless, we understand it well. The question is delicate, it is complex and very difficult. If we do not listen to these voices, our wishes will soon be cut off. We have decided by acclamation. However, the question is so new that few people have studied it. It is infinitely complicated from all points of view. I ask your permission not to give my opinion today."[55] The very next day Cabet inserted a

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[53] Madame D'Héricourt, A Woman's Philosophy of Woman: or Woman Affranchised. An answer to Michelet, Proudhon, Girardin, Legouvé, Comte, and other Modern Innovators translation (New York: Carleton, 1864), 170-171.

[54] Offen, "A Nineteenth-Century French Feminist," 153.

[55] Thomas, Femmes en 1848, 45-6. Jules Tixerant, Le féminisme a l'époque de 1848 dans l'Ordre politique et dans l'Ordre economique (Paris: V.Giard & E. Brière

passage on this 'complex' issue in Le Populaire:

> The citizen Cabet made known to the assembly that the women had a club and a journal, Voix des femmes, and that they are preparing to claim the exercise of political rights. Everyone expressed lively sympathy for the cause of women. The citizen Cabet proposed to adjourn and to study that delicate question, to be discussed in the next sessions.[56]

Cabet did not take a position on the "delicate" question in his newspaper but noted that at the next club meeting on April 3, they would "discuss the candidates, the question of Communism, and then, 'la question des Femmes'."[57] However, discussion of the "women question" consisted of a talk by Cabet about the Icarians "special interest" in women. The topic was not mentioned in the next issue of his paper.[58] Details of an important event, the "Insurrection in Berlin," outranked the 'question des Femmes.'[59] But members of the Voix des Femmes appreciated the March 29 Club discussion and sent Cabet a thank-you letter which he published on April 2:

> Paris March 31, 1848
>
> Merci to you generous Citoyen, you have courageously raised your eloquent voice in favor of the holy cause of Equality for each and for all. Like us, you want to be a régénérateur of the principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, the only bases of our social institutions which will be one truth for each and for all in the future.
>
> Bless you! You and your generous Icarians and all those who have applauded your noble words.
>
> We put all our hope in you, in them, [and] in the sanctity of our cause, .

Libraires-Èditeurs, 1908), 54. Riot-Sarcey, La Démocratie à l'épreuve des femmes, 201, 215.

[56] Le Populaire, March 30, 1848. Thomas, Les Femmes en 1848, 45-6. Since Cabet was also telling his audience that the women had a club, this could explain d'Héricourt's stage appearance.

[57] Le Populaire, April 2, 1848.

[58] Tixerant, Le féminisme a l'époque de 1848, 55.

[59] Thomas, Les Femmes en 1848, 46.

We preserve your support, and we know how to exhibit dignity for our regenerative mission by our perserverance, conciliating and peaceful, and by our devotion to the holy cause of social regeneration and universal Fraternity.

We agree, honorable and generous Citoyen, [and] assure you of our profound gratitude.

For the members of the editing Committee and the central organization.

The President	The Secretary general
Jeanne Deroin.	Eugénie Niboyet.

These feminists saw Cabet as an advocate for women at this time, an image that he not only accepted, but had been promoting for some time with his Icarian equality and affranchissement promises.[60] President Deroin had studied the doctrines of Fourier, the Saint-Simonians, and Cabet, and was closely aligned with Cabet's world view. As a "pantheist," she viewed Christ as a "superior reformer" and the "father of Socialism." Deroin once "contemplated writing an 'Evangile des femmes' which would accord with vrai christianisme and vrai socialisme."[61] Several extracts from her Evangile were published. Adrien Ranvier, in his study of Deroin's feminist-political views, argued that her form of "communism was very nearly identical with that of the Icarian society."[62]She and

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[60] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 578-581. Johnson discussed Cabet's contribution to the early development of feminism.

[61] Sullerot, Histoire de la presse féminine, 152-3. Deroin was a Saint-Simonian and "later, became a disciple of Cabet." She ran as a candidate for deputy. "Very religious," Deroin gave a toast at a banquet to the "future of God on earth" and saw herself like a "priest in this cause." Moses, French Feminism, 148. Deroin had children by Desroches but never married him. At her trial for "conspiracy to overthow the government by violence" (1849 association), she was asked about her name and non-married status. She protested "against the law by which you want to judge me. It is a law made by men; I do not recognize it." Roland was asked the same question and she answered that marriage laws "maintain the inferiority of the wife vis-à-vis her husband."

[62] Ranvier, "Une Feministe," 494. Evangile des femmes extracts were in Deroin's Almanachs. See Joan W. Scott, Gender and the Politics of History, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 109. Scott found that Deroin shared Cabet's "view of the feminine" in which women's loving qualities "did not contradict participation in productive activity" although "her version was more egalitarian than his."

the feminists surrounding her wanted to encourage Cabet's positive club discussions on women's political rights. Two weeks later they sent another letter to Au citoyen Président et aux membres du Club central fraternel:

> Frères,
>
> The central Conference of La Société pour l'émancipation des Femmes thanks your venerable and illustrious President, the great citizen Cabet, and thanks all of you for the testimony and lively sympathy that you have given to the cause of women at your meeting on Wednesday March 29.
>
> You understood, Icarians, socialists, advanced democrats, that when the rule of brutal force ends, the beginning of justice, equity, reason, and all the attributes of God, our father, will be reflected, not only in one half, but in the two halves of the human species. Whether the sexes have been created different does not constitute inequality between them. Thanks must be given to you and our beloved brothers: your sisters count on your generous examination. They know that today, everyone wants a civilization that is not more unsteady, but that moves forward not as a giantess, but carried by reason and calm, the privilege of your sex, [and] by the heart and enthusiasm, the privilege of ours.
>
> Yes, you want everything that the men of other nations admire in the French and model themselves on, also that the women of other countries admire in the French women and model themselves on.
>
> You want us to do everything to help break the barriers which separate people.
>
> You want us to assist you in the establishment of the reign of God on the earth.
>
> You want us to join with you in the coming of the universal Republic.
>
> The Republic, brothers. . . . Oh! we are more appreciative than you perhaps of the powerful magic in that word of hope and the love which beats in the heart of all the oppressed. Are we women not groaning under a secular oppression? Yes, we love that Republic, because it is fraternity, equality, liberty, patriotism, purity, [and] virtue. We also repeat with you:
>
> The Fraternity of people comes!
>
> The universal Republic comes!
>
> Love and complete devotion to the french Republic, our mother, for whom we want to live, for which, beside you, brothers, we know how to die courageously!
>
> In the name of the central Conference of La Société pour l'émancipation des Femmes,
>
> Vierjole Longueville, President
>
> Félix Lamb (d'Héricourt), Secretary.[63]

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[63] Le Populaire, April 9, 1848.

Not only did Cabet provide space for this letter expressing the club womens' desire to unite with men for the Republic, but in the same paper, he issued a call for a "Union des Socialistes." All the "philosophical schools," he wrote, should join to "cement the union of socialists of all nuances." This would help to "augment the chances of their candidates." Did he anticipate the extension of socialist "nuances" at this time to include women? It could be interpreted that way for Cabet's unity summons in his paper was followed by a supportive announcement that for 20 francs a year, readers could subscribe to La voix des femmes: journal quotidien, politique et socialiste. Then he added the caption, "Rights and duties," and noted, "This journal supports the principle of Fraternity, which arises as the consequence of Equality, based on the principle of Liberty."[64] Icarian readers would recognize that they shared ideals with those articulated by the feminists.

Since editors often printed items forwarded to them from other presses, one of Cabet's followers, H.H. Serea sent editor Niboyet a request that she insert a "few words in their next number [Voix des femmes April 17]." Serea's discourse was titled, "Aux nouveau chretiens (communiste icariens)" and described his [her?] visits to many clubs. He discovered that most of them "neglected" to discuss family and property or speak about "abolishing prostitution." Serea recommended that Niboyet's readers consult the Voyage en Icarie on these matters for a better understanding.[65]Another Icarian writer, a woman, authored an article for the Voix des femmes and signed it with her initials "G.S." which

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[64] Ibid.

[65] H. H. Serea to Madame Eugénie Niboyet, April 17, 1848, Papiers Cabet, BHVP. Serea reflects his/her adoption of the Icarian's recent identity, "new christians (communist icarians)."

created a minor journalistic fury. Some readers mistook her article as one written by George Sand.[66] G.S.'s April 1 essay commented briefly on the placards in Paris where "The public morality advertises the reestablishment of divorce." G.S. reminded readers about a "sinister aspect" - the murder of his wife by the duc at the hôtel Praslin, a place where posters were hung which implied that legal divorce would reduce wife killing. Sand protested against the abuse of her name in this Voix des femmes article signed "G.S." and asked for "pardon from these ladies" of the cénacle feminin (women's circle) with whom I have never had the least relation agreeable or disagreeable."[67] The editor's reply to Sand identified the writer G.S., as Mme Gabrielle Soumet, which seemed to be of little consequence in bridging the class barrier between these literary women.[68] Soumet wrote another piece for the Voix des femmes on April 6 titled, "Le club du citoyen Cabet."[69] These complimentary journal exchanges between Niboyet and Cabet promoted the

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[66] Riot-Sarcey, La Démocratie à l'épreuve des femmes, 219.

[67] Monin, "George Sand," 555-57. Monin checked Sand's 1848 writings and determined that she had not written a word on divorce in 1848, which seemed unusual, given Sand's background. Thibert, Le Féminisme, 349. Thomas, Les Femmes en 1848, 49-50. The Club des femmes Niboyet headed a discussion of divorce at the June 6th meeting that was disrupted by bands of "Louis-Phillipers, idlers, and clowns." On June 10, Niboyet stated that "It is not possible for women to be respected" when confronted with "insults and outrages" which the "authorities did nothing to stop." This disruptive behavior by men exemplified the virulent reaction that had set in against the mixture of divorce and voting rights for women along with the club closings in June.

[68] Monin, "George Sand," 557. Ranvier, "Une Feministe . . . Deroin," 317-355, 333. Moses, French Feminism, 128. Names of the known writers in the Voix des femmes included Gabrielle Soumet, Amelie Praî, and Adèle Esquiros. Others like Suzanne Voilquin, Elisa Lemonnier, Anaîs Ségalas, and Niboyet, Deroin, and Gay (Veret) had all written for the 1830s Gazette des femmes.

[69] Monin, "George Sand," 558n1. Gabrielle Soument wrote, Gladiateur de Jane Grey.

concept that Icarian principles accorded with feminists goals.

In the meantime, d'Héricourt was not only busy gathering material for Voix des femmes to foster the "civil enfranchisement of women" but she was helping women "socialize labor." She wanted to "establish an evening school for workers of both sexes in every district" and help elect candidates who advocated women's liberation. Since the different women's clubs were "friendly with each other," d'Héricourt was asked to appear at club meetings and banquets where she gave speeches on women.[70] D'Héricourt's skills as a writer, polemicist, and speaker had been encouraged by Cabet in her articles for Icarian women. She considered herself to be a competent spokesperson for women's rights.

It is impossible to be certain whether Cabet's recognizable support for women, albeit non-committal on their vote, fueled another round of "community of women" charges or whether the communist-loose-women equation was inherently unavoidable. Nonetheless, Icarians once again had to refute attacks that they wanted a "community of women" in the April issue of Le Populaire that followed the one which published feminist letters. A correspondent named Fréjus sent an "important letter" with information about a priest who "publicly accused us [communists] of wanting the communauté des femmes and the agarian law." Not only Fréjus, but "B" had to deny similar accusations from a priest. He told the priest that Icarians wanted Marriage and Family, not a communauté des femmes. "B" also spoke to fellow citizens who were frightened to learn that the "Icarians

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[70] Offen, "A Nineteenth-Century French Feminist," 153-5. D'Héricourt spoke at "an immense assembly patronized by Republican ladies" and was interrupted by "frantic shouts of approval." Offen discovered her speech was given at the Club de l'Emancipation des Peuples on April 17.

want to live in communauté with their wives and their children." These citizens "do not appear to have any doubt France is to be covered with religious communautés of two sexes" he observed, in regard to their non-too-illogical extrapolation. Fréjus, it seems, had encountered the rational extension of Cabet's communauté system which certified that there was a widespread readership actively discussing the Voyage and his writings. Undoubtedly, critics who denigratingly imposed the image of a spartan religious system on the Icarian communauté (of mixed sexes) were finding support for such a burlesque among the populace. In defense, Fréjus offered them his rendition of Cabet's concilatory remarks about their peaceful methods of persuasion.[71]

Fréjus and his friends' problems with their fellow citizens were not the only significant news in this issue. Robert Owen had paid a visit to Cabet's club on April 10.[72] Owen came "to help Cabet, the other Socialists, and the provisionary Government draw up the best party possible from the Revolution. Owen was going to momentarily publish and submit these ideas before the public." In addition, Cabet claimed that "English Communism and French Communism were perfectly in accord on capital points. The two want to raise the petit and not lower the grand, and bring happiness to all without oppressing anyone."[73] Cabet extolled Owen's devotion to the "cause of humanity for fifty

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[71] Le Populaire, April 13, 1848.

[72] Ibid. Guarneri, Utopian Alternative, 336. The American Fourier Associationists' leader Albert Brisbane, along with Charles Dana (Greeley's New York Tribune reporter), and James T. Fisher hurried across the Atlantic to witness the 1848 events also. Dana "gave the Americans first hand impressions of Etienne Cabet, Lammenais, Louis Blanc, and Proudhon."

[73] Le Populaire, April 13, 1848. Owen gave his speech "in English" and it was translated by A. Charbonnè. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 255-6. Johnson reported details on the 1847 meetings between the two men. Their friendship has also been

years and his numerous services [that] merited a title of French citoyen."[74] Désirée Gay had been a devotee of the Owenites for many years and the Voix des Femmes published the full text of Owen's "Address to the Men and Women of France" as did Le Populaire.[75] Visits and personal support from Owen (age seventy-seven) helped bolster Cabet's courage during this difficult period when the two men's communist doctrines were under seige. Owen had recently advised Cabet about the Texas land and he was in a position to urge him to continue working on his overseas emigration as the Republic's fraternal spirit began to dissipate.

Women maintained a high level of confidence that they could achieve equal rights during these early months. A group of young female workers labeled themselves the Vesuvians and organized a club.[76] They were more flamboyant and radical than the feminists of the Voix des femmes. The Vesuvians explained that their name "represents our idea marvelously. Like lava, so long held back, that must at last pour out around us, [our idea] is in no way incendiary but in all ways regenerating."[77] The Vesuvians dressed

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investigated recently by Henri Desroche, "Images and Echoes of Owenism" in Nineteenth-Century France" in Sidney Pollard and John Salt, Owen: Prophet of the Poor Essays in Honour of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of his Birth (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1971), 239-284. A chronological survey of Owen's relations with Cabet since his exile show he "met Owen on divers occasions in England." Cabet's August 15,1847 letter to Owen referred to their meetings in exile and his "admiration and love" for Owen's "nobility of character, kindly philosophy, patient and indulgent benevolence and untiring devotion to the cause of the people and mankind." Cabet met with Owen in September 1847 and they conversed with an interpreter. Owen was in Paris until August 1848.

[74] Le Populaire, April 13, 1848.

[75] Desroche, Owen, 268, 282n30, 283n63. Links with journalist Désirée Gay (nee Véret) show she had connections with Fourier, the Saint-Simonians, Owen, and Cabet.

[76] Alexandrian, Le socialisme romantique, 397-400.

up in bloomer costumes and argued for full equality and rights for women. They put up a poster in Paris to invite celibate citoyennes between 15 and 30 to organize and ask the government for a regiment of female troops to be called Vesuvians. They envisioned a year of military service for unmarried women. Another "absurd" idea was to allow two spouses to serve in the military together, an idea that a National Guard captain liked.[78] To demonstrate the seriousness of their cause, the Vesuvians led a parade on March 27 to present a petition to Mayor Marrast who promised to set up a National Workshop for them. The Vesuvian workers were quartered in a commune at Belleville and paid 60 centimes a day for their labor (men's wages were 1 to 2 francs).[79] Three weeks later, on April 19, the Vesuvians published a manifesto that proposed women's emancipation and a Constitution that would regulate public and private life with rights accorded to women like the men's. They wanted an equal opportunity to be employed in all public, civil, religious, and military positions. On May 30, the Vesuvians presented a petition to the Minister of the Interior in favor of divorce.[80] Despite their bold and radical demands, Vesuvians did not approve of free love but wanted marriages between friends and equal associates without either spouse being master.[81] They specified that husbands must share

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77 Moses French Feminism, 130. Thomas, Les Femmes en 1848, 47.

78 Thomas, Les Femmes en 1848, 48. Riot-Sarcey, La Démocratie à l'épreuve des femmes, 212. The Démocratie pacifique reported, "Fifty Vesuvians embarked, like sailors on a ship, for Martinique, equipped with a decree for the abolition of slavery."

79 Alexandrian, Le socialisme romantique, 397-400.

80 Ibid. Thomas, Les Femmes en 1848, 49-50.

81 Alexandrian, Le socialisme romantique, 398-9.

household chores and threatened them with perpetual military service for "delinquency." Caricatures of the Vesuvians in Le Charivari multiplied the fantastic impressions about their demands and costumes. They were shown smoking pipes with carrying bayonets. Vesuvians were the subjects of songs, vaudeville, pamphlets, and the worst incarnations of feminine emancipation.[82] Vesuvians' colorful street demonstrations were lively targets for political satire. Cartoonists depicted one as a trouser-clad, gun-toting woman leaving a perplexed husband in an apron standing in the doorway, pitifully holding babies in both arms. The more conservative feminists from the Voix des femmes disapproved of the young Vesuvians' choice of name and their attention-getting tactics.[83]

But the lampoon press did not distinguish between the conservative feminists and the "virago" feminists who were caricatured alongside Cabet. Icarians were mocked for their feminist opinions in verses chanted in the streets. "The Icariennes, the Vésuviennes and other citoyennes" they sang, "demand the immediate suppression of husbands."[84] Cabet, of course, did not subscribe to this or several other alleged Vesuvian demands, but he was known for his advocacy of women's equality and divorce, ideas which held similar connotations in the public mind.

Although not as daring as the Vesuvians, d'Héricourt was animated by Cabet's endorsement of women's emancipation and she gave a speech calling for the serious education of women at a meeting of the Club de l'émancipation des Peuples. "Demand in a

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82 Ibid., 397-400.

83 Moses, French Feminism, 129-30. Moses reproduced several of these cartoons.

84 Thomas, Les Femmes en 1848, 49.

loud voice" she told the audience, "the liberation of women, because the mother of your sons is called to give them their first lessons in patriotism, to put the seeds of virtue in their young hearts. She will display the house of a free republican, therefore, the mother cannot be a slave."[85] D'Héricourt argued for mothers' right to education so they could teach children lessons in patriotism - Cabet's Voyage rationale.[86] With the encouragement of feminist spokeswomen like d'Héricourt, many women responded freely to the accumulated corpus of Cabet's egalitarian ideas in their public discussions in early 1848.[87] But the political atmosphere was fractious. Panicky minds readily associated communist equality with women's equality and Icarians were prime targets for the reactionary populace. Conservatives feared the loss of their rights in property, family, and marriage, as well as the dangerous linkage between women and political power. Because of Cabet's alliance with women's rights' activists like d'Héricourt, Gay, Niboyet, and Deroin, a large measure of responsibility for promoting feminist challenges to the status quo was foisted on him and in a milder fashion, on socialist men like Pierre Leroux and Considerant who

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[85] Ibid., 47. Thomas attributed this speech to Jeanne-Marie (a pseudonym of d'Héricourt).

[86] Moses, French Feminism, 132-36. ("Republican motherhood" was in the Voyage as already noted.) Moses traced 1848 arguments defining woman as mother "to justify her role in the public sphere." Mother became the "linchpin" of the feminist rationale for sexual equality. Moses examined why feminist ideology since the Saint-Simonians rejected "love without marriage."

[87] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 89-93, Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 578-81. After noting Cabet's "equivocal attitude" about women's political rights, Johnson singled out Cabet's "close and heartfelt attention to the problem of female oppression" and his "role in the movement that came to birth at the same time as modern socialism and in large measure due to it: the drive to emancipate woman." Johnson named d'Héricourt, Deroin, Niboyet, and Pauline Roland as prominent feminists who were attracted to Cabet's cause.

had smaller followings.

For a short while in early March, Cabet was hailed as a "popular hero" in Paris. In order to gain time to educate the expanded number of first time voters about candidates, his Club proposed a large demonstration at the Hôtel de Ville.[88] They were joined by other clubs who hoped to win support for a petition to change the election dates.[89] On March 17, Cabet triumphantly led 200,000 marchers to the Hôtel de Ville to present the provisional government with their demand. After waiting two hours for a reply, a spokesman promised they would postpone elections and the group disbanded. But the provisional leaders were only willing to delay elections for a short time. Weary demonstrators had gained only a partial victory.[90]

In the next few weeks, Cabet's public image fell as exaggerated fears about communists spread. Cries of "Death to the communists!" and "Death to Cabet" rang across Paris and echoed in the countryside.[91] Cabet had weathered attacks on his doctrine

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[88] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet," diss., 576-8. Denholm, France in Revolution, 73-75. Protesters carried flags and banners in an orderly, silent march led by one woman and three men wearing red caps. Just a few days earlier, on March 14, the government abolished all distinction in national guard uniforms to show fraternity. On March 16, 5-6,000 guardsmen demonstrated because the former guardsmen were proud of their "bear skin" hats. Duveau, 1848, 82-3. The guardsmen were met by hostile bands of mechanics, etc., who were angry at their anti-egalitarianism. The moderates in the government "trounced" the demonstrators for their behavior.

[89] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 269. Cabet's Club discussed the demonstration, March 10.

[90] Ibid., 270. Angrand, Etienne Cabet, 40, 44-7. March 17 was the "pinnacle of Cabet's popularity . . . he used his bonhommie magnificently in the [deputy] confrontation . . . and forced them to make forthright promises." Guard elections were moved from March 20 to April 5, and National Assembly elections from April 9 to April 23. 80,000 army troops were moved to Paris.

[91] Angrand, Etienne Cabet, 50-3, 59. They also shouted le bas (down) with others

in the past and he continued to defend his peaceful position. On April 16, the Luxembourg Commission planned a demonstration with worker's bearing a gift of money to show their "gratitude for the republic" and to present a petition for a "true" organization of labor in association, where there was no exploitation of man by man.[92] But the provisional government learned about their parade plans and took measures to protect themselves after being forced to succomb to pressures resulting from Cabet's march. They had installed bourgeois leaders in the national guard units which had not been fully reconciled to the new Republic. The guards were eager to "pounce on the revolutionary republicans."[93] President Lamartine was worried about rumors that workers wanted to install a new government and he was relieved when Ledru-Rollin ordered the rappel drums beaten to call out the national guard at noon on April 16. The workers' peaceful demonstration collapsed as the guardsmen berated and threated them and their communist leaders. Later that day, Cabet was forced to flee angry crowds who carried a coffin to his house with his name inscribed on it. Lamartine was alarmed to learn that Cabet might be assassinated and offered him shelter at his house. Mme de Lamartine sent out an

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like Blanqui. Cabet had irritated some workers. On March 30, 500 haberdashery (braid and trim) workers came to the Hôtel de Ville to demand that the fancy braids on National Guard uniforms remain. They needed the work. In the March 12, Bien et mal, brochure, Cabet criticized these identifying symbols of rank and privilege and wanted simpler uniforms with all citizen workers eligible for high grades. Without the need to sew braid on uniforms, the haberdashery workers would lack jobs. Cabet's "simple" ideals fell on deaf ears among workers in luxury trades.

[92] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 280-1. Sewell, Work and Revolution, 271-2. Robertson, Revolutions of 1848, 74-5. Angrand, Cabet et la République de 1848, 49-60.

[93] Peter Amann, "A Journée in the Making: May 15, 1848" Journal of Modern History Vol. 42 no 1, March 1970, 42-69, 58.

emergency carriage to get Mme Cabet "who refused the hospitality of a 'dictator.'"[94]

A key figure in this April 16 affair was Blanqui who was known for his advocacy of force. He and Cabet were among the many club leaders who had collaborated in gathering the crowd for the March 17 demonstration. After a journalist named Taschereau published a document on April 1 which implied that he was an informer in 1839, Cabet stood up for him. Because of his defense, the public mind associated Cabet more intensely with Blanquist types of violent uprisings.[95] By mid-April, Cabet was transformed into an enemy of the Republic and threatened in the streets.

George Sand, who shared some of Cabet's philosophical ideals but rejected his utopia, wrote her reflections about this episode in an essay titled, "La journee du 16 avril 1848: réaction de la secte et réaction de la caste contre l'égalité" which was published in the Bulletin.[96] She began her account by asking, "What is a secte?" and then proceeded to explain the relevance of a sect to changes in ideology. Although she only described Cabet in this essay and did not name him as she did in other writings, it was directed at him as a recognizable leader of a sect. Why, she questioned, was the crowd so "menancing" to this "old man?" Sects claim they "know the truth" but people respond that they have only a

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[94] Alexandrian, Le Socialisme romantique, 313. Almanach icarien (1848), 210-11, had coffin details. Communists were "injured, mistreated, shoved down, kicked, and thrown into the water."

[95] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 279-81. Cabet published what "may have been the crucial fact exonerating Blanqui but was also the one that made Cabet his leading defender in France." The "terror" unleashed against communists on April 16 also resulted in Cabet's name being withdrawn from election lists. Denholm, France in Revolution, 81-4. Jules Taschereau alleged Blanqui betrayed his own cause in 1839 which he denied.

[96] George Sand, Souvenirs de 1848 presented by George Lubin (Paris: Éditions D'Aujourd'hui, 1977), 11-23. Her essay was dated April 18.

"portion of the truth." Sand criticized the sect leader's [Cabet's] attitude of superiority, asking "If you have more knowledge, if you know history better, if you have read and written more books than us, does it follow that we do not have any of your natural genius?" Cabet's air of philosophical arrogance and pride not only irritated Sand, but she reasoned that this character defect caused his persecution.

> Here is your evil, chefs of sect, you have contempt for ignorance and you crush without charity, not only those who contradict you, but also those who do not understand you. It is true, that you have had enemies, unjust, blind enemies; but when you do not have any, who are you fighting then? Why have you wrapped yourself in the cloak of persecution? If you provoke it, it will strike you, because persecution is a blind force, cowardly by nature, and ferocious. It is a monster that should be left sleeping. Pride irritates and unleashes persecution, you must hide your pride.[97]

Sand's essay advocated tolerance for sects who should be allowed to practice "some new ideas in common," and be free from the "popes' impositions" in a society that "proclaims the liberty of beliefs." However, she continued, "What we combat is the demon of pride that always creeps into sects, and which breaks the family pact between them and society." She closed her remarks with the reminder, "You have complete liberty of the press and speech. Do not abuse that sacred right to raise yourself up on a pedestal of your personal ambition."[98] In her assessment, Sand had not attacked Cabet's communist principles, but his "pride," his unwillingness to consider other opinions, and especially his determination that he alone held the "truth."

The April 16 anti-communist rhetoric directed at Cabet also threatened Sand and others who respected the opinions of communists.[99] She was frightened by the peasants at

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[97] Monin, "George Sand et le République," 559, 559n1. Sand, Souvenirs de 1848, 16.

[98] Sand, Souvenirs de 1848, 22.

her Nohant estate who ridiculed her for being communist.[100] As Sand tried to understand the frenzied reaction of the populace in the countryside, she came to the conclusion that their rage was comparable to the "fantastic terror" that traveled across France like a "current of electricity" in the "year of the great fear [1789]." Once more in 1848, she believed France was witnessing "a second year of the fear."[101] She complained to her editor Thoré because "she was associated with the conspiracies of that abominable old man that they call, in Paris, the Père Communisme [Cabet] . . . And since I am the disciple of Père Communisme, [they say] I have obtained all the vineyards, fields, and meadows in my canton." Sand listed other "exaggerated" charges leveled against her and her friends. Communist candidates, she wrote, were "put on the index by the reactionaries" who supplied the rural population with exaggerated tales about communists, dowries, marriage, and property. "The country is in danger!" they said to frighten the peasants. "If you don't take care, one of these mornings, they will proclaim the division of land, six sous per head, one will take your wives and your children, and all that because you voted wrong." She concluded her letter by telling Thoré that the peasant was told these lies by "his bourgeois

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99 Whitney Walton, "Writing the 1848 Revolution: Politics, Gender, and Feminism in the Works of French Women of Letters" French Histoical Studies, Vol 18, no 4 (Fall 1994). 1001-1024., 1010. Cabet was not the only man that Sand attacked. She came to Paris in early March and by mid-April wrote about the threat of factionalism and ambition to the republic. She saw "the flawed character of men" (like Cabet) as the source of disaster. Sewell, Work and Revolution, 271.

100 Lubin, Correspondance Tome VIII, 423. "Cabet posed as a martyr. All the world says, we are trahis (traitors)."

101 Sand, Souvenirs de 1848, 122-4, 126. Sand to Théophile Thoré, May 24, 1848. See Monin, "George Sand et la République," 57-60. Thoré edited Vraie République, and Sand agreed to collaborate with him on May 2.

or taught this lesson by his curé." Dispirited, Sand observed, "We have devoted our fortune, our life and our mind to these people who want to reduce us to be treated like wolves."[102]

Cabet reproduced Sand's letter to Thoré in Le Populaire after it had been published elsewhere. It was captioned, "Le Père Communisme."[103] Did Cabet also read Sand's other article on "Sects" with its inference that the sect leader's pride led to persecution and did he recognize himself? If so, he kept it quiet. Although she supported many similar social concerns, Sand did not countenance Cabet's Icarian designs. In like manner, she was praised as a defender of women but stopped short of endorsing women's vote in 1848. However, the bold editors of the Voix des femmes decided to dare the government to prevent them from voting and opted to place women's names on ballots. They proposed Sand's name as a poltical representative to the National Assembly without consulting her. Sand published a curt refusal in the Réforme and disavowed the principles of the Voix des femmes. Editor Niboyet, angrily replied, "Don't think we wished to shelter our cause under your glory, for our cause is good enough . . . to march with head held high and to

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[102] Sand, Souvenirs de 1848, 122-4, 126. Sand to Théophile Thoré May 24, 1848. Additional remarks about Cabet appear on many pages in Sand's book. On the 10th of May she wrote an article on the future "Religion of France" which echoes ideas found in Vrai Christianisme. In it she had references to a true christianity (102), Christ as the apostle of equality (105), a belief or non-belief in divinity (105), and the 'purity' of christian philosophy (106). In particular, she says, "If M. Cabet wants to organize an Icarian clergy, and asks the State for treatment like the priests, I do not see how they can refuse him that right, unless the laws have a special article consecrated to exclusions, under the pressure of Voltairian bayonets and the bourgeoisie." Sand's remarks indicate that she was following Cabet's projects closely.

[103] Le Populaire, June 4, 1848. Cabet excerpted Sand's letter from la Vrai République claiming it was "too remarkable for his friends not to know about."

defend itself."[104]

Sand epitomized the feminist split between equality of difference and full gender equality which surfaced in public debates in 1848. She argued that women needed to be better educated and freed from restrictive marriage laws before they voted.[105] "Should women participate in political life?" Sand speculated later, "Yes, some day, I believe so . . . as you do. But is that day near? No, I do not think so; to transform the condition of women would require a radical transformation in society."[106] Like many others, Sand's objectives during the revolution differed in vital aspects from her feminist counterparts and from revolutionary allies. Sand wrote that "France is destined to become communist within a century" in a political tract on March 12, 1848.[107] Like Cabet, she wanted these changes to take place peacefully and employ gradual tactics.[108]

The expectations of revolutionary change shifted for Icarians. Two days after Cabet fled from cries of "à bas Cabet" in April, he went to his club meeting place and

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[104] Moses, French Feminism, 140-1.

[105] Thomas, Les Femmes en 1848, 44. Voix des femmes sent a petition for the women's vote. In Boussac, Pierre Leroux permitted women like Pauline Roland to vote in his commune.

[106] Moses, French Feminism, 141-3, 265-6 (from Thomas, Les Femmes en 1848, 67-78).

[107] Joseph Barry ed., George Sand In Her Own Words (New York: Anchor Press, 1979), 374.

[108] Ibid., 375, "Aux Riches." Sand used Cabet as an example of pacifism to scold the wealthy. She wrote ". . .if there is a handful of poor fanatics who subscribe neither to Pierre Leroux's unfinished and essentially pacific plan nor to Cabet's romantic and no less peaceful utopia, are there not also among you fanatics of wealth, inflammatory monarchists who would have approved a general massacre of the people on February 24?"

found the doors locked. The landlord refused to rent the hall to him.[109] His home was also invaded and he had no place for his family, he exclaimed. This was the result of either a bourgeois or aristocratic "coup d'état" against him, he wrote.[110] "Assassinated materially and morally," he added that if he was killed, he "pardoned his assassin in advance." His death, however, "would not prove that the Communauté, based on Fraternity, was the social system most capable of freeing, saving, and creating happiness for humanity." Thus, "I repeat, nothing will make me back up!"[111]

> I hope that the men who have seized power and taken the mission of directing the revolution are skilled enough to profit from their marvelous position, and I would be happy to see others than myself merit the honor and glory of bringing happiness to my Country and consolidating the Republic and the Democracy.
>
> But today, all is spoiled; the Government has allowed the evil to become worse to such a point that the remedy is infinitely more difficult. Moreover, I do not want to conspire. I want to fight in the brightness of the sun! And although I would today request a position which had a guarantee of security for my brothers the Icarians and for me, I do not want to occupy myself from now on with other than our emigration to America to found our Communauté of Icaria.[112]

While remaining adamant in his convictions, the malicious April 16 events marked a turning point in Cabet's struggles to bring about Communist changes in France. Several factors coalesced in mid-April that resulted in this impasse. The opposition's success in linking him with Blanqui was crucial, and surely Cabet's pride was a problem, but hardly a new one. Cabet himself called it a bourgeois coup d'état. Sand correlated the April 16 outburst with a senseless "great fear" driven by alarms about communism, property, and

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[109] Le Populaire, April 22, 1848.

[110] Ibid., April 20, 1848. This is the outbreak that Sand described in her essay on "Sects."

[111] Le Populaire, April 22, 1848.

[112] Ibid., April 22, 1848. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 268-284.

women.

When Lamartine was overwhelmingly elected to the National Assembly by voters on April 23, only 55 socialists were chosen. There were 439 former monarchists, 75 ex-peers or nobles, and 231 moderate republicans.[113] One of Cabet's correspondents wrote to explain the "clergy's influence in the elections." The bishops preach in the "confessional, [and] from the pulpit the lies, the calomnies, to make the workers in the country vote for the notables. . . . And they say that it is the Workers themselves who rivet their chains! Oh! We are going to Icaria. There, venerable Père, your life will be secure; and we can all enjoy the benefits of association, solidarity, and happiness together which quiet the spirit."[114] Another reported that the mayor of his commune said "if he was at the head of the Government, he would execute all the Communists; he said that they are all robbers, etc."[115]

Along with these local letters, Cabet printed ones from members of the first advance guard in Texas with details about their ocean travels and arrival on February 27. He gave a speech at his Société fraternelle centrale meeting on May 8 to 1,000 women and 4,000 men recalling in a "picturesque manner" the narrative of the 69 brothers' journey to found Icaria in Texas. After this, his club drew up a petition to the government to have it investigate the events of April 16 and the treatment of free citizens in Rouen who were kept from voting, attacked, and arrested because of their political opinions.[116] Although

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[113] Fortesque, Alphonse de Lamartine, 164-9. There was a 84% turnout.

[114] Le Populaire, May 11 & 14, 1848. This was a double issue.

[115] Ibid. A mechanic's old friend threatened him after learning he was a communist. "Take good care of yourself, for if I have my gun and you go by, I would not miss you!"

Cabet was refocusing his energy on the emigration after the elections, he had not wholly abandoned politics.

Once again on May 15, club leaders decided to combine their efforts and organize a demonstration of the people. This time they wanted to show their support for liberty in Poland. Nearly 20,000 workers took up the Polish cause after the May 10 news that the Prussians had put down an uprising in Posen.[117] At 11AM on May 15, 40,000 unarmed demonstrators gathered with delegates prepared to read a petition which requested that France threaten war with Prussia and Russia if they refused to restore Poland in twenty-four hours. The Assembly agreed to admit twenty-five club representatives into their chambers, but after the doors were opened a huge segment of the crowd pushed itself inside.[118] Ledru-Rollin, who appeared to sympathize with the Polish cause and knew that the demonstrators were unarmed and peaceful, once again ordered the rappel beaten.[119] The sound of the drums calling out the national guards was "tantamont to an attack on the demonstrators."[120]After the petition for Poland was read, an impromptu coup occurred.[121]

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116 Ibid.

117 Denholm, France in Revolution 1848, 102. Robertson, Revolutions of 1848, 80-1. Amann, Revolution and Mass Democracy, 205-247. Amann, "A *Journée* in the Making: May 15, 1848," 42-69., 47-52. Paris had a Comite de l'Emigration Polonaise. Krolikowski (pseud. Charles) was affiliated with it. They sent emissaries to the clubs to read an "appeal to the French people" asking for arms for the Polish revolutionaries on May 2nd. It led to the unarmed demonstration.

118 Robertson, Revolutions of 1848, 80-1. Amann, Revolution and Mass Democracy, 234.

119 Amann, Revolution and Mass Democracy, 238-41. Action against the clubs began immediately after retaking the City hall at 6:45 PM. From May 15 on, "troops and National Guard units converged on Paris, which began to look like an armed camp."

120 Amann, "A Journée in the Making: May 15, 1848," 64-66.

Leaders Aloysius Huber, Barbès, and Blanqui proposed names of men for the new government from a balcony to the crowd below. The list included Cabet, Raspail, Blanc, and Leroux.[122] The men involved were quickly arrested. Caussidière, the head of the police, released many of the hundreds of prisoners but not Barbès.[123] Blanqui eluded the police for ten days.[124] Cabet was not present at the protest and a troop of guardsmen who went to his place at 9PM found him gone.[125] The newly elected Assembly acted forcefully to eliminate the influence of clubs and their leaders on workers. It waged an intense harassment campaign against the clubs from May 16 to June 23.[126] Barbès, Blanqui,

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121 Denholm, France in Revolution 1848, 172, 180, Armand Barbes (1809-1870) was with Blanqui and imprisoned after the failed 1839 uprising. Released in February 1848, he founded the Club de la Revolution. He was a popular leader of the workers and after May 15, he was again imprisoned. Aloysius Huber (1812-1865), a left-wing Republican headed the Club Centralisateur. Duveau, 1848: The Making of a Revolution, 237. Huber was a disciple of Pierre Leroux.

122 Le Populaire, May 18, 1848.

123 Patrica O'Brien "The Revolutionary Police of 1848" 133-149 in Roger Price, ed., Revolution and Reaction: 1848 and the Second French Republic (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1975), 136, 141-2.

124 Robertson, Revolutions of 1848, 82-3. Angrand, Etienne Cabet et la Republique de 1848, 49-60. Amann, Revolution and Mass Democracy, Barbès, Sobrier, and Raspail were arrested May 15, but Blanqui eluded them for ten days when he was "cornered in a friend's apartment." This may be where d'Héricourt lived, for she "escorted" him past the national guardsmen.

125 Le Populaire, June 4, 1848. Authorities sent 200 national guardsmen to his house May 15.

126 Denholm, France in Revolution: 1848, 116. A new mobile garde was recruited from the young workers' ranks, given uniforms, and paid a good wage to insure their duty to defend the new Republic. They and the expanded National Guard costs added to the Ministry expenditures Amann, Revolution and Mass Democracy, 244-6. Only 46 club records survived after this.

Huber, and Sobrier's clubs were closed along with many others.[127] Cabet and the other delegates named on the coup list were hunted up, questioned, and some were jailed.[128] The liberal republican Police Prefect Caussidière had to resign his post and National Workshop director Emile Thomas was dismissed.[129] The Workshop proletariat had been effectively rendered leaderless.[130]

As the police processed their efforts to implicate Cabet after each disorder, he precipitously declared his singular, 'devoted' attention to the emigration plans.[131] He had to avoid further entanglement with revolutionary radicals. The February moment's fraternal exuberance dimmed as the Republic approached the month of June.[132] The "question of

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127 Le Populaire, May 18, 1848.

128 Duveau, 1848: The Making of a Revolution, 122-3. Denholm, France in Revolution: 1848, 113-4. Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 594-6. The lives of Icarians were threatened on the streets. Cabet's name was removed from the April 23 candidate list, but entered in June 4 elections.

129 Denholm, France in Revolution: 1848, 185, 176. Emile Thomas (1822-1880) was an engineer given the task of organizing the Workshops who felt they could be developed into a worthwhile, permanent workforce. He was shocked by the Assembly's determination to close them. His opposition led to his arrest and removal to Bordeaux in late May. Marc Caussidière (1808-1861) was a radical republican and socialist revolutionary. He fled in August.

130 Ibid., 120, 114-6.

131 Le Populaire, May 28, 1848. Cabet explained that the judicial battle caused him an inconvenient retreat. "It paralyzed me for our emigration . . . if by chance I am arrested, my friends need not worry, since no one has less to fear and is less afraid than I am." He noted that he was attacked in his home on May 15th and at his office on the 19th along with 5 or 6 employee friends. Mme Cabet, "weak and suffering" was seated in the garden of the Palais-Royal when a troop of seven to nine year olds with little guns and swords passed by shouting "Vive l'Assemblée nationale! à bas Cabet! mort à Cabet!" They didn't know the lady was Cabet's wife. This scene reflects the widespread anti-Cabet sentiment and locates him in Paris two weeks after May 15.

132 Stearns, 1848: The Revolutionary Tide in Europe, 88-9. From mid-May on

woman" and her social or political "rights" completely disappeared from the pages of Cabet's newspaper, although he conciliated readers with promises that in Icaria, "all women will be loved; because of the great reform for them; we want to render them their rights and dignity." The number of willing Icarian departees had also fallen off for only twenty young men were in the second advance guard that left at the end of May.[133]

Shortly after the abortive May coup, d'Héricourt wrote a long letter to Cabet advising him not to return to Paris because she was certain that a warrant was being brought against him. She had been asked to relay a prediction by a woman friend that a "catastrophe" was coming in the near future, perhaps in about twenty-five days. In her "sommeil magnétique (hypnotic sleep)," this woman predicted a "frightening civil war in Paris" and wanted d'Héricourt to tell Cabet. The prophetic woman added, "God is with him [Cabet] because he represents the future of humanity." D'Héricourt told Cabet that when she asked this friend if she wanted to "take a trip with me to the Red river [Texas] some day," her friend replied that she was "too tired." D'Héricourt continued her letter with an affirmation of courage tinted with fatalism, "Au revoir, perhaps adieu, dear bon père, because we know that we will live or die here in Paris this month." She ended her communication with an enlarged command to Cabet: "BRULEZ MAINTENANT CETTE LETTRE (Burn this letter now)."[134] D'Héricourt had good reasons for wanting her letter

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"workers circulated in the streets every night, holding political discussions; lacking work and fearful of the Assembly's intentions." The Assembly was "obssessed" with the dissolution of the Workshops. Tocqueville said "one could see the words 'civil war' written on the four walls of the hall."

[133] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 570-170n1, 571.

[134] Felix Lamb to Cabet [Jenny d'Héricourt], n.d. [~ late May w/references to events of 15th as May 15th], Papiers Cabet, BHVP. This lengthy letter included her conversation

destroyed for she was in league with two public enemies - Cabet and Blanqui.

D'Héricourt had stood up for Cabet at a Club of men where she served as vice-president. "Some men, paid by the opposition, cried: 'Death to the Communists! Death to Cuber [Cabet]!'" She opposed the club men and called for a vote of censure for those who "attack the free opinion of a sect attack the free opinion of all." The censuring vote was obtained. But that night she "risked being stabbed in going home."[135] Besides defending Cabet, d'Héricourt reported that she "took charge of concealing Auguste Blanqui, who was [being] searched for that he might be sent to the Haute cour de justice. As she took his arm to conduct him to her house, they had to pass through the midst of a troop of national guards." Had they recognized him they would have taken him to prison. "It was a good joke" on the gallantry of the "soldiers who let the lady and her poor outlaw pass," she mused.[136] D'Héricourt's daring 'adventure' was only one of many subversive acts by women that remain loosely documented.

Several years later, d'Héricourt looked back on women's participation in the events

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with a woman friend of hers who "for six years had a precise faculty to read the future. In a hypnotic spell at the end of December [1847], she predicted the Republicans would come in February." It is interesting that d'Héricourt placed credence in what she described as "le magnétisme (hypnotism), dear père, there is the means to beat and breach the prophets, sybilles [sic] (sibyl, oracle), priestesses." This would help them "see into the future . . . We are sad, worried for the present, but full of hope for the future. God is with us." D'Héricourt's unabashed account of the hypnotist-woman's vision indicates that she considered Cabet receptive to such non-rational prophesies. She signed her letter, "Your affectionate daughter." This evidence points to an acceptable belief in an imminent clash - civil war - that was circulating. The "wise" forecasts by her hypnotist were undoubtedly repeated and replicated by others "in the know." Even Cabet could read the "signs." However, he was not worried about d'Héricourt's safety, since he didn't "burn" her letter.

135 Offen, "Nineteenth-century feminist," 155.

136 Ibid. From an interview with D'Héricourt in Chicago, May 1, 1869.

of 1848. "I do not deny that women did much harm to the Revolution of February, for they are as intelligent as men, and have great influence over them. But what did this Revolution do for them, I pray?"[137] Her remarks reflect an acceptance of a myth that women had "harmed" the revolution. Why did d'Héricourt blame women and what external influences led her to this conclusion? Did other Icarian women who shared in Cabet's club and the feminist club movements think as she did? Because d'Héricourt identified herself as an Icarian and left documents about her 1848 support for Cabet's emigration and women's equality, the rationale that convinced her women "harmed" the revolution is significant. Cabet's attitude toward a non-political role for women in Icaria that was already present in the Voyage appears to have been steeled by women's behavior in mid-1848.

Besides d'Héricourt's work with Cabet and feminists, she attended public lectures held for women at the College de France in April 1848 given by Ernest Legouvé. Like Cabet, Legouvé did not sanction women voting, but he advocated better education and family conditions and enunciated an "equality in difference" gender theory.[138] Fortified by

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[137] D'Héricourt, A Woman's Philosophy of Woman: or Woman Affranchised, 86. Her book was published in Brussels and interdicted by censors in France. Mme d"Héricourt wrote to Napoleon III enclosing a copy of her work, and he withdrew the interdiction.

[138] Karen Offen, "Ernest Legouvé and the Doctrine of 'Equality in Difference' for Women: A Case Study of Male Feminism in Nineteenth-Century French Thought," Journal of Modern History 58 no. 2 (June 1986), 452-484., 453. Legouvé presented a moral history of women to "chart a middle course of the woman question." The "socialist utopias" equalized women but "under the pretext of freeing [woman] degrade her." The other side insisted that any modification in "the status of woman would bring about 'the ruin of the family.'" He taught women that the 1789 Revolution failed because it was unjust to women. He advocated a "feminine virtue of fraternity" which would grow out of women's love. Legouvé articulated an "equality in difference" that had separate but equal spheres for women in mongamous marriages. He wanted the Code of 1804 reformed and better education. The Voix des femmes supported him and proposed Legouvé as a

these ideas after the repression of feminist clubs, d'Héricourt persisted in her quest to understand women's situation by reading history and philosophy texts which led her to denounce men's misrepresentations of women.[139]

But in the late spring of 1848 it appears that d'Héricourt and other feminists had inadvertantly carried Cabet's (and Legouvé's) egalitarian principles about women beyond acceptable limits. In all likelihood, d'Héricourt's judgment that women "harmed" the revolution stemmed from the feminists' efforts to gain political power combined with the 'unnatural' activity of working-class women behind the barricades in June. Recent studies by scholars have shown that at key points during each French Revolution, women were blamed for inciting popular disorder. They were not quiescent in 1848. However, after the June Days, women were the target of the conservative regime's backlash which silenced and removed women from the public sphere.[140] Some measure of the decline in Cabet's

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candidate to represent women in the National Assembly. Legouvé's views of women were very similar to Cabet's. D'Héricourt's Philosophy of Women text gave him favorable reports. Moses, French Feminism, 136-39. Moses noted that women "considered Legouvé their friend."

[139] "Anonymous Account Revolution of1848," MS 1047, BHVP, 22, 32, 31,36. References to Mme Fxxx in this journal correlate with activity by Felix Lamb (d'Héricourt). She "abandoned that journal of the people, its pacifist pages did not appear for eight days (This citation was in November 1848 when Le Populaire had a lapse in publication)," and Mme Fxxx "became jealous of the glory of George Sand and resolved to complete her education by good readings; and has come upon the adventures of Telemaque. . . . Mme Fxxx takes a moment between the house and library;" and "Mme Fxxx has a grand knowledge of history . . . Dieu! she cried, what if Plato was known during the time of Marlborough." Offen, "Nineteenth-Century French Feminist," 157. D'Héricourt's survey of philosophers was complimentary to Legouvé and explained his courses for women. Her harshest criticisms were aimed at Proudhon, Comte, and Michelet.

[140] Numerous texts have investigated the theme of women's behavior and repression in the French revolutions. Melzer and Rabine's Rebel Daughters (1992) has a collection of essays on this topic. For a provocative analysis of revolutionary process, see Peter Amann

popularity and the rise in communist repression seemed to be due to his support of feminists' demands, which was then conflated with all the incidents of 'unnatural' behavior by women.

As the newly elected conservative majority tightened control in early June, Cabet complained that his efforts to safeguard the Republic were personally "paralyzed." But "we will overcome all obstacles" to establish Icaria in America, he consoled readers. "A great number will leave in the Fall."[141] The expectations of this blithe statement on June 4th changed in a few weeks as his projected "great number" of Icarians were ruthlessly cut down in Paris. He was aware of the tense atmosphere in the workers' quarters but occupied himself with elections, staying out of jail, and the emigration.[142] Many workers,

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"Revolution: A Redefinition" Political Science Quarterly Vol. LXXVII, 1962, 36-53. Amann, who disregarded women in his research on the clubs, concluded that after the June days, dissident elements of the National Guard filled the prisons to overflowing; the eastern districts of Paris were to be permanently demilitarized; National Workshops and political clubs had been dissolved; the garde mobile had been brought under control; the organized crafts were cowed and about to launch into the harmless dead end of producers' cooperatives. Thus, the "government had restored obedience as well as re-establishing its monopoly of power." His reductionist argument left out restoring women's "habit of obedience" to the State government of men and patriarchal family at home, whisch was essentially what occurred.

[141] Le Populaire, May 28, 1848, June 4, 1848. This group was the "second advance-guard" but, Cabet claimed that there would have been two to three hundred "if" the revolution had not occurred. The grand departure would be in the fall. He wrote a letter to Lamartine about the government's unjust accusations and published it with Lamartine's reply in the paper. He visited Lamartine on May 27 after seeing the emigration off and published a profession de foi to clear himself from false charges. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 283-4. Letters indicate that Icarians wrote Cabet that in their towns, communism was crushed - "we can no longer stay here." Cabet once again reverted to his "escape" pattern but his followers' response was barely a "whisper."

[142] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 282. Cabet finished sixteenth alongside Thoré and Raspail in a field where eleven were elected on June 4th. Leroux, Victor Hugo, and Proudhon were among them. (Also, Thiers and Louis-Napoleon.)

depressed by the prolonged economic crises, no longer respected Cabet's pacifist counseling nor did they find his utopian dreams of 'leaving in the fall' to be viable correctives for the Republic's failure to fulfill its 'right to work' promises.

Cabet's unofficial network of advisors like d'Héricourt kept him informed about the fear, misery, and unrest in the worker's districts. Because an estimated 14,000 workers from the Workshop system were involved in the Assembly take-over in May, police worried that workers were busy plotting another uprising.[143] In addition, parsimonious deputies in the National Assembly were debating the means to reduce social expenditures and wanted to close the Workshops.[144] They felt such a move would not only save money but defuse the workers' subculture which undermined their vision of social order. The governmnent's administration costs had risen sharply because of the need to fund an expanded National Guard, the new Garde Mobile, and provide wages for a rising number of Paris workers who came in from the countryside seeking jobs in the Workshops.[145] The deputies arrived at a resolution to end the Workshop system on June 19. The plan they devised would force men to enlist in the army or accept employment in public work projects outside Paris.[146] On June 21, they published the edict.[147] When workers learned

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[143] François Fejtö, editor, The Opening of an Era 1848: An Historical Symposium (New York: Howard Fertig, 1966), 90. Denholm, France in Revolution: 1848, 106. 40,000 demonstrators invaded the Chamber but that there were no "workshop banners" carried inside. De Luma, The French Republic Under Cavaignac, 132.

[144] Dautry, La Révolution de 1848, 224. Millions were dispensed for the repression after the June days. Workshop funding cost 15 million but war and repression cost 60 million (and lives).

[145] Robertson, Revolutions of 1848, 85. Angrand, Etienne Cabet et la République de 1848, 49. To meet these new expenses, the government had decreed a 45 centime tax on March 16.

about the decree, they held a meeting and agreed to resort to barricades if the policy was carried out.[148] That evening, a spokesman named Pujol addressed 5,000 workers. He told them they had been deceived. "You have done nothing more than change tyrants. . . . avenge yourselves, you have an invincible weapon in the barricades!"[149] The "revolution has to be refaire (remade), new barricades are necessary." He told the workers to go home for the night and return at sunrise.[150]The next day, June 22 at 6 AM, Pujol knelt with 1,500 workers before the Place de la Bastille and pledged to fight for their rights and liberty. They shouted with Pujol "Work or bread! We are not leaving![151] Liberty or death!"[152] When they arose, they began building barricades.[153] Cabet claimed that he learned of the uprising on June 23 "at his home" and went into hiding on the 24th at a

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146 Denholm, France in Revolution: 1848, 124-5.

147 Duveau, 1848: The Making of a Revolution, 132-3. Workers between 18 and 25 registered in the National workshops would be conscripted into the army and the rest sent into the provinces like Sologne or Landes to work clearing land. One worker said rather than dying of fever in the marshes or getting killed by a Bedouin in Algeria, "We might as well die decently on the barricades." Denholm. France in Revolution: 1848, 125-9.

148 Denholm, France in Revolution: 1848, 125.

149 De Luma, The French Republic Under Cavaignac, 137.

150 Dautry, La Révolution de 1848, 200.

151 Ibid.

152 Stearns, Revolutionary Tide in Europe, 90-4. Marx saw this as the "first great battle . . . between the two classes that split modern society." Tocqueville saw it as "an attack on private property by the propertyless masses." Stearns saw it as an alignment between the rich and the poor, which he qualified somewhat for the "rich" were not always well off but were defenders of the established social order.

153 Robertson, Revolutions of 1848, 88-9.

"friend's place."[154]

The government heard about it too, and had the rappel beaten to call up the National Guardsmen. General Cavaignac was given dictatorial powers. He organized his troops as the barricades went up.[155]Not only men, but women prepared for the attack by carrying supplies, powder, and rifles. Behind the street barricades, "every man resolved to fight or die at his door for the bread of his household."[156] It was an ominous battleground of family housing and small shops defended by desperate workers.[157] In one disturbing incident, a General Brèa was invited to negotiate with the workers. While under their protection, the General was shot. Later, a mason named Lahr was convicted for his death. In 1848, Lahr worked with Martin Nadaud, a famous mason and an Icarian friend of Cabet.[158] Another Icarian, Eugène Mourot was also reported to be in the barricade region where Lahr supposedly fired the shot that killed General Brèa. Mourot was a club and workshop leader in 1848. Several years later, in an effort to slander the character of

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154 Le Populaire, July 9, 1848, December 17, 1848. No paper on June 25 or July 2 because of the government suppression. Johnson, Utopian Communism, 284-5. Johnson concluded that Cabet was "probably in the Midi trying to rally support for his emigration when the fighting broke out." In December, Cabet wrote that he had been forced into hiding ten times in the past year.

155 De Luma, The French Republic Under Cavaignac, 138-9. On June 23, the Assembly gave Cavaignac full command of all military forces in Paris and made him Dictator.

156 Denholm, France in Revolution: 1848, 129. Marie set the workshops up like the military.

157 Duveau, 1848: The Making of a Revolution, 134-9.

158 Ibid., 176. Nadaud, Memoires, 199, 206. Nadaud had intended to go with Cabet's second advance-guard, but his wife became sick.

Mourot, who challenged Cabet's leadership at Nauvoo, Cabet accused him of giving the order to shoot General Brèa, a crime that, if true, would discredit his character and help restore Cabet's image.[159] A brother of one of the first advance guardsmen, Julien Marchand, also fought on the barricades and was exiled afterwards.[160] Quite likely, many unidentified Icarian workers who took part in the uprising had wanted to go to America but were unable to meet the expenses after June. How many Icarians were killed, imprisoned, and disillusioned is impossible to determine. Estimates reveal that about 40% of the June fighters had been workers in the national workshops. The remaining 60% lived and operated their artisan trades in the quarters where the barricades were constructed.[161] Workers were the main constituent of the Icarian movement.

Women in the faubourgs had helped spread the war cry, "bread or more barricades."[162] Belleville, the location of the Vesuvians workshop, was part of the battle district. With the young women's vocal propensity for equal military service rights, it is likely that they were among the women fighters inside the barricades.[163] Observers

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159 Ibid. Cabet, Le Cit. Mourot n'a-t-il pas une mission en Icarie (Nauvoo: Typographie Icarienne, 1856) ACIS. Cabet implied that Mourot gave the order to kill General Brèa. He raised suspicions that he was a spy who gave police information about the Emigration Icarienne. While these second hand reports and rumors may or may not have validity, they point out that some Icarians who were part of the June days came to Icaria and that Cabet followed their trials and arrests.

160 Dale W. Ross, "One Man's Voyage to Icaria" in Lillian M. Snyder and Robert P. Sutton, editors, Immigration of the Icarians to Illinois (Illinois, Yeast Printing, Inc., 1987), 50. Julien Marchand and his June days fighting friend Citizen Dorgal were deported to Lambessa Africa.

161 Stearns, 1848: Revolutionary Tide in Europe, 90.

162 Denholm, France in Revolution: 1848, 145.

163 Questions about exactly how real the Vesuvians and their constitution were have

reported that five women (one dressed in mourning) climbed the barricade on the boulevard Saint-Martin where they "brandished halberds (ax-like blades with steel spikes mounted on a long shaft) and weird-looking swords."[164] Women, "young and old, like the 76 year-old Bellevilloise widow Henri" were seen on the barricades.[165] Victor Hugo reported an account of two wild prostitutes who dared the guardsmen to shoot and were promptly killed. His was only one of many sensational reports in the bourgeois press that appeared to justify the harsh measures against women that followed.[166]

When the smoke from the ruins cleared, bourgeois women ventured into the area,

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been raised most recently by Scott, Only Paradoxes to Offer, 80-1. Scott reported that "Paris police joined the fray [caricaturists of feminists], recruiting prostitutes to a bogus feminist society called the Vesuviennes. They even published a constitution for the group which was so successful in its parody that generations of historians have treated it as a genuine feminist document." Scott reported that the writing of the preamble of their constitution was "attributed to Deroin," which seems unlikely if they were a 'bogus' group. Scott cited Thibert, Le feminisme dans le socialisme (Paris: M Giard, 1926), 320, and Marc de Villiers, Histoire des clubs de femmes et des légions d'amazones (Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1910) as sources. However, Sarane Alexandrian's 1979 text, Le Socialisme Romantique (397-400, 400n1, 400n2), noted that de Villiers had accumulated "inaccuracies about the Vesuvians, making them persons of folklore." Alexandrian separated the small Vesuvian community at Bellevue, whose members presented a petition on women workers to Mayor Marrast, from the lampoon characters who appear to be Villiers and Scott's "bogus" figures. I was unable to discuss this with Scott because she was out of the country until February 1998. Perhaps, there was a real group and another 'bogus' one fashioned by the police which was used for 'lampoon' parody purposes in the press to exaggerate the folly of the feminist demands. Either way, Cabet was linked with the radicalness of the Vesuviennes in the 'lampoons.'

[164] Duveau, 1848 The Making of a Revolution, 174.

[165] Dautry, La Révolution de 1848, 202.

[166] Duveau, 1848 The Making of a Revolution, 134-5. The two girls were barely 17 and wore lace caps on their heads and carried a banner. Dautry, La Révolution de 1848, 221. Dautry cited examples of tales about the prisoners (with money in their pockets) including women (with stolen fabrics) that were used "by the bourgeois to justify their repression."

but "the somber air of the women of the faubourgs incited them to return very quickly to their own beautiful quarters."[167] The disruption in the market exchange of women's luxury goods would take time to recover. The economy of the Icarian seamstresses living behind the barricades would be impeded for some time, making it nearly impossible to accumulate the money to emigrate. There were 1,460 dead and15,000 prisoners captured, exiled, or freed over time.[168] Few of the surviving workers who had to repair or replace burned out homes, bury dead friends and relatives, or try to get them released from prison, held any interest in Cabet's fanciful dream of Icarian bliss. They had to go on living with reduced hopes for a better future. Most had to continue their lives with missing family members and little or no money.

However, a remnant of this Parisian mixture along with Icarians living in the provinces, continued to see emigration as a solution to the defective "social organization." Although Cabet did not take an active part in the June days, he had to be cautious about what he printed in his paper.[169] Feminist journals were silenced. Political clubs were placed under police supervision. A decree on June 28 singled out women and forbade them to participate in political clubs. They were disorderly and caused the "ruin" of family and society and had to be returned to their households.[170] An Assembly proposal to reestablish

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[167] Dautry, La Révolution de 1848, 218. Class fraternity (and sisterhood) was buried in the rubble.

[168] Robertson, Revolutions of 1848, 94-7. Dautry, La Révolution de 1848, 217-18. Stearns, 1848: The Revolutionary Tide in Europe, 92.

[169] Johnson, "Etienne Cabet" diss., 600, 600n1. There were allegations that Cabet was in the barricade district during the June days and he was arrested. The tribunnal believed Cabet's assertion that he was in Marseille during the insurrection and rendered a decision of non-lieu.

divorce was quickly withdrawn.[171] Deputy Considerant even submitted a proposal to allow women to vote which was rejected 899 to 1.[172] In a debate over whether women should be permitted to submit petitions to the Assembly, 'equality' and 'rights' were officially categorized in masculine terms. However, women's established petitioner rights were allowed to stand.[173]

Sand retreated to her Nohant estate and Niboyet abandoned the "fray."[174] Not all feminists gave up so easily. D'Héricourt, Gay, and Deroin continued to work for their rights.[175] They proposed reforms for women even though d'Héricourt argued in her book that, in the existing state,

> women not only do not demand their political rights, but laugh at those who address them on the subject. They pride themselves on being thought unfit for that which regards general interests; they recognize themselves therefore as incapable.
>
> On the other hand, they are minors civilly, slaves of prejudice, deprived of general education, submissive for the most part to the influence of their husbands, lovers, or confessors, clinging as a majority to the ways of the past. If therefore

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170 Moses, French Feminism, 145. Not only a 'class' revolution, but a 'gender' revolution transpired. After the 1851 coup, the remaining, radical female activists were arrested, imprisoned, and exiled. The most advanced feminist movement on the continent ended under seige from both the left and the right. Without leaders or realizable expectations, the feminist movement ceased.

171 Moses, French Feminism,142.

172 Ibid., 141-2.

173 Scott, Only Paradoxes, 86.

174 Moses, French Feminism, 142.

175 Scott, Only Paradoxes, 57, 72, 68, 86-7, 68. Deroin launched her own paper, La politique des femmes which she changed to L'opinion des femmes after June. She ran for office in 1849 and helped organize an Association of Associations which brought her a conviction for subversion and exile. Moses, French Feminism, 147. Deroin was fined 5,000 francs for her plan which 400 fraternal associations joined. Unable to pay, she had to stop publishing L'opinion des femmes.

> they should enter without preparation into political life, they would either duplicate men or cause humanity to retrograde.[176]

She recommended that women must "first emancipate themselves civilly and become educated: their turn will come."[177] Like Cabet, Sand and d'Héricourt agreed that women weren't able to be trusted with political rights despite their numerous qualifications about the need to educate them and remove marriage restraints.[178]

The 1848 public outlets for expression by women, workers, and Icarians were limited after the June days. In his paper on July 9, Cabet described the June fighting as a "civil war with all its fury and horrors. . . . It was a social war! It was a war of misery, hunger, and despair! It was a war between the People and the bourgeoisie." The "soldiers massacred their brothers - the workers! It is the mobile garde who massacred their comrades on the barricades! . . . It is the republican Guard who massacred the republicans! What confusion! What chaos! And what is the future of France! What hates, division, what new miseries, what calamities for all the world!" [179] The "proclamation by the

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[176] D'Héricourt, Woman Affranchised, 300-301

[177] Ibid., 304-306. D'Héricourt's response to the contradiction of granting uneducated men the vote was that they had acquired this right, and "a right once admitted cannot be taken away: let them render themselves fit to exercise them."

[178] Lubin, Correspondance Tome VIII, 423. Sand expected that the panic would cease as well as the financial crises. Barry ed., George Sand In Her Own Words, 397. Despite derision by her workers at Nohant, Sand held on to her political beliefs and on August 21, 1870, she wrote to André Bontet, that "I am still today as red a socialist as ever." She qualified this by arguing that convictions should not be imposed by force. Walton, "Writing the 1848 Revolution," 1012. "Women of letters" that Walton analyzed, viewed June as the "effective end of a democratic and progressive republic." Leaders engaged in a "civil war against the very people who had brought them to power."

[179] Le Populaire, July 9, 1848. Cabet cited his figures for workers as 50,000 pitted against "250,000 men perhaps, of the national guards of Paris and departments and the gardes mobiles, and soldiers." He estimated that 20,000 were killed or wounded.

President of the National Assembly had excited the anger of the National Guardsmen against communists and he [the President] denounced communism as the cause of the insurrection whereas a journal pointed to me as being at the head of the insurgents." This was an error, he said. Cabet was not with workers behind the barriers, but in hiding.[180] He urged the government to grant amnesty to the six to seven thousand insurgents who were arrested and held without trials in inhuman, crowded prisons, awaiting deportation.[181]

Cabet also noted a new element. "One can read in the dossier of a prisoner [about] that new crime: friend of M.Cabet. . . . forced to leave their district, some of them do not dare to keep their subscriptions to Le Populaire; others burn their books so as not to be compromised. Many are condemmed to die of starvation and reduced to despair."[182] There can be little doubt that many Icarian workers fought in the barricades and were discriminated against for the "crime" of being a "friend of Cabet" which contributed to the shrinking number of followers.

For Cabet, the revolution was over. It was not the way he wanted the Communauté to come into being. He repeated his desire to have a transitory regime installed with the goals of fraternity and equality. Any lingering hope for an Icaria in France was gone. Icarians, he maintained, were busy preparing for a better experience in Texas and would be doing nothing else to "trouble France."[183]

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180 Ibid. On June 28, a police commissioner presented him with a mandat.

181 Ibid.

182 Ibid., September 3, 1848. This was part of an essay on their persecution which points out that after June, many Icarians were "reduced to despair" and near starvation.

183 Ibid., July 9, 1848. Cabet recalled the history of the first departure, his forty years of study, and his efforts to bring about Communauté.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

'AU TEXAS' : LAND, MONEY, AND WOMEN

Two days after vowing not to "trouble France," Cabet published the Prospectus for the grande émigration au Texas en Amérique. For the next few months, the pages of Le Populaire were filled with practical details about Icarian departures for Texas where they had already acquired about 3,000 acres of land. Those who wanted to be admitted had to have a complete knowledge of Icarian doctrine and be in good health. Both husband and wife must be in agreement about leaving. Single members must "engage themselves to marry." Along with the required 600 franc apport, everyone must have enough clothes for a year and a bed. Children under seven need have only 300 francs.[1] Icarians would also have a uniforme de voyage that "the community would furnish for men, women, and children."[2]

Those who were selected for the emigration had to pay ten extra francs for the processing costs. Each man must have his military discharge certificate and passport. Everyone's apport must be completed with money paid in actions (shares) or coupons (tickets) at the office of the newspaper, or to a correspondent in each town fifteen days before the departure. Those without money could sell objects they possessed en nature (in kind, things exchanged of like value) without too much loss. Cabet noted that the community could use some tools, but if they could be sold advantageously, they could

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[1] Le Populaire, July 11, 1848. At a time when 600 francs was a worker's yearly income, a family with two small children needed 1800 francs, that is three years' income, a nearly impossible sum for the general propertyless worker.

[2] Ibid.

remit an inventory of things en nature and items to be sold. However, he warned against disposing of any excess property to "individuals who could be considered especially close friends of theirs." All surplus money must go to the community. In addition, if anyone wanted to delay their departure for some reason and needed to have all or part of their apport reimbursed, they must present their case in writing eight days in advance. No one will be able to leave the community after they get there without authorization, which could be given because of sickness due to the climate, or if they were sent on a mission for the community. If sick, they would be remitted a sum proportional to their apport.[3]

The grand departure of women, men, and children would begin by the end of September. Cabet's Prospectus also provided potential emigrants with a copy of the document that they were required to sign. Basically, it stated that each must completely accept the Social Contract that had been published in Le Populaire on September 25, 1847. "Soldiers of humanity" must be "devoted to the happiness of women, children, and the masses oppressed by misery and ignorance." Their "first interest and duty was to the Community, its union, concord, tolerance, and indulgence towards one another, order, discipline and unity." They must practice fraternity, love, care, and help each other. All must accept Cabet as Director for ten years and swear to submit to his direction as he in turn, swore to consecrate all his existence to the realization of the Communauté based on fraternity.[4]

So far, the 69 first and 19 second advance guardsmen plus 5 others had signed this

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[3] Ibid. "Droits" and "Devoirs" of the "co-proprietors" were listed.

[4] Ibid.

contract, and made the trip which involved 45 days at sea and 18 more by steam-boat and overland. Cabet published a letter from one of the guardsmen, Grillas, who wrote about how he had endured the hardships of the trip for "our holy cause." He was in good health despite the "difficulties and privations of the route over rivers and forests." A group letter sent by the other men offered readers a preview of the trip from New Orleans to Texas.[5]

The mid-July issue of Le Populaire presented a review of St. John Chrysostom's views on fraternity along with a log of the advance-guardsmen's travels up till March 28.[6] There were copies of seven letters the men had sent to friends and relatives in August. Hideoux told his wife that the "country is beautiful" and the land was of "excellent quality" with "good water sources." Viardot's wife learned that "Icaria, our Icaria is great and good, there is not a man on earth who would not be pleased." Alexis Marchand wrote his brother, Lucien, (exiled after June) that they had spend ten days working with an incredible activity constructing the baraques (huts) and had nearly finished ten. They expected to have 150 completed by July 1st. He too believed that they were "in the most beautiful country of the world." Louis Marchand told his wife that he was "in the promised land." And on June 2, Bira's mother received a letter from her son who hoped "all the family would come and profit from the perfect happiness that awaits us here." Although each of the men mentioned some fatigues and sufferings, their overall impression of Icaria in Texas was that it was all they hoped for.[7]

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[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., July 23, 1848. Projet de loi sur les clubs required the presence of a public civil employee (policeman) at all meetings. Discussions must be written down and signed. No illegal discussion or hidden arms were tolerated and communications between clubs was forbidden.

Some cautious readers might wonder if the plan to complete 150 houses by July 1st would suffice to shelter everyone, or, if this number of dwellings would insure possession of the 'free' acreage. Cabet must have worried himself, especially after Thermes wrote a letter to his Icarian friends in Vienne about the sickness of Sully, the Peters land agent, who was unable to continue traveling with them. The guardsmen had to explore the land themselves and lost time in marches et contre-marches (going back and forth). It would have been better if they had known the direct route, Thermes wrote. They "lacked arms" and he "prayed that those who asked to come would come to help us, and soon, even without apport."[8] Cabet knew these "soldiers of humanity" were having difficulties, and on August 19, he sent five men off with 25,000 francs to help cover expenses. However, he did not disclose this information in the paper until October 1, when he printed a report about the third departure of 23 advance-guardsmen on September 25.[9] News about Icarian departures and finances was undoubtedly delayed for security reasons. Not only Cabet, but his followers were being monitored by police officials who were present at all public meetings after June.

Incidents of harassment resumed and on the first of September, Cabet responded to the reports of "Hostilités contre l'émigration Icarienne" and "Persécutions contre les Icariens."[10] The 'hostilitiés' were largely related to the dubious information about the

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7 Ibid., August 20, 1848.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid., October 1, 1848.

10 Ibid., September 3, 1848.

colony location. After Cabet admitted that the journey involved "dangers, disappointments, and fatigues," he resorted to his mission analogy to justify the risks. "Did Christianity not have similar ones?" readers were asked. "We address the men and the energetic, intrepid women . . . we are going to give them [detractors] the example and share their fate . . . either they can find it to be good or else those who are afraid should not come with us!"[11] Despite these criticisms, it seems that Cabet still detected solid support for the trip from "energetic, intrepid" women. Yet, unfavorable tales about Texas clouded his project and the next week, he printed a copy of the New York Herald's frightening account of an Indian massacre of two hundred Icarians which could not be true, he argued, since not that many Icarians had left. Another newspaper in New Orleans published an article about a civil war taking place among two hundred Icarians installed on the Red River. Cabet again called the story false. "We are not frightened or discouraged by these maneuvers, intrigues, and lies. . . .Without a doubt, we will have, in the beginning, some fatigues, privations, and dangers. . . . I do not want to hide anything from you . . . Always it is the quality that we want more than the quantity."[12]

The leader of the first advance guard, Adolphe Gouhenant, had sent Cabet a letter to confirm that "Icaria is founded. Icaria exists." Written on July 12, he reported that they had thirty-two houses built and adequate supplies of grain, sugar, coffee, tea, tobacco, whiskey, etc. "All our brothers are very contented."[13] Meanwhile, those who were leaving

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11 Ibid.

12 Ibid., September 10, 1848.

13 Ibid.

were occupied with the massive travel preparations necessary for their large departures. Le Populaire had elaborate lists of supplies that were being shipped to the colony ranging from vital to trifling items.[14] The men's trousseaus and bedding were described in minute detail, and "the trousseau for wives and children must be composed in the same proportion," the article stated.[15]

This cursory dismissal of women's trousseaus apparently did not go over very well, for three weeks later, a report hinted that there had been some dissatisfaction about their clothing items. "After two grand reunions of Icariennes, the women unanimously adopted a costume for the voyage," the reporter noted.[16] Women, after all, had been working on designs for their uniforms for over a year. The article described the "Costume des femmes et des enfants pour le voyage," a very striking garment. The Icariennes' had chosen a garnet-red coat of the best quality wool-muslin. It had full sleeves that were gathered at the shoulders. The lapel-collar was made of heavy blue wool and garnished with lace. Their stitched straw hats were decorated with lace and folded blue ribbons tied under their chins. The coat was about fifteen centimeters shorter than their skirts.[17] Eight metres of

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[14] Ibid. Lists of every imaginable food and supply item took up several pages. This would impress critics of their venture and reassure those who were leaving that they would have ample provisions. There was also information about transporting these items to Le Havre and the name of the agent making arrangements for lodging 40 or 50 persons leaving about September 25. (On September 28, 1848, 23 men left.)

[15] Ibid., 1848.

[16] Ibid., October 1, 1848. This issue was only two pages long, but the "next number will contain all the necessary information."

[17] Ibid. Harris, "Red Cap of Liberty," 296-99, 307. Revolutionary dress included red, blue and white colors. A three quarter length cloak like the Icarians was a common feature. Icarian women's "garnet-red" color trimmed with blue and white lace was revolutionary symbolism.

fabric were needed for each uniform. If the material could not be located conveniently, the writer noted, the correspondent's office in each town would help them obtain it. A modèle (pattern) was being sent to each place. The purpose of the costume, Cabet reminded the "energetic, intrepid" women, was "to recall our principle of fraternity and equality. We hope that no Icarienne would distinguish herself from her sisters by any richer [clothes] than the adopted costume."[18] There can be little doubt that the women planned to be decked out as proudly as the uniformed men who were escorted on shipboard with such pomp and ceremony on February 3rd.

In a fraternal spirit on July 11th, Cabet had written that the "community" would "furnish" everyone's costumes.[19] However, by October 1st, his dwindling budget must have caused second thoughts and he changed his mind. Now, "each woman can buy and

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[18] Le Populaire, October 1, 1848. Gontier and Gontier, Partons, 93. These uniforms also had some flower-petals that a designer might recognize which are hard to position. The description in Le Populaire was:

> Pegnoir ou Pardessus en mousseline-laine, couleur grenat, belle qualité,- à coulissés tout autour, - à revers avec petit col rabatant,-froncé sur les épaules, - larges manches à revers, - ouvert devant pour etre boutonne a volonte, - les revers un col et le devant garnis d'un lacet de laine gros bleu,- plus court que la jupe de quinze centimètres, - avec un cobblerie ? [uni. . ? ? ink blot]
>
> Chapeau de paille cousne de 40 ou 50 nous,- ruban gros bleu roise, sans noeuds, avec un bavollet, de la nuance du lacet.

The Gontier and Gontier text description was:

> Un pegnoir grenat de mousseline-laine coulissé tout autour enfermait comme un grand pétale arrondi toute la silhouette et se gonflait à la brise du large. Ce ravissant peignoir était froncé aux épaules, il avait de larges manches à revers. Il fallait huit mètres d'étoffe pour le faire. Il etait garni d'un col blanc rabattu, bordé comme les grands revers des manches, d'un lacet de laine gros bleu. Ce peignoir, plus court de quinze centimètres que à robe, donnait à toutes les icariennes la grâce d'une fleur Le chapeau était de paille cousue, orné d'un ruban gros bleu croisé qui s'attachait sous le menton. Un bavolet fronce du même bleu encadrait le visage. Les couturières et les modistes icariennes s'étaient surpassées.

[19] Le Populaire, July 11, 1848.

make her costume," he stated, and "that of the children's."[20] Obtaining the proper fabric was also a problem for a week later Cabet noted that, "We had wanted to buy the material en gros (wholesale), but it could not be loaned, and we could not have it until about the 10th or 11th. You can tell the Bureau how much you need for each woman to make her costume and that of her children."[21] Women would have to sew quickly for the first large departure that they were allowed to join was planned for the end of October. The wives and children of the first advanced guardsmen had been separated for nearly a year and looked forward to being reunited.[22]

Other changes in the Icarian organization and money collections affecting women were also taking place. On October 8, 1848, Cabet explained that the "decree on the clubs" was very "restrictive" and "prohibitive" and it was necessary to "resign ourselves to the exclusion of women at clubs and at reunions during the state of seige."[23] Therefore, a new "Formation de la Société" with 60 articles was drawn up. The Icarians of Paris were a Société fraternelle formed to "moralize, instruct, and propagandize the Icarian doctrines

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[20] Ibid., October 1, 1848. Gontier and Gontier, Partons, 203. Tailors had donated their labor to sew uniforms for the 69 advance guardsmen's who left February 3, 1848.

[21] Ibid., October 8, 1848.

[22] Ibid., October 1, 1848.

[23] Ibid., October 8, 1848. De Luna, French Republic Under Cavaignac, 204-5, 210-13. Cavaignac's repressive laws against street gatherings were more severe than the 1831 laws. Both public and private associations were tightly regulated. The bill on clubs (adopted July 28, 1848 by a vote of 629 to 100) added "women and children were forbidden to attend meetings." An amendment also forbid discussion of "any proposal contrary to public order or to morality." Cavaignac's "state of seige" operations (extensive police powers) struck out at newspapers from both the right and the left. The state of seige ended with a vote by the Assembly on October 19, 1848.

equally and pacifically, and to aid and practice fraternity between ourselves and our brothers generally, and to show tolerance, indulgence, goodwill, and helpfulness." Secrecy was not necessary. Police oversaw all meetings. The new Society members had held elections for seven offices, President, secretary, etc. The bulk of the new articles related to the method of being admitted, costs, content, and orderly fashion of meetings. They planned to initiate a Cours Icarien. Propositions to be discussed at meetings had to be submitted in writing in advance. If a member was approved, he received a card costing 1 franc and paid 10 centimes dues each week. Members could bring one approved potential member with him to a meeting. The Society also had a secours (aid, relief) box for offerings that the Bureau would use for "fraternal services." A general, voluntary subscription was available to help facilitate the Emigration.[24] Article 16 of the new Society was related to women: "Icariennes were admitted to a separate place," it stipulated.[25] Women's "separate place" was a perplexing position. The Icariennes knew they were not card holding members, but what did their "separate place" imply? No further details were provided.

Cabet was having other problems. He needed to supplement apport fees for many workers and women. The Revolution "disrupted their projects and paralyzed our resources and means," he noted. Small-income workers were unable to sell their furnishings or their trade tools. "Property cannot be sold without enormous ruin; creditors

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[24] Le Populaire, October 8, 1848. This Society will be the framework for the Paris Office which will recruit Icarians for America. This issue published the names of the twenty-one men who left in the third advance guard on September 28 from Le Havre. (Later figures counted 23.)

[25] Ibid.

cannot recover their claims; and many families or individuals promised apport before the Revolution than they cannot make today." Consequently, the Icarian social fund lacked important sums they had counted on. "Many who had made partial payments on their apport in advance have requested reimbursement" because they had no work. "Many wives of the first Advance-Guard have suffered in their work prospects and cannot realize economies to pay their apport. . . .Some of them haven't any apport. We regard it as our duty to reunite them with their husbands.[26]

After this explanation of the "Difficultés actuelles," Cabet announced that he regretted that the "actions (shares) and coupons (interests in a share) for Le Populaire" that were paid in earlier "cannot be given as apport to any other person" and are "not reimbursable." It was a "cruel thing for us" to have to "refuse these requests for reimbursement" and be exposed to such "sorrowful proofs." In addition, "we are not going to pay those who bring a lawsuit before the Judge of peace to force our reimbursement."[27] In essence, Cabet's October announcement voided the July notice that he would reimburse the apport of those who changed their minds. He had just sent 25,000 francs off with five men on August 19, and was apparently trying to stretch the remaining monies to cover travel expenses.[28] Women's jewelry donations and other en nature contributions that could

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[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., July 11, 1848, October 8, 1848. Suttton, Les Icariens, 160n32. Contradictory reports from relatives and friends of those involved in the American expedition caused them to write to the "Ministry of Justice to demand a full judicial inquiry." Charles Hoiret of Rouen wanted an investigation into the "foundation, administration, and direction of the Colony Icarian Community of M.Cabet." Hoiret's letter was dated December 22, 1848, CIS SIUE.

[28] Le Populaire, October 1, 1848. The five men who left two months earlier without fanfare took 25,000 francs, the equivalent of 42 men's apport, to help with overseas

no longer be marketed at fair value, had become an albatross. Destitute Icarians wanted their money back, and were told they could not get a refund nor transfer the apport already paid in to help others. Cabet's fiscally expedient, but, unfraternal policy reversal, was creating a collection of disgruntled Icarian losers who were already bringing lawsuits against him. How could he fulfill his "duty to reunite" financially destitute wives with their advance guardsmen husbands? (And provide them with the correct costume.)

While Cabet was working on these stressful economic problems, he was dealt a rude ideological blow by Rome. The "decree of the congregation of the INDEX, dated September 18, 1848, approved by the Pope and promulgated by Rome, [had] condemmed the following works: Le Vrai Christianisme suivant Jésus-Christ, by M. Cabet" and two other texts.[29] He was outraged that his spiritual book was "condemned, excluded, excommunicated, and forbidden by the Pope! All the Priests prohibit reading it under pain of eternal damnation!"[30] Once again, he defended the "doctrine of Jesus Christ" and the "general ideas on God" set out in his text. "We call the Pope's sentence before the judgment of all the world, and we are going to translate the work into many languages," he announced.[31] Lurking underneath this doctrinal hyperbole, however, was the urgent problem of locating funds to cover the emigration costs for advance-guardsmen's wives and some "very useful workers" who did not have their apport. "We consider it our duty

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expenses.

[29] Ibid., October 15, 1848. The others were Nouvelle Théologie philosophique by M.Emile Hannotin and La Science populaire de Claudius.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid.

to render to the husbands who counted on their wives [coming], and it is certainly the view of all the Icarians; but, in the actual circumstances, the charge is heavy since a great number of wives must leave without apport."[32] In addition, "we must make all the possible sacrifices to procure the [poor workers?] talents for Icaria."[33]

As the last minute preparations were taking place, Cabet and his staff had to make tough judgments about worthy departees who did not have enough apport. Even though they had to turn down requests for refunds, they tried to balance other egalitarian ideals. "Uniform costumes are a symbol of fraternity and equality," Cabet reminded those who were leaving. Each departee has his "personal trousseau in a trunk. The rest was in common." A large group was planning to depart about November 5.[34]

Cabet received two important letters sometime around the first of November. One was very troubling and the other hinted that the colony might soon have a rich benefactor. Favard, who had gone with the nineteen men in June, wrote a depressing account from the Texas colony dated September 2, 1848. "Almost all [our brothers] who survive are sick," he told Cabet. "Four are dead . . . those least sick attend to the food and the fatigue makes them fall sick again." The sun was so hot that when they were exposed to it, they had the "fever" (heat stroke?). They had decided to abandon the camp. Favard added that they "should not be able to bring the women here by these abominable roads." There were no villages and hardly any farmhouses. "One does not even find bread." Eight of Favard's

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32 Ibid., October 22, 1848.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.

fresh group of men were sick and had to be left behind. In addition, "we have incurred a debt of seven or eight thousand francs, and we are embarrassed for the means to liquidate it under the circumstances." They were retreating to Shreveport.[35]

Cabet must have been upset by Favard's news, but about the same time, he received a cheerful letter from his faithful Icarian, Jenny P. d'Héricourt (Felix Lamb) who renewed her unrestricted support for Cabet's colony. Her letter from Paris was dated November 1, 1848 and included a hymn:

> Au citoyen Cabet Dévouement Icarien
>
> Dear and venerable Père,
>
> According to a letter that I just now received, I hope to collect my part of an inheritance of three or four millions from the United States of America. The day when that hope is realized, I will say to you: "Père, - chacun pour tous: tous pour chacun (each for all: all for each)!"
>
> You have told me about the number of your poor children; rich today, what I possess is for all my brothers as for myself; you can then dispose of it in the interest of our holy doctrine, because the success of Icaria will be the salvation of Humanity!
>
> To you and to all for life,
> F.L.
> (author of the Hymne Icarien)[36]
>
> Aux Fondateurs d'Icarie
>
> Honor to you, oh magnanimous soldiers
> Of the holy fraternity!
> Immortal glory to you sublime ghosts
> Who sleep in eternity!
> The sacred songs of innumerable phalanxes,
> Their long echoes unite us in harmony
> To celebrate with us your laudatory
> They repeat: Brothers, you are blessed.

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[35] Shaw, Icaria, 37-9. The second advance guard landed in New Orleans on July 22 and ten or twelve of them reached "Icaria" on August 29. Le Populaire, December 17, 1848. Part of the information in Favard's letter was paraphrased, but not reprinted. Cabet was gone by then.

[36] F.L. to Cabet, November 1, 1848. Papiers Cabet, BHVP. Offen, "Nineteenth century French feminist." 154n 25.

Honor to you, etc.
Children of Christ, in another hemisphere.
They prepare the altars of the future,
That are mounted to the Divine sphere . . .
Brothers, sing: they are immortal deaths!
Honor to you, etc.
Dry our tears, and that which is men's courage
Render strength to the weak and downcast:
We are going, friends, to collect the heritage
Of their dangers, of their noble virtues
Honor to you, etc.
They seal new alliances
Not spoken by sword, blood and tears,
But by faith, love, and hope,
Sow all the harvests and flowers
Honor to you, etc.
And strike down the thrones of the world
The people see equality sparkle;
But the happiness of nations is founded
On justice and on charity!
Honor to you, etc.
In this way the sky is the common Country,
When will we see all the honor of union?
O founder of happy Icaria,
We alone hold the keys to the future
Honor to you, etc.
When France is great and triumphant
It will cry: Vive la liberté!
You will respond in a trembling voice:
Republicans, save humanity!
Honor to you, etc.
But they are not hearing your accent;
And they rush into discord and hell!
Paris plots, the devil, and ashes. . .
Many are dead, many are in chains!
Honor to you, etc.
Mânes[37]beloved of modern apostles,
You deign to smile at the fraternal hymn
That we offer to heaven with yours.
You are blessed. Praise to the Eternal
Honor to you, oh magnanimous soldiers
Of the holy fraternity!
Immortal glory to you sublime ghosts

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37 Mânes was a Roman and Etrusan spirit of the dead or, spirit of ancestors.

Who sleep in eternity![38]

While d'Héricourt's rousing poem and generous offer to donate her anticipated inheritance may have lightened Cabet's worries over his coffers, Favard's account of the men's sicknesses and retreat must have shaken his picture of their Icarian destination. November was almost a non-newspaper month for reasons that were not covered in print, but were very likely due to a trial being conducted against Cabet for guns found in his office.[39] However, he and his team were also very busy supervising four large emigrations from October 25 to November 21:

56 left on October 25 leader - Pepin (from Bordeaux)
82 left on November 2 leader - Prudent
74 left on November 12 leader - Witzig
114 left on November 21 leader - Berthier.

plus:

40 left on December 18 leader - Coutellier (Cabet was gone by then.)[40]

Counting the earlier departures, Prudhomeaux's account showed that 485 Icarians had departed from France and another 11 were admitted at New Orleans, bringing the total to 496 at the end of 1848.[41] His figures listed 259 men, 125 women, and 101 children. There were 134 bachelors or husbands without wives.[42] The Icarian family began its overseas

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38 F.L. to Cabet, November 1, 1848. Papiers Cabet, BHVP.

39 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 238. Prudhommeaux noted "bad news that came from Icaria appeared for the first time in Le Populaire on November 12," but he didn't specify it. I may have missed this issue, or it was not in the microfilm collection. D'Héricourt's 'anonymous' friend's journal noted that Le Populaire hadn't appeared for eight days and Mme Fxxx was upset. The trial news was kept out of the paper which was appearing irregularly.

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid. Gontier and Gontier, Partons, 93. Several "isolated departures" took place that Cabet opposed. About twenty left for New York or New Orleans which accounts for the eleven 'extra.'

42 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 238.

existence with a sex ratio where men outnumbered women two to one.

And what became of d'Héricourt's inheritance? There is no extant record of any donation from her to the Icarians. But research on the span of her inter-continental travels and remarkable feminist publications by Karen Offen suggests that she had considerable expenditures and must have had some financial backing.[43] One could speculate that, like many others, she received negative reports about the problems of women in the colony, political and otherwise, and simply decided to keep her money or use it for better purposes. Regardless of her later activity, d'Héricourt's promotion of Cabet's doctrines for over two years was still so strong in November 1848 that she offered to give the millions that she hoped to inherit to his cause.[44] Unlike her feminist convictions, d'Héricourt's Icarianism absolutely withered in a short time. By 1860, she had become a widely acclaimed feminist spokesman in Italy, France, and the United States. She challenged the thinking of major philosophers on women and found flaws in Cabet's doctrines. In her text, A Woman's Philosophy of Woman: or Woman Affranchised. An answer to Michelet,

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[43] Offen, "Nineteenth-Century French Feminist," 157n31. D'Héricourt needed money to travel to Italy where she published fourteen articles in the liberal philosophical journal edited by Ausono Franchi, Ragione of Turin, Italy which appeared from 1855 to 1857. Her articles were also published in La donna in Genova, Italy from 1855-56. She lectured in the US as well.

[44] Karen Offen to Diana Garno, August 29, 1996. The Institute for Research on Women & Gender, Stanford University. In response to my query about Offen's research findings as to why d'Héricourt abandoned Cabet's doctrine, she agreed that d'Héricourt may have heard through letters from women who went to the colony about their problems. Offen informed me that d'Héricourt's friends in the 1850s were somewhat conservative Saint-Simonians in a circle around the Revue philosophique et religieuse. She had no luck trying to track down d'Héricourt's 1875 American contacts at 33 West Street in New York. D'Héricourt had left her worldly goods to the family living there: Eugène Félix Gracieux whose wife's maiden name was Marie Benoîte Bardin. Neither of these names appear in the register of Icarian colonists.

Proudhon, Girardin, Legouvé, Comte, and other Modern Innovators, Cabet merited only a few acrimonious lines in a chapter on "Modern Communists-Equality." She observed that

> Another communist sect, that of the Icarians, takes no notice either of the nature or the rights of women. Its chief, M. Cabet, an ex-attorney general, was too fully imbued with the doctrines of the Civil Code, that inelegant paraphrase of the Apostle Paul, not to be persuaded that woman ought to remain outside the pale of the political right, and she ought to be subordinate to man in general, and to her husband, good or bad in particular.[45]

This later sentiment did not reflect her prior years of adulation for Cabet who had nourished the development of her early feminist spirit. Questions about the geunineness and extent of Cabet's help lingers. Did he really support d'Héricourt and the 1848 feminists efforts to "reclaim" their rights? Was he being deceitful? pragmatic? or did his 'delicate' hesitations stem from 'difference' theory? Did Cabet withdraw his nominal assistance after the events of the revolutionary period turned against communists and women in order to salvage the emigration? While clear answers are not evident, Cabet did foster the feminist ideals of affranchissement and equality even before the revolution. In addition, he wrote critical appraisals about the unjust laws made by men against women, which, he argued, were enacted for men's benefit. This made him a "traitor to the masculine cause."[46] Many women recognized and appreciated Cabet's voice. In 1848, it would be dishonest not to recognize that Cabet was a "homme féministe" and occupied a spot alongside other

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[45] D'Héricourt, Woman Affranchised, 170-1.

[46] Offen, "Ernest Legouvé and the the Doctrine of "Equality in Difference" for Women," 458-9. Men like John Stuart Mill, William Thompson, Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel, August Bebel, Frederich Engels, Frederich Douglas (and Legouvé) "made contributions to nineteenth century women's emancipation." A 'cluster' of Frenchmen - Fourier, Enfantin, Hugo, Aimé-Martin, Comte, Michelet, de Girardin, Schoelcher, and Richer also "took up women's cause." My findings show that Cabet did likewise, albeit within his christian communist-socialist 'needs' and 'abilities' paradigm.

contemporary French champions of women's rights such as Ernest Legouvé, Victor Considerant, and Pierre Leroux, who likewise held reservations about the shape of gender equality and women's rights.[47]

Following d'Héricourt's terse remarks in her book, she went on to recall Cabet's March 29 club episode about women's political rights and concluded, "Let us do justice however to M. Cabet's disciples; I have never found a single one of them of his opinion on this great question." Her next lines exemplified the reception to the extension of women's rights by men of different classes. "The men in paletots laughed at the demands of brave Jeanne Deroin," she wrote, but "the men in blouses did not even smile at them."[48] D'Héricourt's observations epitomized anti-feminist bourgeois men's attitudes. Their regime put women down in 1848, a move that the workers in "blouses" did not share, for many of them had been exposed to the ideas of gender equality by Cabet and others. D'Héricourt's disdain for Cabet in the years after 1848 was very likely spurred by his subsequent treatment of women in the colony, which mirrored his designation of non-political roles for women in the Voyage. In November 1848, however, d'Héricourt imagined that feminist logic was persuading him otherwise.

Readers of Le Populaire on December 17, 1848, were informed about the revised newspaper staff of Robillard and Beluze who would print news sent to them by Cabet who was on his way to the colony:

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[47] Ibid., 457 n11. Offen's criteria for ascertaining Legouvé's position as a "homme féministe" could be extrapolated to qualify Cabet for a place in this category. Like Cabet, Legouvé did not support women's vote. (Nor was he distracted by plans for an egalitarian colony experience.)

[48] D'Héricourt, Woman Affranchised, 170-1.

Je pars (I leave)

It is a sorrowful heart that I take to the situation of our friends in America, and with a sad heart that I leave France, my friends, and my family.

But our brothers call me over there, and to pursue their needs is my first duty, which does not permit me to hesitate.

I will then brave everything, fatigues and dangers, [and] I devote myself, with all the power of my word. I have already left Paris and in a few minutes I will leave Boulogne to arrive at Folkestone, to London, to Liverpool, to New York, to New Orleans.

On my return, in some months, I will give myself up as a prisoner to submit to the blind condemnation which has struck me.[49]

This brief notice disclosed that Cabet was not planning to stay in America for long, but would return to answer charges leveled against him [not specified]. He did not accompany any of the large departures, but was traveling alone (as a fugitive) in a circuitous route to New York, a shorter sea voyage.[50]

The unusual events of the year 1848 transformed Cabet's designs for Icaria. With or without a revolution, the landscape of Texas had posed an indomitable challenge to the hearty men who were felled by sickness and extraordinary pioneer conditions. They retreated to New Orleans and waited with 496 newly-embarked travelers for the arrival of the Director of Icaria. Their situation was noted back in France by an observant woman in verse:

Veritable situation a l'Icarie

Géographe profound, savant
Mais dites-moi donc je vous prie,
Ou se trouve cette Icarie

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[49] Le Populaire, December 17, 1848.

[50] Ibid. Cabet arrived in New York before the end of the month. The regular trip to New Orleans took 45 days (reported in Le Populaire, July 11, 1848). This notice was followed with another review of the Icarian system and the impact of revolution, early letters of support, and later accounts of the men's "extreme fatigues, privations, and imprudence."

Tout parmi nous l'on parles tout?
- Ayant cheroké cette Icarie
De tous côtés, des esprits fines
L'ont découvert sur les conférs
De la Flibustiers.

[translation]

True situation of Icaria

Learned geographer, savant
Please tell me,
Where one may find this Icaria
About which everyone is talking?
- That Icaria surrounded by Cherokees-
These fine spirits
Have discovered among those they trust
An infiltration of free-booters.[51]

Her lines reflected the New Orleans situation in the late fall of 1848 and early 1849. Shortly after the five ocean vessels transporting Icarians successively docked,[52] the passengers' joyful expressions changed to alarm as they learned that their destination -

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[51] "Anonymous account Revolution 1848" MS 1047 BHVP, 37 [~ February, 1849]. "Anonymous composed her poem between a page dated January 21, 1849 and a caption, "Impressions of the anniversary of February 24." Prose comments followed about committees, engagements, the "Miss" (Mississippi?), and finished with a puzzling, wry remark, "-I am very old and you are very young: - Will you do me the honor of becoming my widow?" It is difficult to determine whether this has any connection with the advance guard deaths in the Texas Icaria or a different situation.(Was she a "widow" of one of the men? I strongly suspect that she was a friend of 'Felix Lamb.') Her ideas about February 24 at the end of the next page express her wit and sharp political sensitivity, "Les diables de Socialistes m'ont tellement dégouté du mot de Fraternité que si j' avais un frerè, je l'appellerais moi cousin." (The Socialist devils are in such distaste over the word Fraternity, that if I have a brother, I will call him my cousin.") Her account of 1848 ended on page 40 with a humorous list of a dozen members of the Consitituante followed by ridiculous nicknames, such as, Armand Marrast - Mauvais Marquis; Senard - Mule Normauax; Lammenais - Viellard Boussoinager; Louis-Blanc - Petit Mareau; le Puysaneau - Dégouttais de Lamartine, etc. This was an artful outlet for 'anonymous' undisguised political contempt (and identity).

[52] Le Populaire, July 1, 1849. Cabet reported nine groups that left in 1848. The five late Fall departures left on Oct, 25, Nov. 2, Nov. 12, Nov. 21, and Dec. 18. (11 other individuals went alone.)

Icaria - did not exist. The new arrivals met with the surviving advance-guardsmen and listened to their harrowing tales of disease and death which had precipitated the retreat from the burning Texas landscape at the end of July. They determined that it would be impossible to establish Icaria in the Denton county territory allocated by the Peters Land Company, six-hundred and fifty miles from New Orleans.[53]

The men had begun their work at the Texas location with great expectations at the end of May 1848, but during the next two months, the tract turned into an inhospitable "desert." One of their physicians, Dr. Leclerc, decided to go back to France with four others after hearing the news about the February revolution.[54] The remaining sixty-four men continued their trip with only one doctor, a Spaniard named Roviera. Unfortunately, he experienced bouts of insanity and ran off.[55] In addition, Adolphe Gouhenant, the leader of the first group and one of Cabet's most "cherished disciples," was accused of being a

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[53] Shaw, Icaria, 31-44. They built 32 cabins which would have gained 10,240 acres. The land was plotted in a checkerboard pattern since Texas only granted the Peters Company each alternative section. Cabet could have purchased more later. Sutton, Les Icariens, 57. The trip was 350 miles by steamboat and another 300 miles overland.

[54] Le Populaire, July 1, 1849. Dr. Leclerc, Myet, Picquenard, Pasquier, Boissier "abandonned their brothers" on March 27, 1848. (Picquenard came back later.) This issue reported the names of the hostile dissidents, those who left without hostility, those who were faithful, those who died, and the causes of their death. Wives and children were included but without first names.

[55] Jane Begos, "'Icaria,' a Footnote to the Peters Colony" Communal Societies 6 (1986) 84-92, 91. Dr. Roviera was a Spaniard who suffered "spells of madness" and eventually committed suicide. His heirs along with six others were each issued certificates for 320 acres of land on November 1853 by the Dallas county court. John C. McCoy acted as lawyer for all. The others were: Etienne Barroux (died during retreat in August); Jean Louis Boissonnet (first advance guard who died uncertain time); Guérin (died before the retreat); P. Guillaume Guillot (first man to die); Henri Lévy (died during retreat); and Henri Sauge (fourth man to die).

traitor after incriminating brochures were found in his trunk. His compatriots shaved his head, banished him, and chose a new leader.[56] The men's problems with building cabins were aggravated by a lack of nutritious food and medical care.[57] Summer heat and malarial diseases weakened all of them and four died. The second advance-guard led by Favard arrived on August 29. Two days later, the men concluded that because of the blistering climate, sicknesses, distance from supply depots, and primitive travel routes, the women and children should not be brought to this "unfit" region. They voted to abandon Icaria. Favard wrote a letter to inform Cabet of their decision on September 2, 1848 and they began their trek back to New Orleans.[58]

During the next three months, over four hundred dismayed Icarians arrived in the

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[56] Le Populaire, December 17, 1848, April 15, 1849. "I [Cabet] charged the "delegate" (this would be Favard, the brother of his deceased son-in-law) from the second advance guard to secretly interrogate Gouhenant, to present the proofs in case of denial, than to defer the judgment to the assembly general." The "delegate," hoping to use Gouhenant during the retreat, kept him under surveillance. After finding "brochures in his trunk and an insignes (insignia) that proved he was an "agent of the Jesuits," they decided not to wait to have his fate decided by the assembly. They shaved his curly blonde hair and sent the "new Judas" off in the "middle of the desert." Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 233-4. Begos, "Icaria," 90. Begos found that Cabet reported a similar story in Procès et acquittement de Cabet, 68-9. Gouhenant was suspected of being a police agent, who was convicted of having offered his services to one of the prefects of Louis-Philippe in some letters signed by him and discovered at the prefecture after the February Revolution. Cabet had passed this information on to his "delegate" who alerted the other men. Shaving Gouhenant's head was the same treatment given the wicked minister Lixdox in the Voyage. This affair points out the wide reach of Cabet's undercover network.

[57] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 228-9. Levi of Reims left an account of his trip from Sulphur-Prairie to Icaria. They left with a three day supply of bread, salt, tea, and brandy, bought some more on the way, and made soup. They purchased corn flour and made some balls cooked over a fire. Levi (Levy) died in Texas.

[58] Sutton, Les Icariens, 57-60. From May to July, four died from malaria, another was killed by lightning, and Doctor Roviera went insane and deserted. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 231. Favard also told Cabet they had debts of 7,000 to 8,000 francs.

port city and were lodged in two large buildings waiting for Cabet to come and direct their next move.[59] Their improvised camp quickly divided itself into two parties. The faithful group sent assuring words to friends in France proclaiming "we have not stopped being perfectly united."[60] Leading Icarian men organized an Assembly and elected delegates to explore alternate locations for Icaria.[61] But the disillusioned members viewed their current situation as fraudulent. Several wrote condemnatory articles about Cabet's deceptive practices which were published in French and American papers.[62] They also brought the "unhappy situation to the attention of the French Consuls at Galveston and New Orleans." They told them how they had left their country "where they had a position which permitted them to live happily, only to come here to find misery, privations, and often death, in the uncultivated Texas prairies." They urged the Consuls to have the French

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[59] Le Populaire, January 21, 1849. The rented quarters at 14 Saint-Ferdinand street were mentioned in a group letter written December 13 to Cabet by a "perfectly united" Assembly who had sent out "commissons of exploration" and were examining information on America.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid. Much of this information is repeated in other sources. I will generally use the early publications in Le Populaire since they were available to Icarians in France. In his letter, Aubel noted that on December 1, 1848 they rented a large house in New Orleans to lodge about 200 people. Another letter on December 13, added they had a house contingent to it, rue Saint-Ferdinand 14. Letters also reported the organization of a "general assembly" which elected a "Commission of Prudent, Aubel, Aubry, Potocki, and Blaise." A letter from Mazet, Aubel, Gérard, Brose, Camus, Biton, Langlois, Debever, Becquerel, and Aubry reported they had sent agents to explore other locations. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 243 n2. In Le Populaire, February 18, 1849, readers noted that Witzig led the Nauvoo expedition. The other group left three days afterwards with 3,000 francs to visit Galveston, Houston, and Austin.

[62] Le Populaire, January 21, 1849. A number of Texas dissenters (and Nauvoo also) sent letters to papers explaining their views about the situation.

government notify potential Icarian emigrants back home about Texas and "prevent the intrigues of M. Cabet." In this way, they hoped to "stop other unfortunate families from being seduced by Cabet's utopia."[63]

Dissident spokesmen, Rousseau and Chambry (Julien, son), claimed that the "agents of Cabet" had refused to give them the "money to return to France" and they did not even have "the means to buy bread for their passage."[64] Chambry's father (Charles) "imposed silence" on his son and his dissident wife, who agreed with him.[65] Those who wanted to reclaim the funds they had signed over, "took a threatening attitude" toward Cabet and "sowed the seeds of discord to excite the public and authorities towards our society." Urgent measures were needed "to get rid of the incessant obsessions from a bombardment of hostile dissidents," Le Populaire readers learned a few months later.[66]

Dubisson, one of the twenty second advance-guardsmen, became a dissident. He listed five "deceptions" in his report that was published in Le Courrier New Orleans on November 23, 1848.[67] Dubisson began by quoting Gouhenant's extravagant assurances to

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[63] "Les Icariens au Texas" Le Courrier New Orleans, November 23, 1848. New Orleans Public Library, 2C2., ACIS.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Le Populaire, February 18, 1849. The saga of the Chambry family was unusual. (2nd grand departure, November 12). The father Charles Chambry remained faithful and imposed silence on the others. His wife and son Julien's family were dissidents. The young Chambry family had two children. All left without hostility.

[66] Ibid., February 18, 1849.

[67] Ibid., September 10, 1848. Since Dubisson and the others had left for Icaria before Cabet printed Gouhenant's July 12 letter (in September), Dubisson must have read it in Le Populaire after his retreat or saw a copy of it at the site. Sutton, Les Icariens, 56. Sutton noted Dubisson's "scathing account" was in his hometown Bordeaux newspaper, l'Abeille but did not record its contents. It may have contributed to the massive Bordeaux retreats.

Cabet on July 12, "Icaria is founded, Icaria exists; it is an Eden, a true earthly paradise. Oh, if you could see Icaria!" However, he "like the others" did not ask about the "resources, or the state of the cashbox" nor had they seen the title for the land. When they were at sea, "Cabet's sub-delegate told me that the concession of thousands of acres of land did not exist. - That was the first deception." At New Orleans they learned that the "Shreveport warehouse of the Icarians could not be entered without the payment of a thousand francs. -- Second deception." Dubisson was sick and asked to see a Doctor but "Favard told me that the Doctors in New Orleans were Charlatans; that I was not sick enough to stop, and that it would be better for me to be taken care of by the Doctor of the society." However, he learned later that "Favard was not worried about the Doctor, and that he had responded that way because he did not have the money for Doctor visits, and that he failed to found Icaria - Third deception." The Icarian's Shreveport "shabby establishment" was not fit to receive women. "It was constructed so poorly that the habitants of Shreveport said that they would not lodge their horses in it." The fourth and "worst deception was the trail through the forests and plains of Texas, and the rapacity of the sub-delegate [Favard] who made us suffer privations of every nature. The arrival in Icaria was the last and the saddest of the deceptions! When we got there, we came across not men but cadavers! . . . No land was cultivated in this earthly paradise! We learned that they had a debt of ten thousand francs. The next day we voted unanimously, minus three votes, that the society be dissolved and that it had to be abandoned.[68]

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[68] "Honneur et gloire au Pacha Cabet et a ses janissaires." Le Courrier New Orleans, November 23, 1848. New Orleans Public Library, 2C2., ACIS. This was a French language newspaper. Le Populaire, January 21, 1849. Letters addressing Dubisson's charges that were sent to Le Courrier New Orleans and others written by Beluze, Chameroy, Krolikowski, and the New Orleans Icarians were printed in the January 21 Le

Cabet called Dubisson's account a "libelous injury." It was the "criminal" work of a "renegade, a traitor" whose act was comparable to a "sacrilege." Furthermore, Dubisson had violated his "most sacred duties" in the "grand work of human regeneration."[69] Amidst several articles by Cabet's defenders in the January issue of Le Populaire was a report on this by Krolikowski. He pointed out that Dubisson had paid only the minimum apport and his wife had only 400 francs but wanted to rejoin him and her apport had to be supplied. Thus, "one should not judge Dubisson so severely; he was a victim of bonhomie." The dissident couple were charity figures whose poverty apparently, made their judgment less sound.[70]

Cabet had come across Dubisson's article in the paper shortly after his arrival in New York on December 31.[71] Although he was disturbed by it, very likely few people who greeted him had seen it. During his ten day stay in New York, Cabet, who was treated as a celebrity, was a guest at a banquet held by a "fraternal Society" and at a meeting by a "democratic society." A "German society" also performed a serenade before he started his trip to New Orleans to look into the the colony's problems.[72]

Populaire. Cabet had sent a letter to the Paris staff written during his ocean voyage on December 28. The November poem, "Aux fondateurs d'Icarie" by d'Héricourt was also printed, indicating that Cabet had seen her letter about donating four million "if" she received her inheritance. D'Héricourt's windfall held out hope for much needed funds if he could hold the group together.

69 Le Populaire, January 21, 1849.

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid., April 15, 1849.

72 Ibid., February 18, 1849. These were Cabet's descriptions. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 241 n1. Le Courrier des Etats-Unis paper on January 6, 1849, announced Cabet's arrival and the "welcome dinner at the Shakespeare Hotel" given by his compatriots. When it was

When the January issue of Le Populaire appeared in Paris, an article headed, "Icarie. Existe-t-elle? Où est-elle?" (Icaria. Does it exist? Where is it?) attempted to explain the current situation with the aid of a religious analogy. The essayist reminded readers that Christ had been betrayed and abandoned by his disciples as he died on the cross. Friends persecuted him at a time when he was working towards the most beautiful and powerful Empire on earth. Today, the Icarian "soldiers of humanity" who want to follow Christ's "divine principle of Fraternity" have to "combat obstacles until their victory is definite and complete . . .[they] would never abandon it!" Then the journalist returned to his leading question, "Where is Icaria?" and answered with an abstraction: "I tell you Icaria already exists because we ourselves carry it in our hearts. . . . All the powers of the world will not destroy it!"[73]

However, by the time this bit of inspiration appeared in late January, a number of accounts by dissidents accusing Cabet of misrepresenting Icaria had been printed.[74]An English paper, The Daily Orleans wrote a short sympathetic account, "The Icarian Colony, The Hardships Experience -- Their Hopes and Expectations vanished into 'thin air' - The Ideal and the Real," which stated that the "shrewd agent, [Sully] who had been in Texas

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"time for toasts, Cabet thought it his duty to express the hope that America, thanks to the socialists, would be assured the social regeneration that Fourier and Horace Greeley had been the precursors of in the new world."

[73] Le Populaire, January 21, 1849.

[74] Ibid. The New Orleans Le Courrier, had a short account of Cabet's life and his honorable character on January 27, 1849 signed by L.B. which was followed by remarks about Texas. Another reporter, Jerome Rayon had investigated the doctrines "Au subjet du Cabetisme, du Proudhonisme, etc." on January 26, 1849. Later, M. Dufau wrote "La Democratie vs. le Communisme" (April 16, 1849).

and examined the country long before the advent of the party, could not have been deceived." The tract was one of the "worst in Texas." In addition, Frenchmen are the "most unfitted of almost any race for woodmen, therefore their disappointment." The author noted that the "returned members are publishing letters in the Paris papers" and have abandoned the Icarian scheme.[75] This paper also reprinted a report from the London Times about five agents who made off with part of 1,000 francs. The retreating "poor sheep" were kindly cared for in New Orleans where republicans "have too much sense for communism."

The Daily Orleans printed articles headed "Icarians or Communists" and "The Communists" that had comments about their visitors.[76] It had a prickish column captioned, "Unsightly" that complained about the French who have a "habit of carrying their ailing and disabled members throught the streets, to their domicile or the hospital, on elevated litters, borne on the shoulders of strapping fellows." This practice which was "common in Paris" was an "unusual" procedure in their city where "delicate females" were not "exhilarated" by such a sight.[77]

Cholera was obviously taking a toll on the group, adding to Cabet's concerns by February. Material from or compatible with Dubisson's article, was picked up in these and similar accounts as well as information in a group statement signed by 20 dissidents. Defensive essays by Cabet and the faithful also appeared in these months in Le Courrier

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75 The Daily Orleans, January 27, 1849. ACIS.

76 Ibid., January 29, 1849, February 26, 1849. ACIS.

77 Ibid., February 9, 1849. ACIS.

and other papers.[78] One New Orleans journalist even dredged up 'community of women' charges, "We know not, whether it is usual to the Icarians to love in common; but infer, whether correctly or otherwise, that it is so, from the fact of seeing a pretty venerable old chap, with a pretty verdant young girl, promenading the banquett [sic] opposite to their common dwelling; his arm paternally thrown around her waist!"[79] While the sight of an affectionate couple hardly constituted a community that "loved in common," the reporter's remarks fueled local curiousity about these communists and their organization.

Each new shipload of Icarians added stress to the stranded hundreds crowded together waiting for Cabet. He had told the third advance-guard that he would be leaving Paris about November 20, 1848.[80] His secret departure on December 13 came about because the court sentenced him to a month in prison for having guns in his office.[81] This

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[78] Ibid. Copies of these ACIS articles were located in the New Orleans Public Library. Cabet cited portions of them in his polemics in Le Populaire. See April 15, 1849 issue.

[79] The Daily Orleanian, New Orleans, January 29, 1849. ACIS. The writer ended by claiming he heard Cabet was planning to have a journal to disseminate "this very peculiar principle."

[80] Le Populaire, January 21, 1849. The group of Mazet, Aubel, Gerard, etc., awaited "the day when you arrive; because you announced that you would be leaving Paris November 20."

[81] Ibid., February 18, 1849. The guns were in his office "at the time of the February revolution," Cabet explained in a letter dated January 6, 1848 titled, "Voyage de M. Cabet." He also explained how he spent time waiting for a ship to leave by "composing many articles for Le Populaire." Many of the original hand-written documents that were published in his paper during the next few years are stored at CIS as are the newspaper issues (microfilm). For a more specific clarification of the guns, see: Colonie République Icarienne dans les Etats-Unis d'Amérique son histoire (Nauvoo: Imprimerie Icarienne, Juillet 1855) ACIS, 14. In this document, Cabet stated that the guns were found in a search of the office of Le Populaire in May, 1848. See Le Populaire, January 21, 1849. L.Y.M wrote a letter from Paris on December 30, 1848 stating that Cabet's friends had carried their guns to his place to defend him from the "assassination projects proclaimed in

ruling was handed down on November 30 and culminated the year-long domicile searches, questionings, and dismissals of charges for lack of evidence by the French police who tried to implicate Cabet in revolutionary activity. He surely was aware of the pending case as he bid farewell to the late fall groups. Nonetheless, the guilty verdict interrupted his personal departure and he left France clandestinely. Because he was reluctant to have the public identify him as a criminal fugitive, he promised to return in a few months and turn himself in.[82] "Without that accursed condemnation," Cabet lamented, "ten thousand Icarians, twenty thousand perhaps, would have met me at the railroad to say adieux; but I had to be resigned to being deprived of that sweet satisfaction."[83] These words may have been intended to gain readers' sympathy for his plight, but they point out, as George Sand and other contemporaries had observed, that he was vain and proud. He expected rewards for his moral grandeur and anticipated the applause and pleasureable recognition from hosts of followers for his efforts to transform humanity.

Unlike Cabet, hundreds of Icarians had experienced the excitement of jovial farewells only to discover that there was no real place called Icaria. Cabet knew when he left France that he had to find a site for the Communauté. At his London stopover, he met briefly with Robert Owen, who had once been to Texas and investigated it as a location for an Owenite colony.[84] When he got to New York, his welcome was due in part to the

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the streets."

[82] Le Populaire, December 17, 1848.

[83] Ibid., February 18, 1849.

[84] Ibid. "Manifestations a New-York." A "companion" (unknown) had accompanied him to London. See Shaw, Icaria, 22, 22n1. Robert Owen had visited Texas in 1828 when it was still part of Mexico. (It was annexed to the US in 1845.) This was after the failure

writings of a journalist, Charles Dana, who had visited him in Paris a few months earlier. Dana, a New York Tribune reporter and Fourier-associationist, published "first hand impressions" of him for the American public.[85] Cabet discussed his land conditions with at least one of his hosts, for shortly after he completed the ten-day overland trip to New Orleans, Albert Brisbane, the leading American fourierist, mailed him a thorough description of Nauvoo, Illinois.[86] The town was situated in a close proximity to St. Louis,

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of Owen's New Harmony, Indiana project. Aided by the influence of American Minister Poinsett, they were at first successful with the Mexican President and had the promise of an enormous tract, thousands of square miles in Texas. Later, the Mexican Congress refused to confirm the grant. Owen never forgot the project of a communist commonwealth in Texas and encouraged Cabet. For Owen's visit to Mexico, see William Sargant, Robert Owen and His Social Philosophy (London, 1860), 262-276.

[85] Guarneri, Utopian Alternative, 337-9, 489n8. Dana spoke French and traveled with Albert Brisbane and James T. Fisher of the Boston Associationists in 1848. Besides Cabet, he wrote impressions of Louis Blanc, Lamennais, and Proudhon. He attended sessions of the French National Assembly, and reported speeches by Hugo, Cavaignac, Thiers, and de Tocqueville. The trio went to Vienna, Dresdan, and Prague to cover other European revolutions. In May 1851, when Cabet returned to France to defend himself from lawsuits, he visited a reporter (very likely, Dana) who had "met with him three years ago in Paris." An article in the New York Semi-Weekly Tribune on May 27, 1851 was based on this interview with Cabet. See Cabet to Emile Baxter, January 24, 1854, Baxter Collection CIS SIUE. In this letter to Baxter, Cabet wrote that he "did not know Grilly (sic: Greeley), head of the New York Tribune, but I know Dana his principal editor who has always given me sympathetic testimony." Cabet added that they "exchanged" papers but his "hostile" observations about Considerant's Texas colony in the Colonie Icarienne, went against many phalansteriennes editors and Dana stopped sending him the Tribune.

[86] Le Populaire, February 18, 1849, April 15, 1849. In February, he explained, "Depart pour la Nouvelle-Orleans" stating that he left New York with his companion on "January 7 and arrived about the 18 and went by the Mississippi." (Perhaps, the same companion that accompanied him secretly out of Paris.) In April, he published A. Brisbane's letter. He described him as "an American Socialist whose parents posssessed land in the proximity of Nauvoo and who has very exact information on the country. He wrote us on the subject in a letter we will publish." It was written in French by Brisbane who had taken lessons from Fourier on his system in Paris during the 1830s. Brisbane claimed that the Nauvoo climate was "infinitely preferable to that of Texas and the country in the South." He commented on the river advantages and the Mormon religious sect whose buildings were available at "a low price" which "Cabet could procure to

Missouri, which had a large population of French settlers and although the weather was cold in the winter, Nauvoo's climate was more moderate and healthy than that of Texas.[87] Brisbane's opinion was bolstered by the prestige and authority of President Zachary Taylor who met with Cabet at New Orleans. The President recommended that the Icarians not settle in Texas because it was a slave state.[88] When Cabet's scouting commissions returned with their land surveys, the group held an Assembly to discuss the possible places for their community. On Febraury 28, 1849, members voted to relocate in Nauvoo.[89]

But Cabet was not content to slough off the failed Texas expedition without examining the peculiar facts about it, which emerged in staggered accounts printed in Le Populaire during the next few months. As was his custom when confronted by opposition, Cabet seized the moral high ground and launched the first battle in a series of "wars" in Icaria. The imagery of this "war" formed in his mind shortly after he had landed in New York and discovered the dissidents' hostile accusations.[90]

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immediately lodge the Icarian colonists." He concluded, "I consider the town of Nauvoo as a very favorable place, the climate is healthy and the land cleared." Whether or not Brisbane met Cabet in Paris in 1848 or in New York at the end of December, he understood the Texas climate and land problems and his verification of Nauvoo undoubtedly helped sway Cabet's decision to go there.

[87] Le Populaire, April 15, 1849. Correspondence for the Paris paper appeared after the fact, so French readers were always several months behind in learning about the events.

[88] Ibid. "General Taylor, current president of the United States, in a recent interview with the Icarians at New Orleans recommended they abandon the tentative new route in Texas, but go to establish themselves in the North." [n.d.]

[89] Sutton, Les Icariens, 59, 62. Two commissions had left New Orleans. One for the Gulf of Mexico region. The other with four men went north up the Mississippi on December 31, led by Jean Jacques Witzig, a German railroad engineer. They reported about Nauvoo on February 5.

Blaming the "Devoted" Victims and "Threats" from Women

Cabet exonerated himself from responsibility for the disintegration of the Texas colony by assigning blame to the powerless victims and to the pressures on him from women. After a recital of his persecuted experience and the problems caused by the revolution, he retraced the vanguard men's exploits in Le Populaire. First, he defended his agent Sully, who had chosen the land parcel.[91] When Sully "arrived two months earlier, he recognized that the Red river was not easily navigated and chose Sulphur-Prairie, a land of 2,000 acres on which there was some culture and buildings." It was "45 leagues (1 league ~ 3 miles) from Shreveport and more that 80 leagues from Cross-Timber . . . the first advanced guard could pass the spring time there without danger, cultivate vegetables, and send out commissions of exploration, and leave closer to autumn or the next springtime. **If they had stayed there, nothing would have been compromised, all would be saved.**"[92]

Next, Cabet determined that Gouhenant, his delegate for the first advance-guard, did not want to stop at Sulphur-Prairie and so "they followed him beyond Cross-Timber, a hundred leagues from there, across forests and deserted prairies, without routes, without

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[90] Le Populaire, April 15, 1849. "War" was what he called the situation in New Orleans after reading Dubisson's "deceptions" in the Louisiana newspaper. On his trip to New Orleans, he wrote a letter "thinking it might be his last" to ask his "friend to protect his wife and daughter."

[91] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 613-14. A copy of Peter's concession is in the Appendix.

[92] Le Populaire, April 15, 1849. [My emphasis.] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 232-3. Prudhommeaux reviewed this account noting that Cabet was a "lawyer adept at dodging responsibilities and turning aside the pretended culpability by tragically underlining the wrongs, getting the attention of the public in some concerns, and demanding in others that it not be too curious. . . . if the enterprise had taken a wrong turn, it was because he had not been understood, nor obeyed."

guides, without wagons, without materials, nearly without provisions and clothes." The men "crossed the rivers in water up to their necks, they went on in the rain, slept on the wet ground . . .That was courage: but it was imprudence, rashness, and almost madness." After arriving on May 15, the men "wore themselves out by working in the sun all day without relaxing or resting." In order to acquire the free sections of land, they "cut trees and carried them on their shoulders to build the cabins in July and August! That was devotion but it was more imprudence and almost madness." Americans, Cabet observed, "do not work during the months of heat in the middle of the day . . . If Dr. Leclerc had not deserted his post, he could have prevented this danger."[93] And, the "Spaniard Dr. Roveira could not even take care of himself or understand his comrades."[94]

In this appraisal, Cabet left out previous information supplied by Therme who explained why Gouhenant did not have a guide. He wrote that Sully was sick and unable to escort the sixty-four men. Cabet printed his letter in Le Populaire (August 20). Since they did not have Sully to direct them, they went on in "marches et contre-marches." In Cabet's effort to stress the men's "imprudence" factor, he omitted Therme's version of

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[93] Le Populaire, April 15, 1849. Cabet noted in parenthesis in a different section that he had not personally known Dr. Roveira and "I didn't have any confidence in the young, Spanish Doctor." After the fact, Roveira and Gouhenant were gone, thus, there was less risk taken in blaming them. One was the demonized accomplice of the jesuit enemy; and the other, an "unknown" incompetent.

[94] Ibid. This version was absorbed by Gluntz, (commission of five) who wrote a letter from Saint Louis on May 5, 1949 (Le Populaire, July 1, 1849) defending "poor" Sully who was "separated for eighteen months from his family for service to our holy cause. If they had listened to him, if our brothers of the first advance-guard had not had at their head, the traitor Gouhenant, Icaria would be prospering today; it is probable that we would not have lost a single man, and the number of good brothers and good sisters, who have been lost from us, would be among us." Such conjecture served to reinforce Cabet's narrative.

Sully's illness as well as his own rush to send the men off to build cabins by July 1. At no point did Cabet tell the guardsmen not to work in the middle of the day "during the months of heat."[95]

Another member of the first advance-guard who was smitten by the unhealthy heat and 'fevers' for eighth months, L. Bourgeois, wrote to his parents for the first time on May 30, 1849 from Alton Denton county Texas.[96] Excerpts from his letter were printed six months later in the December 2nd issue of Le Populaire. Bourgeois apologized for the "very bad post office services in this country" and recalled the first two months after his arrival when the men worked very hard and were so excited "about the marvels of the climate." They did not realize "that state of things" would not continue. If they had not worked so hard and had been better nourished, he reflected, they would "have been less sick." For two months, their daily rations were bacon without any bread and they were in need of money. When the "polluted fevers came" on top of the "depressing news" from

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[95] Ibid., January 6, 1850. A lengthy letter from Therme to his parents provides a follow-up to the Texas adventure. Written on October 20, 1849 from Nauvoo, Therme had stayed at Shreveport waiting to see what would happened after the June days in Paris worrying about Cabet. Then, he went on to New Orleans where he learned that "many of my brothers of the first advance-guard had abandonned their post." Therme questioned those whose cried out about their retreat, "How could 80 men without resources and without ailments, how would they find nourishment: they didn't even have any means to transport their sick, it was necessary for us to give up." In his opinion, his "unfortunate brothers, sick and without any resources had been skillfully exploited by the Jesuits who, under the false appearance of their interest in humanity, were led to their ruin." After working for a while in New Orleans, Therme went to Nauvoo and arrived just as five weddings were taking place. [See "Mariages en Icarie" January 7, 1850, CIS, SIUE folder 9-10. Bourg wrote about the 5 marriages on January 1850, but they took place earlier, seemingly prior to October 20, 1849.] Therme's letter was filled with admiration for the current organization.

[96] Ibid., December 2, 1849. L. Bourgeois letter to his parents.

France, it "put desolation in all our hearts." The second advance guard brought "little money" and upsetting news that their delegate, Gouhenant, was a police spy. When they decided to retreat, "some of them besides me, were unshakeable until the last moment of departing." Bourgeois was too sick to accompany the others and stayed "near Icaria where I cared for five of my comrades." After three months, the fever left him and "nourished à la française," he got "better and better." He and his comrade, Drouard (d'Angers) had decided to definitely stay in Texas as equal brothers. "All the profit, house, purse, all is common between us." They hoped to encounter the true happiness of living in Communauté and now possessed 640 acres with "superb prairies, wood to burn and wood for construction in great quanities." Our intention is to found a true Communauté in miniature. They had built one house and were building two more hoping their families would come to join them.[97]

Bourgeois's account in Le Populaire stopped at this point, for the rest of his letter "ennumerated details of the cows, pigs, and chickens they had already obtained." The purpose of printing his letter was to show "the value of the choice of Texas for the foundation of Icaria. In effect, one can judge from this, the good faith, and without safety measures, of that which the two first advance guards could have obtained in the same country, if they had taken all the precautions necessary and if they had utilized all the resources which they had at their disposition."[98] Therefore, Cabet concluded, these two "courageous" brothers by their "admirable perseverance, had responded in an acceptable

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[97] Ibid. Their "true Communauté in miniature" was barely a partnership, but would have less distractions than Cabet's system.

[98] Ibid.

manner to all our adversaries who, by their traitorous charges, look and look to slander and ruin us . . . with absurd tales of a pretended desert chosen as the foundation for Icaria!"[99] Bourgeois's letter was not available in July when Cabet printed charges that the other advance-guards men were 'imprudent.' At that time, Bourgeois and the five sick men were reportedly, "remaining in Texas or Shreveport to work."[100] Now, in December, Cabet had seized upon the experience of these two convalescing Icarians who were planning to live in their own minature Communauté to prove Texas was good land as opposed to the "desert" descriptions by Dubisson. This didn't end the discussion in Le Populaire, for the commentator (Cabet? Krolikowski?) discovered other significant things in Bourgeois's letter. "By what mysterious influence, up to this day unexplainable, were our brothers of the first advance guard deprived of all news of France? Why didn't they receive any letters from the Director of Icaria who, we know wrote many to them before the departure of the second advance guard?" And, what about "that diabolical letter of Gosse?" (Accusing Cabet of abandoning Texas.) The writer "hoped that these mysterious frameworks will one day be unveiled."[101] Likewise, the two Doctors who "deserted their posts" were castigated since their medical care would have prevented the "imprudent" activity and by extension, eight deaths. Readers were left to speculate about an international conspiracy to squelch

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[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid., July 1, 1849. Cabet listed the names of the first advance-guardsmen who stayed "to work" in Texas as: Bourgeois, Drouard, Hédouix, Hidou, Piquée, Thorel. In Le Populaire, December 2, 1849, Thorel had gone to the tribunnal and initiated a court case against Cabet to "obtain the restitution of his apport."

[101] Ibid., December 2,1849. Bougeois's excerpt said nothing about Gosse's letter, but Cabet apparently tried to force a (untenable) connection between Gouhenant, Gosse, the Police, and Jesuits.

Icaria.

In another convoluted account of motivational factors, Cabet blamed the men's wives for causing the others to be stranded there. "In France many were impatient to leave; . . . they pressured me, or tormented me to be admitted to depart . . . they arrived in Paris without authorization and without warning. Many arrived a month too soon. Some wives of the first advance-guard came menacer (to threaten) me if I did not let them leave in September or in October." Some of them wanted to leave "who did not have any apport."[102]Cabet did not specify what the wives "threatened" to do, perhaps sue him for falsely promising they could leave months earlier. The September group, like the previous ones, was all-male, and the wives of the first advance guardsmen wanted to be allowed to leave too.[103] They had argued with Cabet about being held back in January 1848. At that time, he had stated that they would "examine the question again" about the "end of March," the date when a "large" group would leave.[104] Not only did the wives 'threaten' Cabet, but some did not have apport money. His efforts to accomodate them was seen in his eyes as a partial factor in the 'hasty' departures for Texas. It was, therefore, also the wives' fault they were in this predicament Their 'threats' and pressures to leave, brought on their own victimization.

In drawing up the list of irresponsible persons and calamities, details of several other troubling incidents with women emigrants appeared. One of the earliest surfaced in

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[102] Ibid., April 15, 1849.

[103] Ibid., March 1, 1849. The September group of 23 men was in a much later report.

[104] Ibid., January 2, 1848.

an account by Robillard (Le Populaire editor) who wrote about Mme Bertrand who "after arriving at Le Havre, made a visit to one of her acquaintances. She was dissuaded from departing. Mme Bertrand was weak and that person made an impresssion on her."[105] Having changed her outlook, "several people believed that that woman would become a brandon (fire brand, mischief-maker) of discord for the Icarian family." However, her husband was sincerely devoted and "responded that he attibuted the caprices of his wife to a lack of meetings with the other Icarians. He cried despairingly that he would be dishonored if he could not leave. Finally, to appease the desires of M Bertrand, to which Mme Bertrand agreed, the Assembly decided that both would be part of the Society until New Orleans." Then, they would have to leave "if their conduct did not appear suitable to the Society."[106] They were allowed to board ship with the others.

Robilliard's account went on to deal with other complaints by passengers about meals, medicines, and treatment during the ocean trip, which including the unanticipated separation of husbands and wives. He explained that the two sexes had different quarters for "decency and good morals in the midst of many young girls and young boys." The scores of inconveniences made the trip too disagreeable for Mme Bertrand, and she wanted to return to France when she got to New Orleans. She asked the delegate to "reimburse their funds." Like everyone else, the Bertrand couple had been stripped of all "their money, watches, jewels, etc., and Mme Bertrand did not have anything. . . . She did not want to give up her jewels and demanded them back." Robilliard countered Mme

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105 Ibid., April 15, 1849.

106 Ibid.

Bertrand's charges by stating that the Bertrands' had "falsely" told the Censeur newspaper that when they arrived at New Orleans, there were eight wives whose husbands had died. This was not correct because four of the dead men were single. One, the wife of Levy, had known even before she left France that her husband was dead. After this rebuttal, Robilliard concluded his portrayal of the Bertrands with a question for readers to consider, "what confidence could be accorded to a man who lies so grossly?"[107] Thus, in Robilliard's logic, one bit of false information negated the rest of the Bertrands' claims against the society.

What can be gathered about women from this account was the negative depiction of "caprices" by a "fire brand" wife whose criticisms troubled the Icarian family peace on ship. Mme Bertrand was not a "sincere, devoted" Icarian like her mate, who had forced her to give up her jewels, and she was upset because they had nothing left.[108] The Bertrands' total financial contributions to the Society were significantly greater than those of "dissenter" Dubisson, whose wife had only 400 francs, marking her an ungrateful charity case.[109] Thus, even before they settled into community life, the Icarian leadership's

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[107] Ibid., April 15, 1849, January 21, 1849. Mme Bertrand complained about remitting 70 bracelets (or watches), but the journalist reported that was a lie. They gave only "18 watches, 14 in money, and 4 in gold." The rest was reserved for their needs to come to New Orleans.

[108] "M. Cabet and His Dupes" New York Herald, December 30, 1849, Martin Collection, CIS, 5. An account of the experiences of the "wife of one of the emigrants" at La Havre suggests Mme Bertrand's behavior. The writer claimed that when "it was proposed to take from her all her little property; she refused to give it up, and resolved not to go out with the Icarians. She accordingly ran away across the fields, but was pursued and packed off to America, with her husband and the rest of the band." This article had both exaggerations and facts, for the writer had correct details like the figure of 280 who went on to Nauvoo.

[109] Le Populaire, April 15, 1849. These mixed strains of class/gender, especially for

'fraternity' and 'equality' were jeopardized by these examples of gender and 'class' attitudes toward the poorer members (often, women). The recent, 'money-less' Icarians had to rely on "delegates" determinations for their needs aboard ship which rendered them helpless when faced with the tableau of unusual circumstances after landing in New Orleans. A wife like Mme Bertrand was not going to Icaria of her own accord, despite Cabet's cautionary advice. Other men and women, who had no means to control the delegate's rations and needs determinations for them, resorted to "mischief-making" criticisms of the Society.

Once again, the theorists of Le Populaire composed an essay to warn men about the "Nécessité absolue de convertir nos femmes (Absolute necessity to convert your wives)."[110] The author, "J.L." had harsh words for husbands who neglected this duty. In order for them to realize the Icarian system, he counseled, their wives had to be enflamed with the "sacred fire of fraternity." Instead of having their wives "read alone, commented alone and in silence" (about the Icarian doctrines), men should "comment with them about the work and the journey. Excite them, by one way or another, to the practice of fraternity and evangelic perfection. It is in our own interest, if we want to go to Icaria, because the Commission, henceforth, will not admit Icarians whose wives are not profoundly convinced and devoted, and will neglect nothing to positively assure it." J.L.'s essay placed

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the 'poor' wives who had aid from Cabet to make up their apport, can be found in later instances. The January issue had numerous pro and con letters about the troubles stirred up by newspaper accounts and the faithful vs. dissidents. The comparison of the Bertrands and Dubissons captured these related class and gender issues which surface repeatedly in the trip logs.

[110] Ibid., February 18, 1849. J.L.'s Paris essay was dated December 24, 1848.

the responsibility for any dissident behavior of wives on husbands. Like children, dependent women needed to have a patriarch instruct them about the rewards of "fraternity and evangelic perfection."

Mississippi Serenades

In the final settlement with Icarians who agreed to go on to Nauvoo, statistics revealed that the earliest departures suffered the largest membership losses. However, the Bordeaux expedition was an exceptional group which "separated and broke off violently."[111] Almost en masse, they "returned to individualism."[112] Three months after embarking for Nauvoo, Cabet printed a summary of the Icarians who came, died, left, or remained loyal.

The charts on the next pages are drawn from this report.

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[111] Ibid., July 1, 1849.

[112] Ibid., February 18, 1849. They never ceased to demand "unjust reclamations" and did not "have knowledge of our organization." It seems the Bordeaux group from southern France did not "know" enough about Cabet's system.

Departures from France to Texas or New Orleans: March 1, 1849[113]

	Leader	All	men	women	children
Dec. 2 '47	1st Commission (explore: Sully)	1	1		
Feb. 3 '48	1st Advance-Guard (Gouhenant)	69	69		
June 3	2nd Advance-Guard (Favard)	21	21		
Aug. 12	Commission of Five (Caudron)	5	5		
Sept. 28	3rd Advance-Guard (Mazet)	23	23		
Oct. 25	Bordeaux Expedition (Pepin)	56	27	17	12
Nov. 2	1st Grand Departure	83	33	30	19
Nov. 12	2nd Grand Departure	74	25	27	22
Nov. 21	3rd Grand Departure	114	39	39	36
Dec. 18	4th Grand Departure	40	16	12	12
Admitted at New Orleans		11	8	1	2
Totals		496[114] [501]	267	126	108

Origins of 280 Faithful Icarians Going to Nauvoo: March 1, 1849

		died - %	left - %	faithful - %
Dec. 2, 1847	Commission to explore (Sully)			
Feb. 3 '48	1st Advance-Guard (Gouhenant) [69]	10 - 14%	41 - 59%	20 - 28%
June 3	2nd Advance-Guard (Favard) [21]	2 - 10%	15 - 71%	4 - 19%
Aug. 12	Commission of Five (Caudron) [5}		2 - 40%	3 - 60%
Sept. 28	3rd Advance-Guard (Mazet) [23]		3 - 13%	20 - 86%
Oct. 25	Bordeaux Expedition (Pepin) [56]		49 - 88%	7 - 12%
Nov. 2	1st Grand Departure [83]		48 - 58%	35 - 42%
Nov. 12	2nd Grand Departure [74]	1 - 1%	40 - 54%	33 - 45%
Nov. 21	3rd Grand Departure [114]	1 - 1%	14 - 12%	99 - 87%
Dec. 18	4th Grand Departure [40][115]		2 - 5%	38 - 95%
Admitted at New Orleans				11-100%
Totals		14	214	270

[113] Ibid., July 1, 1849. These were the published figures. Some, like the 21 in the second advance-guard seem to conflict with numbers of 19 and 20 who reportedly left.

[114] Ibid. Cabet's figures don't add up to 496.

[115] Ibid. The figures were miscopied for the 4th G.D. column in the paper as 18, which appeared elsewhere as 38.

	CAME - %	LEFT/DIED - %	WENT ON - %
Men	267 - 53%	125 - 57%	142 - 51%
Women	126 - 25%	50 - 23%	74 - 26%
Children	108 - 22%	44 - 20%	64 - 23%
Totals	501[116]	219	280

Total Faithful = 280

Died up to March 1 = 12
Died after March 1 = 20[117]
Total who left = 157 [Abandonned = 14]
Hostile who left = 86 [49 from Bordeaux group and 37 others][118]
Separated and working ~ 9
Remaining at New Orleans ~ 6[119]

A number of points surface from a study of this report. Of the adults, the 267 men [68%] outnumbered 126 women [32%]. Children composed 22% of the total group. Yet, as a percentage of the faithful, women as a whole were more faithful than men, which can be attributed to their later arrival and in part to their socially conditioned acceptance of dependency despite the rare "firebrands."

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[116] Ibid. These don't add up to 496 as above, but they were Cabet's numbers, perhaps he counted newborns or himself.

[117] Ibid. Deaths had increased by July when the report was published. Cabet added that from March 1 to April 2, another 20 died reducing their number from 280 to 260. Also a baby was born to Trousselot and Braconnier left. The deaths were reported with names, ages, and dates. Cabet also provided details of each patient's symptoms, progress of illness, whether it was treated by the Raspail or the homoeopathique method, and who cared for the deceased (mother, daughter, parents). Most deaths were from cholera.

[118] Ibid. The "hostile" members were a hard category to count. Some who abandoned their 'brothers' like the first 5 of 69, or who deserted like the Doctors, or were expelled like Gouhenant, or were wives and children of "hostiles," overlap. My best figures from Cabet's "hostile" listings add up to a total of 86. 37 were in six groups with 49 of them among the angry Bordeaux members. The last to arrive were understandably, the least hostile.

[119] Ibid. Cabet added confusing details, such as "remaining at New Orleans, Caille, wife, and sons, Renault and wife." Lumping plurals like "sons" with hostiles, etc., make this report hard to decipher. The percentages are moderately accurate, regardless.

"Hostile dissidents" were Cabet's big problem. Some were women and Cabet added extra details about their antics. The wife of Becquerel and her three children followed the example of Hardier who "after a storm," went to England. In a section titled, "Procès en escroquerie," Mme Becquerel's name was listed among the plaintiffs bringing charges against Cabet in a Court case set for September 1, 1849. The "fire-brand" Mme Bertrand's name was also registered with these plaintiffs.[120]

In summing up the situation of "hostile dissidents" Cabet charged that "those in the advance-guards like those in the grand departures violated all their engagements and all their duties. They committed an act of iniquity towards the Director, an act they had voluntarily made to their brothers, to the cause of the Communauté, and to the cause of the people. It is an incalculable evil."[121] Cabet softened his tongue-lashing for those who left without hostility but still "violated their engagements and lacked constancy, perservance, and energy and compromised their communism."[122]

The noise of the battle stilled as the separatists left, each with 200 francs from the 86,000 francs Cabet carried with him.[123] On March 1, the faithful Icarians boarded the

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120 Ibid. Besides Mme Becquerel, the other plaintiffs entered in the 7th chambre de police correctional were Dubuisson, Hardier, Fouillard, Chambry, MM Charpon, Teyisier, Bale, Bertrand, Bottey and Roussel. In addition, the next article noted that the French police had arrested Krolikowski and detained him since June 13, 1849. Sutton, Les Icariens, 61.

121 Ibid., July 1, 1849.

122 Ibid.

123 Sutton, , Les Icariens, 61. Cabet called a general meeting on January 21 to air all the complaints. 200 voted to leave and received 200 francs each. Their payments and the rents and costs in New Orleans took 15,000 francs from the 86,000 treasury which Cabet used for lodging and supply needs for the faithful in Nauvoo.

Maréchal Ney to Saint Louis where they would transfer their baggage to continue their journey aboard the American Eagle. Icarians took over nearly all the cabins. Although "the weather was cold all during the trip," they enjoyed "the magnificient spectacle of the superb Mississippi." Men had been sent ahead to rent the lodgings which were "close to the Temple constructed by the Mormons . . . one of the most beautiful monuments of America," Cabet observed.[124]

At last, "Fraternity and harmony reign in our midst. We predict a better future. Many times, we passed the evening in a vocal and instrumental concert. Meanwhile, under the beautiful light of the moon, the Mississippi was astonished to hear our Icarian songs."[125]

Cabet's pleasant account masked the terror members experienced because of the cholera epidemic which claimed five lives on ship and fifteen more by April 13. The 280 members were reduced to 260 during the first month. An Icarian chronicler explained that after they landed, the "dead were buried at night" to protect the colony from the fear and anger of residents.[126] Despite their heavy hearts, the French travelers sang their inspiring

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[124] Lettre de M. Cabet Nauvoo, Etat d'Illinois, États-Unis d' Amerique, March 25, 1849, Cabet Collection, CIS, SIUE. Cabet wrote this letter with firm, precise lettering. He claimed that "many dissidents, who were led by the others, have asked to follow us; we refused to admit them. . . . we have been inflexible." Just how "many" changed their mind is unknown.

[125] Le Populaire, May 20, 1849. Lettre de M. Cabet Nauvoo, Etat d'Illinois, États-Unis d' Amerique, March 25, 1849.

[126] Sutton, Les Icariens, 63n25. Emile Vallet, An Icarian Communist in Nauvoo: Commentary by Emile Vallet, introduction and notes by H. Roger Grant (Illinois: Illinois State Historical Society, 1971), 18. Vallet wrote "they buried their dead at night all over town, not to awaken the suspicion of the inhabitants." This information was in Colonie Icarienne, October 4, 1854.

"Song of Departure" as the vessel rounded the banks of the Mississippi. They docked at Nauvoo early in the morning of March 15.[127] Icaria was no longer an idea that existed "in their hearts." It was a real place. Cabet proclaimed, "all the powers of the world would not destroy it."

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[127] Sutton, Les Icariens, 62-3.

GENDERED UTOPIA: WOMEN IN THE ICARIAN EXPERIENCE, 1840-1898

by

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CHAPTER TWELVE

NAUVOO - MORMONS AND ICARIANS

The Icarians set up their quarters in Nauvoo Illinois with a sketchy knowledge of the town's exceptional history. It is unlikely that they anticipated any problems related to the residents' recent expulsion of 12,000 Mormons. Likewise, Cabet was barely acquainted with either the Mormon beliefs or their Temple project in February 1849 when the first article on them appeared in Le Populaire. The news item presented information found in an English paper, The Globe, which highlighted the Mormon plans to found a colony in California and noted their other colonies in England and the Great Salt Lake region. Then, in an attempt to force a similarity between the Icarian and Mormon communities, the writer commented that:

> Mormons put all in common and are closely united by the bonds of fraternity and socialism. Many have already sold their furnishings and their houses to have the money for their trip. . . . It is astonishing how the Mormons of Europe eagerly join their brothers in America.
>
> We hope our dear Icaria, in the near future will be better known in Europe, and will excite a no less enthusiastic place for sincere Republicans as the Mormon establishment of California.[1]

This message was a misrepresentation of the Mormons. They did not require members to "put all in common," although they donated generously to their Church.[2] It was true,

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[1] Le Populaire, February 18, 1849. As already noted, Cabet was aware of the emigrations from England to the US. [Le Populaire, July 1842, September 1842, February 1843 (Texas)] I have found no mention of Mormons prior to this article on February 18 when he was deciding where to establish Icaria. Brisbane's letter on Nauvoo was not published until April 15, 1849.

[2] Dean L. May, "One Heart and Mind: Communal Life and Values among the Mormons" in Donald E. Pitzer, ed. America's Communal Utopias (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 133-158, 133-34, 139, 154. May found that, "At no time did all Mormons live under the regimen of an economic communal order." May explored several periods when leaders drew inspiration from Smith's doctrines of "pure Christianity" and "Christ's visit to pre-Columbian Americans" that he described in

however, that many had sold their houses and left Europe "to join their brothers in America."

Three months later, Le Populaire journalist L.A.B. composed a lengthier account of the Mormon founder Joseph Smith and his followers. He described the Mormons as an "American communist society" which had rapidly increased its membership by an "extraordinary ardor and proselytizing." The "devotion and fraternal love of the followers" was based on the gospels and "Communauté was the foundation of its principles." Therefore, "one can see how well an analogy with the Icarian doctrine is."[3] L.A.B. went on to extoll the Mormons' commercial prosperity and suggested "we would like to believe that our dear Père Cabet will profit from his stay in the United States and get in touch with them. Henceforth, our Icarian brothers will be able to fraternize with American communists."[4] Once again, a Le Populaire writer had constructed an erroneous analogy which failed to appreciate the Mormon's non-communist system or to grasp the fact that Nauvoo townspeople would not welcome efforts by Icarians to "fraternize" with Mormons.[5] L.A.B. attributed the Mormon expulsion from Nauvoo to their "persecution"

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the Book of Mormon as a time when Christ's faithful "had all things common among them: therefore there were not rich and poor, bond and free, but they were all made free, and partakers of the heavenly gift." There were two periods in Mormon history when local areas "attempted communal living"- between 1854-57 when "nearly half of family heads deed property to the church" and in the great depression of the 1930s. "At no time were all members required, as a condition of their membership, to live under that communal order."

3 Le Populaire, May 20, 1849.

4 Ibid.

5 Cabet, Influence et manoeuvres des Jésuites, CIS SIUE, folder 8. (n.d., but material on an August 6, 1849 meeting in Nauvoo). This document noted that "in Paris, for two months a Catholic paper announced that the Icarians at Nauvoo would be like

by "zealous innovators" who used the "presse malthusienne (malthusian press[6]) of the United States" against them.[7] However, he did not explain the exact nature of the "malthusian" attacks. Because polygamy was one of the grounds for these attacks, if it was true, then L.A.B.'s construction of a Mormon "analogy" with Icarians was a dangerous characterization.[8] In all likelihood, few Nauvoo anti-mormons had access to the French newspaper. Since articles proposing Icarian-Mormon similarities ceased, word must have reached Cabet's Paris editors to suppress such analogies.[9]

Furthermore, in 1849, the "malthusian" charges were still considered "slander" by many Mormons and the public was confused about their validity. These attacks were

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their predecessors the Mormons."

[6] Lawrence Foster, Religion and Sexuality: The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 177. This pertains to Thomas Malthus' theories about population increasing faster than the food supply which suggested that births needed to be checked. L.A.B.'s choice of this term reflects the rumors circulating about the fertility aspects of polygamy which leading Mormon men practiced secretly. Smith presented his revelation on plural and celestial marriage before his High Council on July 12, 1843, which set in motion the internal divisions by some who bitterly opposed it. Anti-mormon accounts multiplied.

[7] Le Populaire, May 20, 1849.

[8] Ibid. The author did not appear to believe "persecution" charges were correct. L.A.B. wrote that the "Mormons were indignantly expelled from their country." This article was followed by one on "Emigrations" with statistics and advice which favored having emigrants leave in groups to avoid isolation and language problems. This movement was happening, the writer claimed, because Europe had so much despotism. Its civilization was in danger of perishing, but in the United States one could live under the "protection" of liberty.

[9] Ibid., December 2, 1849. Another article quoted the New York Tribune about Mormons request for territorial admission as the state of Deseret with their own legislative powers. Cabet was following the Mormon's land acquisition and political organization in the west.

initiated by "disaffected" Mormons who set up a "reform church" (the innovators). They published affadavits proving that Smith's Church leaders practiced polygamy in The Nauvoo Expositor on June 7, 1844.[10] Their account disclosed the "secret and abominable teachings of the Mormon hierarchy."[11] The Expositor editors wrote that they were "striking a blow at tyranny and oppression" and attacked Smith's political aspirations. They intimated financial irregularities and questioned why the Temple was the Mormon's only property. "The wealth that is brought into the place is swallowed up by the one great throat from whence there is no return."[12] Copies of their newspaper were quickly confiscated by Smith's followers and he ordered the press equipment destroyed. The editors fled for their lives.[13]

But smashing the presses only increased public anger towards the Mormons.[14] A

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[10] Robert Bruce Flanders, Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 308. Federal Writer's Project, Nauvoo Guide (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1939), 23, 18-9, 26. An earlier booklet written by John C. Bennett, History of the Saints; or an Expose of Joe Smith and Mormonism (Boston, 1842), gave detailed charges of polygamy and claimed that the Mormons planned to set up a religious empire over Illinois and nearby states. A group of Mormon wives reacted to this by publishing an affidavit denying that polygamy was practiced. Nauvoo had an exceptionally liberal city charter which made it "virtually an autonomous state." It had its own militia. In February 1844, Mayor Joseph Smith announced his decision to run for US President on a platform to free slaves and all convicts. Offenders would be put to work on roads. The public political, economic, and moral furor were heightened by the Expositor attacks in 1844.

[11] Flanders, Nauvoo Kingdom, 308.

[12] Federal Writer's Project, Nauvoo Guide, 26-7. Mayor Smith convened the city council which denounced the paper as a nuisance. They instructed the city marshal to destroy the presses and called out the Nauvoo Legion. The law in Carthage issued a warrant for his arrest.

[13] Flanders, Nauvoo Kingdom, 308.

[14] Foster, Religion and Sexuality, 220-25. Polygamy was a cultural threat to the

warrant was taken out for Smith's arrest.[15] To avoid civil war, he surrendered in Carthage, Illinois where he and his brother were murdered by a mob on June 27, 1844, just three weeks after the reformers published their exposition.[16] In 1852, the Mormon Church sanctified Smith's polygamous doctrines, but when the Icarians came to Nauvoo, there were only unofficial conjectures circulating about plural wives.[17]

American Republic. Citizens viewed it as a "primitive" and "backward" practice from Asia or Africa which threatened the Victorian family ideal and social order. The Republican party platform in 1856 linked slavery and polygamy together as "twin relics of barbarism." In 1857, President Buchanan sent 25,000 federal troops to Utah to put down "disloyalty." An ineffective anti-bigamy law was passed in 1862. The Edmunds-Tucker Act in 1882 was a stronger law and upheld by the Supreme Court in 1890. It made it impossible for Mormonism to survive and Mormon President Wilford Wooddruff declared no "Saints" would "contract any marriage forbidden by the laws of the land." Some Mormons continued to practice polygamy, but without Church sanctions.

[15] Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, second edition, 1994), 181-196. The crowd that gathered the day after the exposé resolved to "utterly exterminate the wicked, abominable Mormon leaders . . . a war of extermination should be waged," they agreed and threatened lynching. Arrests for destroying the reformers' press were sent out. When Smith gave up, he apparently removed his "garment of the priesthood" to "avoid sneers and jeers" by enemies. Afterwards, Young accused Emma of urging him to do this and insinuated that this left him "unprotected." Afterwards, a greater emphasis was placed on wearing the priesthood "robes" as "protective powers."

[16] Foster, Religion and Sexuality, 180. Federal Writer's Project, Nauvoo Guide, 29-30. The mob that broke into the jail had "blackened faces." Nine men were arrested for the killings. A jury returned a "not guilty" verdict in May 1845.

[17] Foster, Religion and Sexuality, 220, 202-3, 17. The Mormon Church publically announced the doctrine of polygamy in 1852. It was justified by the ancient biblical behavior of Hebrew patriarchs like Abraham. Mormon leaders believed that men were considered "endowed with polygamic qualities and woman with monogamic ones." By legitimizing polygamy, the "adulteries, fornications, whoredoms, abortions, infanticides, and hypocritical evils" in society would be prevented. Large families by the "best men" would "raise up righteous progeny" for eternity. Foster compared the manner that three millennial groups, Mormons, Shakers, and Oneidans, sanctioned their divergent marital beliefs and practices within the same Biblical passage. Although patriarchal, Cabet's religious system was theoretically positioned in the New Testament under Jesus's principles of communal equality, fraternity, and love.

Since Cabet was essentially preoccupied in New Orleans with settling internal disputes and finding a new site for the Communauté during January and February 1849, the extent of polygamy accusations against the Mormons may not have been brought to his attention. Even if he had heard about them, they could be dismissed as Mormon "persecution" not unlike the false "community of women" attacks he often had to defend his doctrine from. Assuredly, his followers planned to follow respectable monogamous marriages in Nauvoo.

Despite Cabet's myopia about the Mormon system, he was aware of the large number of them going to America, for they were part of the emigration statistics in his paper. The Mormon movement in England had begun during the last years of his London exile. Missionaries preached a "nonviolent Christian revolution of brotherhood and equality" that would be practiced in a new Zion.[18] Within a decade, they had 17,849 English converts and 4,733 left for Nauvoo. The Mormon Church was capitalized with loans and a "test of faith" tithing method, unlike the Icarians' system where each member was required to place all their goods in common.[19]

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[18] Flanders, Nauvoo Kingdom, 62-3. Mormon missionaries in England also spoke of the "new heaven and new earth" and of the "emigration to the Kingdom of God." These similarities do not imply that Cabet borrowed Mormon ideas for they were part of the corpus of religious transformation ideals of the era.

[19] Ibid., 58, 79, 62-3, 85, 123, 207-9. The English Apostles were led by Brigham Young. Their peak missionary period was from 1840 to 1846. The "decline of Chartism coincided with the rising tide of Mormon conversions and of their gatherings to America." However when the Mormon transmigration to the west began in America, only 50 came from Britain in 1846 and none in 1847. From 1848-1850, another 23,139 people became Mormons in England and 4,445 of them went to America. Brigham Young was the leader and spokesman for the English mission. "Tithes" were accepted as money, labor and "in kind" assortments of goods like horses, plows, potatoes, and clothing. "In kind" was more the general rule. The tithes were recorded in the Nauvoo register. Newell and Avery, Mormon Enigma, 200. At the time of his death, Smith left Emma with $70,000 due

Mormon "saints," as members called themselves, helped to construct the huge Temple in Nauvoo which was a symbolic edifice of God's Kingdom on earth.[20] Smith announced that it was as "God had manifested himself in former times, when he caused the ark, the tabernacle, and the temple to be reared, and the cloud, and the fire to rest thereon." The Nauvoo Temple was being built so that "the great Jehovah would have a resting place on earth."[21] Work had begun on April 6, 1841. It was 128 feet long, 88 feet wide and 165 feet high with walls made of four to six feet thick cut-limestone.[22] This conspicuous monument consumed an enormous amount of human energy, money, and social resources. Mormon reformers criticized its excessive cost.[23] When Smith died, the Temple rooms were already being used for services but the interior was not completely finished.[24] Brigham Young replaced Smith as their new leader but hostilities continued.

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creditors. In 1842, he had filed bankruptcy listing his debts at $73,066.

[20] Flanders, Nauvoo Kingdom, 192. In addition, Freemasonry was established in 1842 in Nauvoo. Smith and the high churchmen became new Masons. Newell and Avery, Mormon Enigma, 104. Scholars "suggest Smith drew heavily from Freemasonry" for endowment rituals.

[21] Ibid., 192-3.

[22] Ibid., 194-5. This height was from ground level to the tower peak.

[23] Ibid., 207-9, 195. In 1848, the Temple construction was estimated to cost $750,000 to $800,000. Mormon capital was shifted from productive manufacturing enterprises but was deemed a "test of faith." It made the Nauvoo economy a "busy marketplace" for materials and laborers' provisions. Their were 30 tall ornamented pilasters with hand-chiseled limestone bases which alone cost $90,000. Federal Writer's Project, Nauvoo Guide, 26. Foster, Religion and Sexuality, 186. Before Young left for the exodus west, 5,000 ceremonies had been held in the Temple. Both monogamous and polygamous marriages were sealed for eternity. The awe, mystery, and expectation created by these Temple rituals strengthened followers' beliefs in the divine authenticity of their Church.

[24] Ibid., 329-30. Anti-Mormon sentiment increased after Smith's death to the point

Mormon enemies vandalized and set fire to their farms and threatened civil war. The leadership concluded that it was impossible to remain in the Nauvoo area and Young made preparations to move the whole Church to the west by 1846.[25]

The Mormon trek began in February 1846, and by summer, 12,000 people had left for the Great Basin. Smith's widow Emma and her children stayed in Nauvoo, but their lives were soon threatened by an arsonist who tried to burn their house down. In addition, on September 11, 1846, a small army of anti-Mormons attacked the town. After five days of warfare, a treaty was negotiated that forced the rest of the Mormons to leave as soon as possible and permitted five Church trustees to stay and dispose of their property.[26]

Anti-Mormons were left not only with the galling sight of the Temple but the fear that because of it, the Saints might someday return to Nauvoo. Two years after the exodus, Mormon enemies carried out their final act of vengeance. On October 9, 1848, a hired arsonist started a fire that gutted the wooden roof and Temple interior.[27] Only the

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that a Congress of nine counties met in October 1845 and resolved that the Mormons must leave Illinois voluntarily or be expelled. Besides, the "great basin," Kansas, Oregon, Wisconsin, and West Texas were considered for new sites.

[25] Newell and Avery, Mormon Enigma, 217-8, 227, 233. On September 9, 1845, anti-Mormons were at a meeting when a gunshot was fired through a window. They blamed Mormons. The next week, men with blackened faces howled in nightly "wolf hunts" as they descended on Mormon farms, burned houses and crops, whipped and tied owners to trees and fences. Young ordered the outlying members to come to the city. By January, Young received word that the government was planning to send troops to stop them from "joining another nation" in the West. Governor Ford of Illinois had troops searching Nauvoo and planned to arrest Mormon leaders. On February 4, 1846, they decided to leave for the "great basin" as soon as possible. Two days later the first wagons began the trek across the Mississippi.

[26] Ibid., 236-8, 243-6. The army outnumbered the remaining Mormons. Emma Smith left Nauvoo in 1846, but returned in 1847. She married Lewis Bidamon in a Methodist ceremony on December 23, 1847.

stone walls of this "work of art" were left.[28] Situated on a high bluff, the sight of the huge Temple walls impressed Cabet when he first saw them from the deck of the ship moving up the Mississippi on March 15, 1849.[29] He appraised it as one of the "most beautiful monuments in America." One of his secretaries, Emile Vallet, reported that the "Temple ruins worked on Cabet's brain."[30]

Aside from this empty Temple structure, Nauvoo had a great number of vacant homes, shops, and farm lands. Cabet was able to buy or lease what he needed from David and Ester Le Baron, the agents left to settle Mormon matters.[31] Smith's widow Emma

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[27] Flanders, Nauvoo Kingdom, 193n27, 196n33. A confession signed by the arsonist Joseph Agnew (with two accomplices) was published forty-seven years later. The new Temple built in Utah had the main features of the Nauvoo and Kirkland, Ohio ones. See Newell and Avery, Mormon Enigma, 250-1.

[28] Ibid., 196, 179, 190, 306-9, 294, 304. The Temple was finished in 1846. Mormons tried to get a grant for two-thirds of Texas for a "new Mormon state" in 1844 even before Smith was killed. The projected Texas treaty was interrupted by the June troubles that led to Smith's death seven weeks later. Under Young's strategic planning, the "Great Basin" in the west was chosen as the site for the growth of the Kingdom. Between 1847 and 1857, 96 separate Mormon communities were founded in the "Mormon corridor" rising to over 500 by the end of the century.

[29] Lettre de M.Cabet Nauvoo, Etat d'Illinois, Etats-Unis d'Amérique, March 25, 1849, CIS, Folder 8.

[30] Emile Vallet, An Icarian Communist in Nauvoo: Commentary by Emile Vallet Introduction by H.Roger Grant from an 1886 series of articles in Weekly Gate City of Keokuk, Iowa, reprinted Nauvoo Rustler, 1907 (Illinois: Illinois State Historical Society, 1971), 20. Vallet wrote that Cabet examined the Temple ruins which could be seen from ten miles away. They did not have the money to buy land and the ruins. Some members thought "it was not practical, nor wise to think of glory, of monuments when they had no certainty of having bread for their families."

[31] Sutton, Les Icariens, 63-4. Cabet put one-fourth of the $12,000 left from New Orleans down on warranty deeds for the Temple square on April 2, 1849. Cabet (himself) had "full title to the "Wells addition," all of the Temple Square or block 20, all of block 81 just west of the Square on the bluffs, and lot four in block 82." He contracted for 2,000 acres of farmland. Later he rented several large houses. His funds also helped purchase

reportedly "found friends among the new people." In the next few years, like many Nauvoo residents, she and her children learned about French culture.[32] Her daughter Julia experienced "fun alive" at one of the Nauvoo fourth of July celebrations. Julia listened to "orations in English, French, and German." She enjoyed the "flags aflying and the French band that headed the procession."[33]

But social life in Nauvoo was far from festive at the start of 1849. During the warm spring days, kindly neighbors helped the two hundred and eighty newcomers set up their housing and shops. Poised in the background, however, less congenial residents were skeptically observing Cabet's Communauté organization.[34] They had barely rid the town of the Mormons and were determined to guard public morals from any new threats to decent family order.

"Is it possible to be so happy!" Cabet wrote shortly after he arrived in March,

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cows, food supplies, and tools. Sutton's research focused on the practical aspects and passed over the internal politics of women that I address in this chapter.

[32] Newell and Avery, Mormon Enigma, 233, 257-8. By May1846, only six hundred Mormons remained in Illinois, most in Nauvoo. This bit of information was recorded by Ida Blum, a grandaughter of one of Emma Smith's friends. See Ida Blum, Nauvoo, Gateway to the West (Carthage Illinois: Ida Blum, 1974), 78.

[33] Ibid., 264. Julia was twenty-four when she spoke so exuberantly of July 4th "fun" (not France's July 14th). She joined the young people dancing "the light fantastic until daylight."

[34] "M. Cabet and His Dupes" New York Herald, December 30, 1849 Martin Collection CIS, 3. This account reported that after Cabet's Icaria in Texas failed, "he had recourse to the deserted seat of another impostor. He went to Nauvoo, purchased the site of the temple and arsenal, and began to exercise on his dupes the functions of civil and ecclesiastical head. The local authorities, however, who had smoked out one nest of hornets, did not want another, and put a stop to M Cabet's brief reign." Despite the journalist's negative interpretation, it was a valid viewpoint with correct details.

1849.[35] He was in an optimistic mood for he had surmounted the New Orleans divisions and was excited about the chance to begin practicing the social system he had laid out in the Voyage. While a great number of the fiction's details had to be altered to fit practical realities during this transitional period, eventually, he expected that all humanity would recognize the happiness that would result from implementing his plan.

A Paternal Revision of "Republican Motherhood"

The living quarters and workshops were still being arranged a month later when Cabet introduced three momentous ordinances to the Assembly. Heading the list on April 18 was his proposal to purchase and rebuild the Temple. He also wanted to buy an arsenal building to store the group's guns. After "many long discussions," these two questions were approved "except by Gavillot and two others." An "energetic reproach" was directed at these dissenters.[36]

To explain the need for the Assembly to back his recommended expenditures, Cabet outlined three principles that would help reduce future resistance. First, Icarians were to practice equality, and if everyone could not have a kind of individual property like a gun, then no one should. Second, he stressed their lofty purposes, "our enterprise is not for our personal joys but in the interest of the people and Humanity." And finally, he reminded members that they made a "sacred agreement to follow the direction of the Gérant."[37] The members' participation in Icaria's political order was diminished by the fact

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[35] Lettre de M. Cabet, March 25, 1849. This was also in the May 20 issue of Le Populaire.

[36] Discussions intérieures, April 18, 1849, CIS SIUE, folder eight. Le Populaire, July 1, 1849.

[37] Discussions intérieures, April 18, 1849. Le Populaire, July 1, 1849.

that they had sworn to follow Cabet's singular "direction." Those who differed were exposed to an "energetic reproach" similar to the internal-policing practices described in the Voyage.[38] Since strong-minded and politically capable men were among those who had made the decision to come to Icaria, Cabet's pronouncements were intended to limit their opposition to him. Women were correspondingly restricted.[39]

After Cabet successfully settled the Temple and Arsenal regulations, he introduced a third controversial measure. A brief report on it was published two and a half months later in Le Populaire:

> The proposition to unite all the little boys in a separate lodging and all the little girls in another, to spend the night and the day, to receive education and instruction under the direction and the care of instituteurs and institutrices and under the surveillance of three mothers of families has been the object of a long discussion. It was terminated with a unanimous adoption except for the sole exception of four persons who desired to keep their children near them during the night.[40]

Cabet's summary acknowledged that he was challenged by four voting members. These fathers wanted to "keep their children during the night." All the bachelors voted for the measure. Mothers had no vote. A decisive regulation was set in place.

Was this a sudden, improvised change in Icarian family structure or one that Cabet

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[38] Vallet, An Icarian Communist in Nauvoo, 26. Vallet described the atmosphere in meetings when anyone opposed Cabet: "Among themselves in private, they could talk. But in the presence of the Père, they were mute, speechless." When a 35 year-old man named Janyrey spoke out, Cabet asked how he, "a little boy, allow yourself to make opposition to me?" No other man in the room had the courage to take Janyrey's part. "No, not one. All slaves to the powerful Cabet."

[39] Women had a "separate place" in 1848. In the 1850-51 Constitution, they were not members nor voters. Article 120 gave them a "consultative" voice in areas of their interests.

[40] Discussions intérieures, April 18, 1849. Le Populaire, July 1, 1849.

had always had in mind? It surely did not resemble the opening chapters of the Voyage where children lived with families in individual households. In their recent investigations, the Gontier researchers found that because of the cholera epidemic, the group already had orphans. "One widow died leaving five young children," they wrote.[41] Rearing all children communally would assure members that their offspring would always be cared for should they, too, fall victim to disease and death.[42] This is a plausible consideration that Cabet may have used to justify the boarding arrangement but not stipulated in writing. Nonetheless, families have always found the means to incorporate and care for orphans and half-orphans. Likewise, Icarians could have accomodated orphans without requiring parents to forfeit daily relationships with their own children. It seems absurd to imagine that Cabet extended his egalitarian formula to this situation, that is, if all couldn't have something, e.g. parents, than none should have them. Still, equality was a major principle underpinning his logic.

Moreover, if one recalled that Cabet had written a section in his Voyage where children were placed in boarding schools during the transitory period, his theory would

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[41] Gontier and Gontier, Partons, 158, 150-3. In order to discovery which family this was, I went over the passenger lists prepared by Jules Renaud in July 1977 and compared names with the twenty deaths which occurred from March 1st to April 3rd that were reported in Le Populaire, July 1, 1849. I was unable to find five orphans from one family, although there were orphans. The Gontiers reported, "Cabet reunited them and explained the advantages the Icarian schools offered. After the epidemic of cholera, they had many orphans, one citoyenne veuve died and left five young children, the school was a mutual assurance against this misfortune." The Gontiers may have mistaken a report by Leydecker dated October 14, 1850 and printed in Le Populaire on January 3, 1851 about a mother who died in her sleep of a bilieuse (terrible) fever, leaving five children. The father had been sick for some time. However, this was two years later.

[42] Ibid., 158.

appear to be the chief basis for this move, not simply an emergency measure but a notion embedded in his original plan.[43] The boarding schools in his Icarian design were set up during the transitional period to guard children from old world contamination, to instill unselfish principles, and to guide vocations. The novel did not include any mechanism for the transfer of children from boarding schools to the euphoric family scenes in the early chapters (after fifty years), nor was any transfer noted in the report on the April 1849 Nauvoo regulation.

In light of contemporary French child-care and educational arrangements, a boarding school was not in itself too startling. Very young children were often taken care of away from their homes by wet-nurses, a tradition still widely in vogue among lower middle classes. Apprenticed youngsters were lodged with masters and children were loaned out as farm help in the countryside. Young girls lived with families where they worked as servants. Costly educational institutions boarded children of the wealthier classes.[44] Some Icarians viewed Cabet's arrangement as a form of upward mobility whereby they gained the coveted advantages of the rich. They felt their children would have better schooling than those in France.[45] Assuredly, families back home were not

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[43] Voyage, 386-9.

[44] Colin Heywood, Childhood in Nineteenth-Century France: Work, health and education among the 'classes populaires' (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 196, 108, 56, 212.

[45] Le Populaire, September 2, 1849. This argument surfaced in a letter written on July 7, 1849 from Nauvoo which explained the schools and noted "In a word, they are truly better boarding schools, assuredly, than those in the old society." Le Populaire, August 5, 1849. In an "extract" from a letter from Mahy-Ede to his wife and friends written on April 19, he says "our children are taken care of better than those in Paris." This suggests that Cabet had used these "superior" grounds to convince members that they were a preferred arrangement.

always together in an idealized household.

Aside from the protests of four fathers, other parents surely questioned why their children couldn't return home at night.[46] They were only permitted to have dinner with them on Sunday (if they were good at school) and observe them through a schoolyard fence during the week.[47] Since this matter had an important impact on the Icarian family and community cohesion, additional reasons for such a stringent education structure need to be explored.

Neither the Assembly nor Cabet could claim there was a lack of suitable housing since Nauvoo had many empty family homes. Economy, however, was important and factoring money into this arrangement changes the picture. It was less expensive to provide one room in a building for each married couple than to set up family quarters with extra space for children. Coupled with Cabet's intent to purchase the Temple and arsenal, money becomes a very important consideration. The savings gained by thrifty housing budgets could be applied to the purchase and restoration of the Temple monument, land, steamboats, and other large items.

An examination of the Icarian Constitution of 1850-51 shows that Cabet's family revision was portrayed as temporary. Article 82 stated that "the Communauté provides the education for all children" and article 84 promised, "When the Communauté is completely established and developed, the children can live with their parents and go to the common schools for their education."[48] This deferral was very likely present during the April 1849

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[46] Ex-Icarians complained of this family separation in written protests that I will address shortly.

[47] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 192-3, 334.

discussions.

Cabet also hushed up women's complaints. P. Bourg, one of the Education directors, noted in a letter to Lyon friends, that Cabet "asked me to send him the details of all our operations, and he will send them to Le Populaire." He will judge "our proper news" and the pages will be "laconiquement exact, since I have a wordy habit of bringing in the embroideries and silk dresses of the grumblers, for example." Bourg's remarks point out that Cabet intended to have reports about women's 'grumblings' left out of the newspaper, an update of his 1841 directives to "suppress talk" about women.[49]

Cabet had experienced earlier conflicts with women who failed to "understand" his system or misconstrued affranchissement. Their arguments exacerbated soon after the emigration announcement when they sensed Cabet was overly attentive to men's issues in his newspaper. Assertive women demanded they be allowed to participate in the early departures. Their militancy undermined his Voyage vision of orderly mothers who cooperated in rearing "children for the Republic." A growing number of Icariennes failed to emulate his pleasing standards in "La Femme."[50]

Education was the tool for shaping children's minds and behavior toward the

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[48] Constitution de la Communauté Icarienne votée à l'unanimite le 21 Février 1850, et révisée, discutée et votée de nouveau à l'unanimité le 4 Mai 1851 (Nauvoo: Imprimerie Icarienne, 1851), ACIS, 13, 14. This 1851 Constitution can be found in Prudhommeaux's appendix. I have not found a copy of the February 21, 1850 one in Prudhommeaux, Shaw, nor Sutton's studies either. It may not have been printed but very likely had these school rules.

[49] Le Populaire, October 7, 1849. Thus, six months after their arrival in Nauvoo, press reports about women's complaints were left out or marginalized at the least.

[50] Voyage, 75. La Femme. These topics have been discussed in an earlier chapter.

practice of fraternity and equality. Youngsters were to be taught these virtuous traits in a controlled atmosphere. They needed to be isolated from parents who represented the despised "old world" habits of individualism and selfishness. A specific example of this environmental thinking about children was present in a letter written on July 30, 1849 by P. Bourg, one of Cabet's education directors. Bourg wrote about the "two separate houses for our schools. One for the little girls, the other for the boys. Six professors of two sexes and two dames provide the little cares for them." These children, Bourg observed, were being "cultivated as young Icarian plants."[51] Cabet himself remarked to a visitor, Holynski, that their boarding school system was "the seed which will bring social bliss."[52] His image of environmental determinism was also part of Robert Owen's approach to education.[53] Both men wanted to shield children from objectionable influences, especially that of mothers whose affectionate maternal care was viewed as non-fraternal.

A newspaper report about Icarian schools a few weeks later exemplified Cabet's opinion of working-class mothers' inept parenting. Many of the children could "neither read nor write when the school opened on June 1, 1849. Their education was immediately

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[51] Le Populaire, October 7, 1849.

[52] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 333-4. Prudhommeaux also reported that Cabet "isolated the children from contact with parents, faithful to the prejudice of the generation brought up in the reading of Émile (by Rousseau)."

[53] Carol A. Kolmerten, Women In Utopia: The Ideology of Gender in the American Owenite Communities (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990), 55-7, 164. Kolmerten compared the educational ideas in Owen's and Cabet's colonies. Both sought equality and believed it was necessary to change beliefs, customs, and attitudes. Owen used Pestalozzi ideas about "useful" education in boarding and day schools. See Le Populaire, September12, 1847. Cabet published 25 of the "most important" points gleaned from Owen's communistic system in M. Thornton's book showing "satisfactory" analogies between Icarians and Owenites.

compromised, not due to negligence, because they were cared for assiduously in the family by the wife of the people, whose every minute of the day was consecrated to gaining their food."[54] Cabet wanted children to experience discipline and order as opposed to the sentimental "indulgences" that tired, weak mothers "of the people" dispensed.[55]

In addition to these ideological components, monetary considerations were embedded in Cabet's educational system. Communal housing facilities were a savings. His efficient, orderly plans transferred parents' labor from daily childcare to Icarian work projects which added hours of productive income to the community coffers. This was made clear in a report that noted when the "larger school was ready," they would be able to take care of children after they were weaned, "with the intention of lightening the loads of their mothers to be useful for other works."[56]

Whatever the primary reason amidst this range of motives was, Cabet effectively persuaded the Assembly to sanction his boarding school law at the onset of the colony. Parents contact with their children was reduced to a few hours on Sunday.[57] Since many

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[54] Le Populaire, March 3, 1850.

[55] Ibid. This phrase was in a report by Cabet on the school conditions. He followed this analysis with the statement that "All this has been repaired in these months under the powerful influence of one wise and sustained direction."

[56] Ibid. The girls school had 25 children from age 5 to 12 when this report was prepared on January 6, 1850. The 3 to 5 year olds appear to be with mothers. This had changed by August 1850 as noted in Le Populaire, October 18, 1850. A report stated there were forty girls whose ages were from 3 to 14. Exactly when the three year olds were housed communally is unclear, for there was still no common "large school" built by the end of 1850.

[57] Ibid., October 18, 1850. The school count on August 12, 1850 was 40 girls and 21 boys.

fathers experienced work activities outside the home and spent less time with their offspring, the loss of their paternal position was not as stressful as it was for mothers. Complaints about the separation of parents from their children was one of the issues that appeared regularly in the protests of angry dissidents after they left. A mother's visit with her child once a week was not "republican motherhood." The consequences of this arbitrary act reduced the Communauté's success. Cabet's punitive prescriptions against parents were brought to the attention of indignant Nauvoo neighbors in the summer of 1849.

War against a "New Little Society: Rival of Ours"

Although Cabet may have gained some short term advantages with his "directions," three months later, the community was reduced from 280 to 226 members.[58] Besides the twenty who died from cholera, thirty-four Icarians withdrew. Cabet noted this fact without elaboration, but other reports indicated that this group had, in fact, "deserted violently."[59] The "deserters" had remained loyal to him during the earlier Texas disputes but the situation for 8 women, 17 men, and 9 children in Nauvoo was unacceptable.[60] Choosing to leave the Community en masse was a serious action. Unlike those who

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[58] Le Populaire, September 2, 1849. In a letter dated July 28, 1849, Cabet wrote that 34 members had left and "about 240 remained" which is incorrect. Twenty died from cholera from March 1 to April 8 according to his report published in the paper on July 1. Therefore, only 226 remained. The decree on boarding schools was three months earlier, April 18, 1849.

[59] Ibid., July 7, 1850. This adverb was expressed a year later. The first report on September 2, 1849 did not describe it as "violent," undoubtedly to avoid alarming future emigrants. He was forced to explain this in 1850 after their complaints were aired in Paris.

[60] Ibid., September 2, 1849. "Extrait d'une lettre du Gérant d'Icarie" July 28, 1849. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 247.

separated at New Orleans, they were not given 200 francs each, nor were their trousseaus and tools returned.[61] The forthcoming 1850 Constitution changed this for those who left later in a "peaceful" manner, however, this group had to separate with nothing. Like everyone, they signed the legal document giving all they owned to the Community.[62] Destitute, they moved into Nauvoo and decided to set up a "rival society." Townspeople, like those who had supported the "reformer" Mormons in the past, listened to their complaints and helped the ex-members find housing and work.[63] Once again, Cabet had provoked a fresh group of enemies.[64] However, this "rival society" did not return to France to face humiliation, but camped next door to him and were a constant reminder of Icarian disunity.

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[61] Le Populaire, July 1, 1849. I have no evidence to support any settlement for these 34.

[62] Ibid., February 3, 1850. In November 1849, the Assembly met in five consecutive sessions to work on a new Constitution. Article 9 stated that anyone who left the Society lost all rights and could reclaim nothing of his apport. But, "if he retired peacefully and without hostility, the Society would deliver his trunk containing clothing and lingerie which were for his own use, a mattress, two pairs of sheets, one blanket, and tools of his profession that he could prove he brought in and that they would be absolutely necessary for his work, providing they would not hinder the Society." Those who left "with hostility" (violent) in June could reclaim nothing either before or after the formal Constitution was adopted.

[63] Influence et manoeuvres des jesuits, CIS SIUE, folder 8. n.d., contains material on the August 6, 1849 meeting. "Two very influential catholics declared they would protect the dissidents, and guide them with zealous counsels and establish them in lodgings."

[64] Le Populaire, February 3, 1850. In ruminating about the past year, Cabet referred to the "cholera, the fire in Saint-Louis, the fatal event of June 13, and our unbelievable desertions." The only "fatal event of June 13" (linked in the list prior to the desertions) that I can speculate about would be "violence" caused by the 34 deserters. This could conceivable have erupted shortly after the school system began on June 1. This is my correlation which takes into consideration the dissidents written protests on the separation of children from their parents.

Despite Cabet's calculated ommission of details about their motives for leaving, their reasons surfaced a year later when Proudhon published the protest of fifteen of these Nauvoo dissidents (11 men and 4 women). They wrote that:

> All the disorders, all the vices, all the vexations of the actual regime have reproduced themselves with an aggravated furor in the egalitarian and fraternal community of Icaria: the concentration of powers, suppression of liberties, intolerance of opinions, disarmament of citizens, violation of the household, official lies, administrative speculations [funds], informer set-up system, and the censure established on private letters, censure on domestic communications, censure on the affections of families, and the inquisition. Finally the regime exploited government in the most outrageous and most immoral ways. All of us say that there is a distinction of classes and divisions of people into majority and minority. The majority say they are satisfied and a minority say they are oppressed. Here is the spectacle that we give this protest to, so eloquent in its naiveté of these unfortunate Icarians.[65]

Cabet replied to Proudhon with a vindictive assessment of the protestors in Le Populaire. His polemical fury intensified as he recalled their "ignorance, their incredible vanity, ambition, and conduct."[66] All of their complaints were "gross errors, lies, calomnies, and impertinences." They had called Cabet "vain and proud" and accused him of being "cold and insensitive." Furthermore, since Proudhon had a "personal hate" against him (and favored his own system), he did not know about these "disciples who had revolted against their maitre (master)."[67] Proudhon had no right to judge what had "passed between these deserters and the mass of faithful Icarians." Their hostilities were "generally the consequences of outside maneuvers and Jesuits." Such writings were "violent outrages

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[65] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 252, 252n1. Proudhon wrote that Cabet's "system led to an oriental absolutism or a Caesar."

[66] Le Populaire, July 7, 1850. This was in Cabet's letter to Proudhon written on June 1, 1850. The protests were from the "violent deserters in July 1849."

[67] Ibid. This is an interesting comment about Cabet's cultural expectations of the master-servant relationships that infused his thinking.

against the entire colony, and a most audacious slander against its head."[68]

Once again, it was "war." Cabet claimed it could have been avoided "if, at least, they had separated from us peacefully and fraternally; but, they were unfit and had become the most fierce and cruel enemies."[69] Furthermore, even after leaving, the deserters had not ceased "to make war against us, to slander, to express their voices to ruin us and our Community which contains a great number of elderly, women, and children."[70] After pointing out his image as protector of the weak, Cabet concluded this tirade by echoing Christ and officiously pardoned "them for they know not what they do."[71] By invoking this sanctimonious "pardon," Cabet cleansed himself of misconduct in the affair and affirmed his self-righteous innocence.

Until this incident was sensationalized in Proudhon's newspaper, Cabet had suppressed news about the dissidents' grievances. In addition, a closer inspection of a report that followed his account of the "rival society" showed that, "a fire which appeared to have been caused by a pipe consumed one of our stables filled with hay. It was perhaps

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[68] Ibid. In addition, Cabet's informational network told him that "four comrades of the fifteen signatures who lived in St. Louis, had refused to sign it!" Of the 34, 9 were children (leaving 25). Since 8 were women, the 4 may be women or some mix of the other 6 men who didn't sign. Cabet used this flimsy evidence to show that all dissidents did not share these strong views.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid. Care of widows, orphans, sick, elderly, and children was a constant defense that Cabet used against those who left and failed in their sworn duty to care for all members of the community. It was picked up by Bourg and other defenders. This did little to solve the problems that Cabet's "direction" created but was an effective weapon to instill shame and guilt.

[71] Ibid. His "pardon" had a hollow note since it was accompanied by his caustic name-calling.

a loss of 800 francs.- Two days afterwards, there was a robbery during the night in the horlogerie (watch, clock workshop), estimated at about 250 francs."[72] Whether the juxaposition of these two events was intentional or not, the Icarians had recurring problems with fires and thefts, weapons used by some Nauvoo residents against the Mormons. While some of the fires were accidental and burglaries, inevitable, one of Cabet's reports casts a strong suspicion on disgruntled dissidents and the Nauvoo opposition as criminals. They had access to insider knowledge about the location of the "best" clothing and tools. This happened shortly after a number of dissenters had left. Whether coincidental or not, the conjecture hinted that the thieves knew how to select their plunder. Cabet took the "delicate" matters to the Nauvoo authorities.[73]

Back in France, deserters from Texas-New Orleans successfully brought embezzlement charges against Cabet and despite his protests and letters to Louis-Napoleon, he was convicted in absentia.[74] His new war on the homefront not only

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[72] Ibid., September 2, 1849. Le Populaire, August 5, 1849. This issue reported on the losses Icarians suffered in their shops in St. Louis caused by a May 17,1849 fire that engulfed 500 buildings caused by a steamboat explosion.

[73] Ibid., May 16, 1851. Cabet's accusations about who he suspected stole things were barely concealed in this issue. A number of dissidents, especially dissatisfied women, had left in February 1851 and the next month, while the Icarians were at their Sunday musical on March 23, 1851, thieves entered "three lodgings and workshops. In the lodgings they stole draps (woolen bed sheets), blankets, clothes of men and of women, skirts, etc.; in the sabot (wooden shoe) workshop, they stole the tools to make sabots with. In these four different spots, they couldn't carry everything and had to choose the best. In two places they must have had to light a candle to commit their thievery. We do not want to talk about whom our suspicions more or less fall upon, the matter is too delicate. But we have filed suit before the American authorities. They can discover the thief or thieves and end our thoughts which may lead to individuals, perhaps innocent, but their outside conduct has inspired our defiance."

[74] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 258-9. Of the 218 who left at New Orleans, some returned to France, others stayed to work and sought "vengeance" against Cabet for the loss of

involved a "rival society" but two divisions of Nauvoo townspeople. On the opposing side, Cabet targeted the "Jesuits," yet he acknowledged that there was a mixture of Catholics and non-Catholics on both sides.[75] He reported the problems in a persecution-narrative which traced the Pope's condemnation of Communism, Gouhenant's betrayal, a threat from a woman in New Orleans to "disorganize Icaria elsewhere," and news reached him about a Paris Catholic newspaper's announcement that the Icarians would be chased out like the Mormons in Nauvoo.[76]

To further certify the Jesuit component of his war, Cabet named four Nauvoo dissidents who were being "encouraged by two very influential Catholics." They proceeded to take up a "collection for a dance to profit them."[77] Therefore, "Aubel, Deligny, Coutelier, etc., etc., consented to be an instrument of the Catholics, Priests, and Jesuits against the Icarians." In addition, dissident Mazarin's wife "went to mass the day after she left. Her husband followed her; nearly everyone saw them. Aubel went to work in the Curé's garden." Another Curé was seen placing his arms around Coutelier. Then, the

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their goods.

[75] Influence et manoeuvres des jesuits. The document qualified Nauvoo divisions as "the citizens who are non-catholic, and some catholics joined with them, who form a great majority have given a public manifestation in favor of the society." (The August 6, 1849 meeting.)

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid., Le Populaire, October 7, 1849. Jonvaux wrote a letter to his friends dated August 15, 1849, that referred to the "false friends whose mission was to disunite us. These men frequent the Jesuits here and the priests . . . these weak heads left us and actually eat the bread of the Jesuits, bread very hard to eat. The catholics of Nauvoo have given a ball to benefit those who have abandoned us . . . like beggars." Why did Jonvaux called them beggars? They had to leave with nothing. Jonvaux's letter read like Cabet's report and lacked specifics about why they left.

Curé had them "come to a meeting at the house of a Church official. After an inquiry, he gave a sermon accusing the Society of being against the laws of the country and God and reproached the Nauvoo inhabitants for supporting a parallel Society and for taking up collections to make it easier for them to acquire the Temple. Finally, the Bishop came to Nauvoo and demanded publicly that all the inhabitants resolve to die for their faith."[78] Thus, Nauvoo Catholics, like those in France, were counseled to fight to their death to preserve their faith against Icarian communists.

After these disturbing tales reached Cabet, he attempted to head off future troubles with a peaceful public appeal soon after the "rival society" settled into Nauvoo. He held a "general meeting of the citizens of the town of Nauvoo at the Icarians' house." On August 6, 1849, Mr. Malgar Couchman (esquire), grand sheriff of Hancock County who was the elected president and Mr. N.C. Philips, secretary were among Cabet's guests. The president explained the purpose of the meeting "clearly and briefly" and Cabet "pronounced an eloquent discourse" on patriotism followed by "bravos!"[79] He assured the townspeople that Icarians had come to live among them in peace. Five resolutions "were adopted with loud exclamations" which affirmed the Icarian's industry, good citizenship,

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[78] Influence et manoeuvres des jesuits.

[79] Le Populaire, January 6, 1850. The purpose of the August meeting was not included in the write-up but Therme's letter on November 3, 1849 to his parents stated that the Nauvoo inhabitants were "afflicted by the split among us" and had come to a "meeting at our house to protest the points between the ones and the others, the dissidents and the Jesuits." Therme echoed Cabet's excuse for not accepting the invitation to the ball because of their sorrow about the news from France "which did not permit us to think of any other things." Therme wanted his family to come to Nauvoo, but only if they "understand their duties towards Humanity." He declared his willingness to "give my life for your happiness!"

morality, sobriety, courtesy, and fraternity. They "profoundly regretted any causes of disunity" and declared that Icarians were "austere French republicans" who left their country to enjoy the independence which their illustrious predecessor Lafayette had helped Americans fight to establish. Cabet denied that the Icarian Communauté was an "enemy of the country's laws."[80]

After this conciliatory gathering, Nauvoo residents hosted a ball at a "neighboring hotel to celebrate the fraternization of their citizens with the Icarian Society." Cabet declined the invitation. He responded that the "Icarians request that they not take part because of their sorrow due to events in France caused by the desertion of some of our brothers. They were unable to show any joy."[81] This limp excuse masked Cabet's refusal to risk allowing Icarians to become more acquainted with individualistic American neighbors. The purpose of his public meeting was to declare their wish to continue business-like friendships with townspeople, but not to encourage risqué dance encounters.

Many questions remain. What prompted this group of dissidents not only to leave, but to form a "rival society" and stay in Nauvoo? And who were they? Despite the meager information supplied by Cabet, records show that the mass-attending wife of the Mazarin family had lost a fifteen year-old boy to typhoid on March 30, just two weeks prior to the decision to place all children in a boarding school.[82] There were two Mazarin

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80 Meeting des Citoyens de Nauvoo à l'establissement des Icariens CIS SIUE, folder 8. This write-up was sent to the Hancock Patriot and other journals.

81 Ibid. This refusal was added to the bottom of the page.

82 Le Populaire, July 1, 1849. The child was "sick during the long, laborious crossing on the Pie-Neuf (3rd Grand Departure). At New Orleans, his state was close to normal and not quite sick, but had a morbid disposition so pronounced that a simple current of humid air carrying typhoid fever broke out on the 12th of March ending with death at the

families who arrived at Nauvoo and they had another thirteen year-old daughter and son listed among the ship passengers.[83] The school injunction would separate the sad and lonely living children from their grief-stricken parents, compounding the family's sorrow. The Deligny couple were similarly afflicted for their nine year-old daughter had died on April 3, 1849, two weeks before the regulation.[84] It was an untimely moment for Cabet to announce the family separations.

The Coutellier family had crossed the ocean with three children, a four year old boy and two girls aged one and seven. Their elderly grandmother was making the trip with them, but she died of cholera on March 13,1849 aboard ship on the Mississippi. The Icarians hasty, covert burials circumvented funeral traditions leaving relatives with few outlets to express their loss and share each others' grief.[85]

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end of the month."

[83] Icarian passenger lists from 1848 Compiled by Jules Renaud, July, 1977, Gauthier Collection, ACIS. The Mazarin passengers included a 14 yr. old boy and a 13 yr. old girl. I assume the deceased was the 14 yr.old who turned 15. The July 1 account in Le Populaire of those who went to Nauvoo had two Mazarin families one with a wife and daughter and another "Mazarin sons, wife, daughter." Le Populaire, July 1, 1849. This record showed "Mazarin, father, wife, and daughter and Mazarin sons, wife and two children." Regardless there seem to be three [related] children and a 15 year old died March 30, 1849.

[84] Le Populaire, July 1, 1849.

[85] Ibid., February 3, 1850. Gerard's letter to his parents on November 11, mentioned the "infamous libels" against Cabet by dissidents, the "Judas" (34 in Nauvoo). They claimed they were "squeezed" together on the steamboat, and the "potentate" of Icaria was lodged "comfortably in the Captain's quarters." Cabet denied this and it was repeatedly brought out by letter writers as an absurdity for Cabet had shared their lodgings, etc. This suggests that the Nauvoo deserters were unreconciled with the causes of cholera or the deaths that plagued the group and blamed them on their crowded conditions on the ship. Clearly, Cabet's attitude toward their suffering and their opinions of his aseptic distance from the dying were imbedded in their complaints.

The last named dissident was a bachelor named Aubel whose withdrawal remains a puzzle.[86] Living in Nauvoo was difficult for these French people who had no money and had to overcome language differences. In October, one of the men changed his mind and asked to return to Icaria. "After many Assembly discussions, they decided to readmit the plasterer Buisson of Lyon and his daughter, in consideration of his ancient devotion in Lyon and as a member of the first Advance-Guard."[87] Buisson's statement of "repentance" did not offer any reason for leaving or changing his mind.

By sorting through published Icarian responses to the protests of the "rival society" placed in a journal, Semeur on May 1, 1850 and those in Proudhon's paper, it is possible to identify the sites of discontent. Overall, those who left stated their dislike of Cabet's dictatorship[88]and his "childish, offensive regulations, etc."[89] But it was their protests about the "disunion of families, disarmaments, inquisitions, and sequestration cellulaire (cellular confinement) etc.," that give credence to their departure as a reaction to

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[86] Ibid., July 1, 1849. Aubel was on the New Orleans list of faithful. He came without a wife or children. These were the only four names mentioned by Cabet.

[87] Ibid., February 3, 1850. No date was given for his readmission. I am unable to link Mme Buisson, Cabet's correspondent in the early 1840s with this Buisson, or discover why he has a daughter (? age) and not a wife with him, or why he left in July. The letter from Buisson asking to come back was printed, dated October 20, 1849. He had "committed a great fault" and was "repentant." His daughter was "innocent of the faults of her father" who had his head "lead astray" by the "perfidious suggestions" of a brother. His "heart remained faithful" and he asked "pardon."

[88] Ibid., August, 1850 (n.d). Cabet's "necessary dictatorship" was reiterated in letters from Bourg, and others. Thibault repeated this in Le Populaire, September 2, 1849. His letter was dated April 20, 1849, two days after the momentous Assembly.

[89] Ibid., August, 1850. This issue is filled with letters defending the community composed by the Assembly, Cabet, P.Bourg, and Gluntz (of Lyon).

Cabet's family revisions.[90] Several men undoubtedly resented placing their guns in an arsenal, for an 'armed citizenry' was one of the vital images of French Republicanism. The precise meaning of "cellular confinements" is unclear, but a report about the travelers "squeezed" in cabins on shipboard may be the clue to this complaint.[91] Cabet's inquisitorial methods violated their personal dignity.

"You maintain that we keep you in horrible slavery," secretary Bourg replied defensively to these charges by the dissidents. He went on to explain how the Icarians not only had to "create their material state" but had to "correct many moral ones." Members had to leave their "old world vices" behind. This included their "defects and prejudices." Furthermore, "too many opinions was anarchy."[92] Bourg summed up his remarks by stating that the dissidents should have followed Cabet.

Deserters also found a "refuge" in St. Louis, Missouri with ex-members from New Orleans.[93] They protested in the Journal des Débats against the "sad and irreparable experiences of Cabet's absurd doctrines" which included the "disunion inflicted on

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[90] Ibid. No specific defense for these accusations was offered beyond being "wicked calomnies and perfidious exagerations."

[91] Ibid., February 3, 1850.

[92] Ibid. Bourg was outraged at the slavery charges against them. He claimed they were in a "republic that was the most democratic in the world!" Another letter of Bourg's on June 12 responded to similar protests by "naive people (lisez stupide) which attested that the Icarians passed to the state of negroes under the whip of M.Cabet, transformed to a ferocious Planter." To demonstrate their quality routine, Bourg listed their weekly schedules, foods, and entertainments.

[93] Ibid., July 7, 1850. "Response of Nauvoo Icarians to dissidents of Saint Louis" on June 1, 1850. St. Louis was the "refuge of desertions" which had sent the protest to Proudhon.

families" and the "inquisition placed between the mother and her children." They were "humiliated by vexatious regulations," and the "encouragement of espionage." Once on the outside, they claimed their "signatures were extorted for false letters," and the "secrecy of their correspondence was violated."[94]

Significant changes in Icarian politics resulted from these dissidents' accusations and the reactions of Nauvoo residents. Cabet had to bring his

> . . . social Contract in harmony with American laws and opinions. Moreover, he profited from the experience of the past year and it was not inconvenient to apply the republican and radical democratic principles to the present. They always sooner or later govern the Community.
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> In consequence, citizen Cabet himself proposed on January 1850 to replace the ten year absolute and unique Gérance with a multiple Gérance, elected annually, and submit himself to reelection. He proposed to modify the social Contract and replace it with a Constitution.[95]

Thus, Icaria's absolute Gérant had politely "abdicated after six months of paternal dictatorship."[96] In addition to composing a formal Constitution, the Assembly passed new "Conditions of Admission" in January 22, 1850. The new set of rules revealed Cabet's growing hostility toward women who were engaged in behavior that challenged his system. By the summer of 1850, another war had begun. It was fought inside the Community by politically-minded women and their allies. These political enemies were not

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[94] Ibid.

[95] Constitution la communauté Icarienne, Votée à l'unanimité le 21 Février 1850, et réviseé, discutée, et votée de nouveau à l'unanimité le 4 Mai 1851 (Nauvoo: Imprimerie Icarienne, 1851), 4. Since there seems to be no extant copy of the 1850 Constitution, the difference in the 1851 revision cannot be determined. Cabet was re-elected President.

[96] Le Populaire, August 1850. This description was recorded by the Assembly on June 8, 1850. If "six months" was an accurate time period, then he stopped his strong "directions" about the middle of June 1849. Perhaps, the "fatal event of June 13" caused Cabet to decide to limit his dictator role. More likely, it had to do with incorporating the Community in the Illinois Legislature, since as President, he continued to hold his powerful position.

satisfied with Cabet's purported "abdication" and were as difficult to subdue as the parents who disliked being separated from their children. Political and personal enemies united to limit Cabet's power.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN'

'IGNORANT' AND 'OBSTINATE' MOTHERS

". . . Yet there are mothers, ignorant and obstinate," Cabet noted in Admission Rule number 45, where he described the women who opposed his childcare reforms. The Assembly had revised their Admission laws on January 22, 1850 and Cabet published 37 of them in Le Populaire on March 3, 1850. But rule number 45 was not printed in the paper at that time. It appeared along with ten additional ones in a pamphlet after June 12, 1850. Assuming that potential Icarians were willing to abide by the other rules, when mothers came to this one (third from last), they might have second thoughts. It stated that they had

> 45th: To consent that the Community dispose completely of the children.
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> The education of the child should commence at its birth and this education will form the strength and the hope of the Community. It is necessary that the Community have the children from their birth at its entire disposal, without being constrained by their parents. Without doubt the mother should have the right of nursing her child; but all the questions which relate to his physical, moral and intellectual education concern the Community. Yet there are mothers, **ignorant and obstinate**, opposed to all amelioration, to all reform, who have compromised the health and even the life of their children, by a blind tenderness and by senseless prejudices. Hence it is necessary that each one formally give their consent to this condition. If there are those to whom this condition is repugnant they are at perfect liberty to reject it; but let them not present themselves for admission, for they are not Icarians.[1]

Judging from Cabet's use of these contemptuous phrases about mothers, it seems he was having problems with them. Indeed, when a socialist journalist named Holynski asked him, "What is the greatest obstacle that you have encountered on your journey?" Cabet answered, "It is a very serious one that I have combatted each day. It is the resistance of

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[1] Cabet, Icarian Community Conditions of Admission, Nauvoo, Ill. (Icarian Printing, 1854) reprint of Paris: June 12, 1850. Gauthier file, ACIS, 30-31. My emphasis.

the women to the discipline and the rules of the community."[2] Not money. Not land nor men, but unruly women were Cabet's 'greatest obstacles.' To guard against the entrance of troublesome women in the future, he drew up these strict Admission laws. Anyone who wanted to join the Community was advised that they had to "conscientiously unite with us, to adopt, without any reservations, all the Icarian conditions" and "accept the Constitution."[3] Along with these Admission laws, Cabet proposed twenty-two Constitution articles related to the Assembly structure to supplement the 1847 Society Acts written in France. Members held five consecutive sessions to discuss these legislative acts in November 1849.

Women also held a "special meeting" about these changes on November 19, 1849. They "adopted them unanimously, except for three voices." This was the first report of women in Nauvoo exercising their political 'voices.'[4] When the1850 Constitution was approved, women were provided with the right to "give their views on all things particularly in their interest" (Article 4).[5] However, they were not given a legal vote to transform their "views" into laws. Six months later, this gendered ommission coupled with Cabet's Icar-like directions, divided the Community into two warring parties.

The new "Admission" rules recorded behavior by women that Cabet wanted to

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2 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 324n3.

3 Conditions of Admission, 3, 31. Le Populaire, March 3, 1850.

4 Le Populaire, February 3, 1850.

5 Ibid. The member's sessions were on November 18, 19, 20, 21, and 22, 1849. "About 25 members took part in the discussion and presented diverse observations." This issue reprinted the "acts made in France [1847]" and 22 new articles captioned "General Assembly."

halt. Overall, the conditions, although challenging, could be met.[6] However, several of the new rules departed sharply from the 1847 contract. For example, one required that members not be "too old" nor have any "contagious, incurable, or grave sickness."[7] The age statute was necessary because elderly Icarians had caused "inconveniences" which "endangered our enterprise."[8] Already, Cabet explained, "young and vigorous men had deserted their post and left us with a disproportionate number of old men, women, children and invalids. . . . We want sound, healthy men."[9] As he elaborated on the need for this exclusionary policy, Cabet speculated that "if" at the start of the Community, we had "nothing but old men, or if they were too numerous, it would perish with them; for, as a general point, they are infirm, without force and without activity, and especially exposed

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[6] Ibid. Cabet was not inflexible in some areas and made exceptions for worthwhile purposes. For example, all had to read, write, and sign their names in French, but "if" a workman knew the doctrines and was a good worker, being illiterate would not be an obstacle to his provisional admission while he learned these rudiments. (Rules 2 & 3.)

[7] Ibid., February 28,1851. In a review of the colony problems, Cabet claimed they came to Nauvoo with 280 of which there were "many elderly, infirm, and sick individuals" and discreetly omitted deaths from the cholera outbreak.

[8] Conditions of Admission, 14-5. Janet Fischer Palmer, "The Community at Work: The Promise of Icaria." Ph.D. Dissertation Social Science, Syracuse University, 1995, 160-1, 253-259. Palmer's analysis of the 1850 US Federal Population Census reported 276 people in June 1850. Two of them were widows in their seventies and 63 were married couples. There were 133 men; 75 women; and 68 children. 68% of the adults were under age 40. In 1853, there were 7 people listed who were born before 1800 - (over age 53.).

[9] Conditions of Admission, 14-5. Le Populaire, March 3, 1850, June 12, 1850. There were some slight differences between the condition numbers in the paper on March 3, 1850 and those published June 12, 1850. Some were combined as the "no liquor no tobacco" and then in June separated with greater detail and justifications for them. Liquor would be distributed by the community and no tobacco would be used inside buildings. The most important change was the addition of 11 more articles which will be addressed shortly for their impact on women.

each day to being sick, enfeebled, or unfit for labor, cases in which they become a charge." It was "unfortunate" that "at its birth, our little colony suffered from becoming stronger, in large part because these unproductive charges were multiplied in consideration of the productive means."[10] Cabet's age instructions, unlike Moses' fourth commandment, obliged Icarians to leave their elderly parents behind, lest they become a "charge" and "endanger" the enterprise. Although, it is hard to visualize too many enfeebled "old men" among the 142 who remained loyal in March 1849,[11] it was clear that the 74 women and 64 children were "charges." Whereas, excluding wives and children from the Icarian family would be unseemly, elderly relatives were expendable. In Cabet's forthright estimation, valued members would be "sound, healthy men."

As in the past, the Admission conditions informed applicants that they must know Cabet's writings and be literate in French. All must be devoted to his defined principles of "relative" equality, fraternity, and "true" liberty, which meant submission to the decision of the political majority. Members must respect women, observe decency, and engage to marry if not already married. All Icarians should resolve not to be envious nor incite envy. They must denounce individual property and be prepared to keep nothing for themselves. In addition, no one should ask to come who had either strong tobacco or liquor habits. They must submit to community discipline, be laborious, and willing to work either in the workshops or on the land. Hunting and fishing were not to be exercised for pleasure.

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[10] Conditions of Admission, 14. Le Populaire, July 7, 1850. "Des veuves et des orphelins en Icarie," Nauvoo, May 3, 1850. No age figures were given.

[11] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 311-12. In Cabet's 1855 account, there were 11 elderly persons over the age of sixty. (Cabet was 67 himself at that time.) Prudhommeaux also examined Cabet's complaints about the "charges which were so heavy on the Community."

Furthermore, members should have no "predilection or repugnance for certain foods."[12]

These regulations also had a tough rule on silence. Since candidates might hestiate about this, Cabet explained that silence was a necessary measure in order to get work done. Silence had been agreed upon in the Voyage workshops by happy Icarians, so it was not a surprising change. However, in the Colony, the coverage was broadened:

> 32th: To observe silence.
>
> Silence is a necessity at school, in the office, in the infirmary, in a course, in a public assembly, at the table [mealtime]. It is a general rule adopted at large meetings; in the workshop during work. It is a kind of necessity if we want each one to work without hindering others from working. That is a difficulty, they say, perhaps! There are many other difficulties as well, thousands of others in the old society! In order to have the advantages of association, one must make some sacrifices! There is no Community without labor and no labor with the useless causes which hinder one from working.[13]

The silence rule was explained in greater detail when the June 1850 booklet came out. Cabet had problems during the past year with subversive talk. He added:

> . . . Experience has enlightened us. Many of the difficulties experienced by the Colony up to the present, have originated in prattles or discussions in the workshops, discussions which have nearly always resulted in calumnies, in criticisms, which have produced trouble in the Society.
>
> It is necessary also to avoid screaming out and making useless noise which may incommode some one.[14]

In this amended section, silence would eliminate "trouble in the Society" by suppressing workers' verbal and emotional outbursts. Silence was of course, a common aspect of the Monastery systems which inspired Icaria's social order. M.A. Holynski, noted this in an account in which he related how "Cabet asked me to give my frank opinion about Icaria.- 'Here it is: you have founded an admirable convent, without superstition. - And with the

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12 Le Populaire, February 3, 1850. Conditions of Admission.

13 Ibid. Condition number 32 was 35 in June 1850.

14 Conditions of Admission, 25-6.

addition of marriage.' I did not remark on how the condition of marriage appeared to have a sad, monotonous, and claustral (cloistered) character."[15] Holynski's observations reveal that silence at work and mealtimes was carried-over into marital exchanges which lacked ardor and seemed "sad" to him.

Happy married relations, however, were not Cabet's immediate concern. He wanted to display the order and harmony of Icaria's system to impress visitors like Holynski. In the Admission rules, aspirants were repeatedly called upon to "obey without resistance or murmuring . . . submit to organization and order . . . fulfill the requirements without criticism or murmuring . . . abstain from all slander, from all abuses, and from all calumnies."[16] The promotion of this deferential attitude was stated succinctly in Article 20 of the 1850 Constitution. It directed members to respect Assembly decisions reached "after free and regular discussion. All criticism, above all any public criticism, is forbidden as anarchical and anti-social."[17]

To insure that internal disputes were contained, Cabet not only went over the items to be printed in the newspaper, but he read and censored letters leaving the community, an important consideration that he neglected to specify in the Admission rules.[18] Because of the sanctions on criticism and the limits of external communications,

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[15] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 313. Holynski directed the Revue Socialiste.

[16] Conditions of Admission, nos. 37, 46, 8. Similar phrases appear regularly.

[17] Le Populaire, February 3, 1850. This resulted from the November 1849 sessions. Members had a "duty" to be at the Assembly (13) where they were to express themselves "laconically" - to the point and brief. (16).

[18] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 362n1. The contract Icarians signed gave Cabet this right.

personal writing materials and postage were curtailed and there are almost no extant records by women. Information about their activities was in men's reports and letters mailed to Paris and can be discovered in them. Most accounts were dictated by Cabet to male secretaries. Women did sign their names to collective letters, but individual excerpts in the newspaper were taken from men's letters and promoted positive news about the community. Nonetheless, Cabet's violation of personal mail privacy was an irritant which ex-members complained about in their publicized criticisms and he was forced to respond to them.

After his departure, one dissident protested about "not having permission to write, [or] to receive a letter of my wife." This complaint by Prieur-Fouré was in a letter advising his friends not to sell their houses and join the Icarians because they were trying to make "the family disappear progressively."[19] Cabet labeled him one of their "most mortal enemies." Icarians did not "destroy marriage and the family," he replied indignantly. To prove it, he had a copy of the Constitution articles on "Marriage - Family" printed in the paper. Furthermore, before they left France "all Icarians took an engagement which conceded to the Gérant the right to read their letters."[20] This was done with the principle of solidarity in mind. Its underlying logic did not allow anyone the right to "compromise his co-associates by reciting dangerous or exaggerated stories."[21] Cabet claimed he had

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[19] Le Populaire, May 5, 1850. This dissident's letter was like the "infamous ones written by Aubel, by Leuillier, by Salvan, by Sainte-Marie, etc., and most recently by Prieur-Fouré." He was one of the 46 who decided to come without authorization in the fall of 1849.

[20] Ibid., July 7, 1850. The "violation of secret correspondence" was one of the charges leveled against Cabet by the "deserters."

[21] Ibid., Le Populaire, October 11, 1850. A brief note in October stated that

never executed this measure because of the "multitude of letters coming and going from the Society." However, he did not say that he never read any, only that he didn't read all letters.[22]

To avoid having to deal with withdrawals like Prieur-Fouré, Admission ordinances gave examples of the problems caused by recent "unqualified" members who were overwhelmingly women. The June booklet's 11 more rules had 5 with important directives about women.[23] The public was generally unaware of these final points.[24] In light of the repressive circumstances in France, if Cabet had published his 39th condition on Religion in Le Populaire, it would have added to the persecution troubles Icarians faced in their neighborhoods, especially women who were less inclined to be anti-clerical. Unlike other practical changes from his utopian text, this condition countermanded a fundamental

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Prieur-Fouré was with citoyenne Barelle. They were among those intercepted in New Orleans by dissidents. They accused Cabet of "forcing his slaves of two sexes to change the male and female in about 15 days." This fragment, undoubtedly exaggerated, suggests that dissidents disliked gender changes in some areas, probably the "slave-like" work assignments. In Le Populaire, October 11, 1850, Bourg's August 5 journal noted that Barelle's spouse was "retiring" after his wife left (without him). He "was in an unfortunate position." As her husband, "he was responsible." However, it was too late, and despite being a good communist, his wife "did not have any idea about our principles and her character was completely opposed."

[22] Ibid., May 5, 1850. This was signed by Cabet on February 20, 1850. He also answered other charges brought by Prieur-Fouré regarding members who were late for meals, and had nothing to eat. Cabet said that was not true, there was always some bread, but the cooks were not slaves to latecomer's pleasure. Also, the dissidents said they couldn't talk to whomever they wanted to. Cabet responded that it was true that members were not to communicate with those who were their "declared enemies" which would "expose them to becoming future dissidents."

[23] Conditions of Admission. The 48 articles ended with Cabet's two dates: "Made at Nauvoo on January 22, 1850 and published in Paris on June 12, 1850."

[24] Ibid., 27-32. The eleven conditions were not in Le Populaire before or after June 1850.

Voyage axiom. Residents in the Colony were not permitted to practice religious tolerance as the amicable Icarians did in the book. Applicants were informed that they had:

> 39th. To adopt for their *Religion*, the TRUE CHRISTIANITY and for their worship the practice of FRATERNITY.
>
> When Icaria shall arrive to perfection, when the Icarian education shall have formed generations [of] the most enlightened and the most untrammeled by superstitions, prepossessions and prejudices, the most complete liberty will then protect all religious opinions and all worships, if it be possible that the highest development of human intelligence and human reason in all the Icarians shall not form the same opinion upon religion and worship as upon all other questions. But at present and during the epoch of formation, it is necessary that all those who present themselves to enter Icaria have the same religion and the same worship to evade all discussions and all quarrels upon this subject. And this Icarian Religion is Christianity in its primitive purity as it is exposed in a work entitled, TRUE CHRISTIANITY, based upon the idea of a first cause called Nature or God, considered as the Father of all men. All those who wish to profess and proclaim Materialism, or Atheism, or Catholicism, and who wish the Catholic worship with its cathedrals, its priests, its confession and its ceremonies, are perfectly free to have them and we will respect their opinions; but let them not come amongst us, because we have need of harmony and of unity.[25]

Perhaps Cabet expected that religious "unity" in the Colony would be a simple matter, but "quarrels" during the past year had proven otherwise. In particular, women, like Mazarin's wife who left and "went to Mass" in Nauvoo, were never fully converted. In this environment, the addition of the Religion measure was a means to eliminate these "semi-converted" wives that he had so often warned about. Like the boarding school change, Cabet toned down this deviation from the Voyage by presenting it as a temporary measure, e.g. until "Icaria shall arrive to perfection." Thus, from the summer of 1850 on, Vrai Christianisme was the official Religion of Icarians. "Semi-converted" women who came earlier had to acquiesce to this majority rule or leave.

New recruits were free to choose not to "present themselves for admission," but

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[25] Ibid., 28-29. Capitalized in the booklet.

there was no recourse for women already in the Colony who were dissatisfied. When Bourgeois of Beaumont left, he wrote that "M. Cabet stopped the children from calling their parents papa and maman, he forced them to say mon parent and they were forced to call Cabet mon père."[26] Cabet claimed Bourgeois' complaint was a "lie." Perhaps the "force" element was a "lie," but parents like Bourgeois resented the formal [rational] relations teachers were promoting for their children.[27] Cabet's system reflected the anti-familialism that was a common characteristic of social renewal movements. It had appeared in France after the Revolution and has recently been investigated by Lynn Hunt who examined evidence about an especially "bad mother," Marie-Antoinette.[28] In a similar fashion, by June 1850, pioneer mothers in Icaria who exhibited "blind tenderness" and "senseless prejudices," either resigned themselves to accepting the childcare arrangements they were powerless to change, left the Colony, or remained and engaged in "obstinate" behaviors.

Along with the childcare and religion Admission rules, Cabet directed attention to the need to make women, even more than men, obey all the laws.

42nd. It is as necessary for women, married or unmarried, to fulfill all the

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[26] Le Populaire, July 11, 1851, May 30, 1851. The paper of May 30 noted that the family of Bourgeois of Beaumont-sur-Oise was not asking for [definite] admission. This tendency toward formal family language relationships was observed by him during the previous months indicating that the school system was still a significant reason for families to leave. I am unsure whether this Bourgeois is the same as L.Bourgeois who was in the First Advance-Guard, became sick, and stayed to set up a miniature Icaria in Texas with Drouard d'Anger. He may have come to Nauvoo.

[27] Ibid., July 11, 1851.

[28] Hunt, Family Romance, 67, 89-123. In 1793, Danton proclaimed, "Children belong to society before they belong to the family." Marie-Antoinette failed at bourgeois motherhood.

foregoing conditions as for men.

> There are stronger reasons for making woman comply with the conditions than man; for when she is not imbued with the spirit of Icarianism, she can draw her husband away and bring to the community more trouble and disorder. We have had sad experiences of this in 1849; there were some women who called themselves Icarians but who were not, who by no means understood our doctrines, who had only egotism and vanity, with ignorance, without social qualities and without judgment, and who left France only to screen their husbands from the persecution which their revolutionary conduct had drawn upon them; **these women, we say, have been the principal cause of desertions and withdrawals, by their influence upon feeble and blind husbands.**[29]

To doubly protect the Colony from a repetition of this bleak scenario, the next two conditions described how husbands and fathers should display their "devotion to the Community." First, a husband must "guarantee that his wife has really fulfilled all the conditions." Some men had "declared their wives possessed the same principles while in reality they did not, and had only left their homes under restraint, or from some motive of personal and selfish interest. This was a fault infinitely grave on the part of husbands."[30] Icaria's patriarchal order required men to be responsible for their wives' lack of principled motives.

Then, assuming a man met the certifications for a dutiful wife, he "must guarantee that his children have no essential vices, either moral or physical . . . In some years when the Community shall have sufficient means, in money, in lodgings, and in instructors, she can take charge of from one to ten thousand children without dreading their faults, their bad habits or even their vices; but during the first years of formation, the bad habits and the vices of children, especially those a little advanced in age, may occasion grave difficulties, as we know but too well by experience."[31] The onus on men to guarantee

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[29] Conditions of Admission, 29. Kolmerten, Women in Utopia, 166. My emphasis.

[30] Conditions of Admission, 29, 6-7.

genuine-Icarian-wives and vice-free-children was designed to check future displays of defiant behavior and insure the docile compliance of the community "charges." It is quite evident that Cabet's June addendums for admission were contrived to foster cohesion by firmly regulating women.

These conditions correlated with the Admission law on "unity" which was designed to bring about "one body, one soul, one heart, and one mind."[32] Unity, however, was not an easy precept to dictate to women, especially in the area of clothing. Wardrobe differences were an impediment to Icaria's standardization objectives. In another Admission rule, Cabet singled out wardrobes as "one of the principal causes of all the discussions amongst women, of all the divisions, and of all the difficulties for the administration."[33] They were the source of "jealousies, quarrels, and troubles." The Voyage had uniform dress, and, "as soon as possible, the Community will furnish the same wardrobes to all the men, women and children, taking away the old wardrobes and disposing of them on the best terms for the general interest."[34] Selling their "used" clothes suggests that when this issue was raised, resale was argued by members as a way to offset the capital outlay. But, Cabet was not willing to allocate resources for such a costly undertaking. Inasmuch as Icarians had lived together for less than a year and trousseaus were to last for two years, his virulent reaction about wardrobes was un-called-for and reflected common masculine assumptions about women's appearance.[35]

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31 Ibid., 30.

32 Ibid., 9-10.

33 Ibid., 7. This discussion of wardrobes was in the section on "relative" Equality.

34 Ibid.

While a few clothing items wore out and had to be replaced after the first year, the actual operating cost of the women's sewing workshop was a minor budget expenditure.[36] Cabet's negative assessment of the wardrobes was less surprising in view of his association of clothes with vanity and luxury, vices that had to be eliminated.[37] In reality, women washed, dried, ironed, mended. sorted, and recycled the workmens' clothing, the children's garments, their own dresses, aprons, linens, bedding, infant layettes and diapers. Three instructrices taught and lived in the the girls' school.[38] Given the Colony mothers' minor role in child rearing, their labors were transferred to other jobs. Teams of women were assigned work in food preparation and clean-up after communal meals.[39] Most women,

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[35] Johnson, Utopian Communism, Appendix 2., 305. This could be accounted for by the fact that tailors were a large portion of the Icarian adherents in France (89). They and their families were knowledgeable about fabrics and styles. Cabet had many tailors in the Colony. Likewise, seamstresses were quality fashion connoisseurs.

[36] Le Populaire, April 25, 1851. The Inventory as of January 1, 1851 showed that the cost of the ironing, thread, etc. on hand was a mere $22.30 and the laundry equipment was valued at $55.05. Sewing, washing, ironing, etc. was a light charge on the budget. Tailors had $14.80, and weavers $50. By comparison, Cabet's new printing press and lithograph cost $439. The value of the 252 adult trousseaus and 66 infant layettes was counted as $11,580. Trousseaus for two years were required to get into Icaria and did not represent a capital outlay. In addition, any excess trousseau items that were brought in were appropriated by the Community. A new list of items for the trousseau was in this issue. The total inventory after less than two years was $41,895.76. Creditors were owed $4,080.72 reducing the capital to $37,815.04. (The franc/dollar equivalent was 5 francs 375 thousanths, therefore French worth was 203,255 francs 84 c.)

[37] Conditions of Admission, 7.

[38] Seymour R. Kesten, Utopian Episodes: Daily Life in Experimental Colonies Dedicated to Changing the World (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 108. Kesten pointed out the discrepancy between the women's work at home and in shops in the Voyage and the reality in Nauvoo where there were fewer choices.

[39] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 310-11.

however, spent long hours sewing by hand in the workshop.[40] Disputes were bound to arise over product objectives and fabric requests which had to be approved by the Assembly. To keep expenses down, Cabet reiterated that for now, "sacrifice" was necessary.[41]

An examination of a report published on February 3, 1850, "Composition des ateliers d'Icarie (Composition of the workshops in Icaria)," shows that some women were rewarded with status as workshop directrices. Cabet appointed them to these positions of authority over women workers.[42] One regulated 15 laveuses (laundresses) and another commanded 5 repasseuses (ironers). A woman director headed 5 couturiers (fashion designers) as did a director for the 34 lingères (lingerie) workers. There was a head over 2 institutrices in the girls school and one over the petits enfans. Workdays were rotated for 3 women chef's aides and 4 aides-femmes.[43] In this report, the word, "citoyennes" was placed before the names of the women who distributed the food for the sick and headed the Grande lingerie, Employées aux refectoires, and infirmeries.

The title "citoyenne" in this report was significant, for Cabet did not use it in the

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[40] Le Populaire, May 9, 1851. Cabet reported on March 1, 1851 that "In the workshops of women, their principal work is for the Community, also we have laundresses, ironers, lingeries, etc., for our linens, and all have been very actively occupied."

[41] Constitution de la Communauté Icarienne, 1851, 13. Articles 80-81 stated that the Community would "clothe all its members; it would regulate all that which concerned clothing." It would "concilate variety with unity and equality." This premise was in the Voyage.

[42] Voyage, 136-7.

[43] Le Populaire, April 7, 1850. This unique account also presented the first names of the school girls. Seven nursing mothers cared for eight babies. Bauër nursed a daughter and "one of Trècourt," a wet-nurse arrangement.

Voyage and it carried political connotations. This exceptional distinction for women first appeared in Le Populaire after the 1848 revolution. It was used to describe thousands of Icarian Club citoyennes in the March and April 1848 issues. Along with feminists, Cabet's Club members sought women's right to "universal suffrage" (but Cabet only considered that 'delicate' question).[44] The last 1848 citation was in April when "citoyenne Cabet" declined to accept shelter from a 'friend' when Cabet's life was being threatened. Mme Cabet was called citoyenne."[45] In Nauvoo, however, none of the official documents, Constitutions, Admission Laws, and revisions during Cabet's lifetime used citoyenne to refer to women although news about the Colony in Le Populaire did.[46] In the Constitution of the République Icarienne (1850-1), "women have the same social rights as the men."[47] The citoyen exercises "suffrage universel."[48] Clearly stated, women had the same "social

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[44] Ibid., March 7, 12, 19, 1848. The term was used to count 500-1,000 citoyennes at his Club. The count in the May 11-14 issue replaced 1,000 citoyennes with 1,000 femmes."

[45] Le Populaire, April 20, 1848. The use of "citoyenne" to describe Cabet's wife suggests that she favored women as "citoyennes," which supports the Gontiers' report of her words to wives about their 'soon' being called to vote in the Colony at the February 3 Le Havre departure.

[46] Citoyennes might have future political implications, but Cabet never defined its usage.

[47] Colonie ou République Icarienne dans les États-Unis d'Amérique, son Histoire deuxième édition (Paris: chez l'auteur, 3, rue baillet; et chez tous les libraires, Juillet 1855), 38. ACIS. This 95 page document had copies of the 1850-51 Constitution (183 Articles), and revisions of it, plus, revisions of the Admission laws, but not the entire 48 Admission laws. "Citoyennes" was not a word that he printed on any one of these 95 pages.

[48] Ibid., 40-1. Citoyens' "universal" political rights included "garde civique" and "Jury."

rights" but not political ones. The Constitution proclaimed members' "natural equality" which was "relative and proportional: Everyone has a equal right to the benefits of the Communauté" according to their needs and abilities.[49] "Tous (All) have the same part in Sovereignty; the same right to make the Constitution and Laws; "tous are equally electeurs and eligible for all the public functions, at the age fixed by law."[50] "Electeurs" were men. To extend sovereignty to women, Cabet would have had to add the word, electrices. He did not. For over a year, he had delayed a formal ruling on the "delicate" matter of women's suffrage. Now, it was rejected in the Constitution, based on social-rights-abilities classifications. Unlike his deferral on the children's school system, no future political rights for women were held out (in print), despite the hollow address of citoyennes.

This system mirrored the political order in the Voyage, albeit without citoyennes. In addition, there were no priestesses or doctors, although this could be a future possibility. While there were tailors, male head cooks, and doctors (and a men's infirmary only), Icaria's staff of women workers performed the lion's share of day-to-day cleaning, food preparations, clothing maintenance, and care for the sick. The 99'x30' refectory building where they ate at 8AM, 1PM, and 6PM was completed in 1851. Assembly meetings, weddings, celebrations, and concerts took place there. Each couple had two rooms in a forty room hotel rented from the Mormons. Bachelors had one. Other housing units were acquired as new members accumulated. A row of workshops lined the town

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[49] Colonie ou République Icarienne, 56-7, Articles 26, 29.

[50] Ibid., 57. Article 30.

square. A flour mill, whiskey distillery, and wash house were located near the river. They rented five farmsteads outside the city where they raised crops and kept cows, horses, and pigs.[51] The overall economy of Icaria, according to a report by Cabet in 1854, "exceeds our needs."[52]

As in the Voyage, all women worked outside their households except for those who were pregnant or nursing infants. The latter were "authorized to work in their living quarters."[53] Married women were responsible for the upkeep of the housing they shared with their husband.[54] This system reproduced the labor a woman had performed in a specific area in the past for her individual family, but it was collectivized and new routines were established. The variety of women's jobs pales in comparison to the range of men's occupations.[55] Task choices were eliminated and women exchanged variety for monotony.

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[51] Sutton, Les Icariens, 72-75. One farm was 9 miles away. They raised corn for the whiskey distillery and to feed the livestock. Other crops included wheat, barley,oats, hemp, potatoes, and vegetables. In 1851, they had 20 cows, 14 horses, and 500 pigs. One of the difficulties was the farm workers' isolation from the main group. Palmer, "Community at Work," diss., 182. "When many hands were needed" for harvesting, people from workshops helped out. In busy seasons, "farmhands were fed and housed at their worksites." This very likely included women.

[52] Palmer, "Community at Work," diss., 183. Cabet's remarks were in Comte-Rendu su l'Etat de la Colonie Icarienne (Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1854).

[53] Colonie ou République Icarienne, 17. It is hard to know whether "authorized" meant they had to be isolated, or whether they could circulate with other women workers at times.

[54] Ibid., 17. No domestique. Each wife cares for her own two-room household.

[55] Colonie ou République Icarienne, 16. Men had 27 workshops (and etc.) and women had 5 (and etc.). Kesten, Utopian Episodes, 108. Kesten counted 40 job titles for men and 5 for women in the Colonie Icarienne, September 20, 1854. Palmer, "Community at Work," diss., 161, 182-3. The 1850 census of 126 men had 16 tailors, 11 shoemakers, 12 joiners, and 4 jewelers. There was 1 doctor, 2 mathematics professors, and 1 music teacher. These figures accounted for 47 men and Palmer listed other occupations as

Their workday was reduced to a "silent" repetition of one domestic assignment.[56] Admittedly, the new gender alterations added prestige for the privileged directrices and supplied a degree of companionship for the remainder. While these operations added efficiency, the rule prohibiting non-task-related conversation curtailed the pleasantries of sisterhood. Women were expected to work and eat in silence all day without the compensatory enjoyment of evening exchanges with their children, as in the Voyage. The substitution of Sunday visits was expected to offset the weekday family void.

Cabet's remarks about "divisions" over wardrobes caused by women had multiple ingredients laden with cultural misogyny. Since no new clothes were theoretically necessary during the first year, sewing directrices had begun working toward the goal of dress reform. By the summer of 1850, they had finished designing and sewing uniforms for thirty girls in their school and started them for the boys.[57] Some of the seamstresses were also busy working on merchandise sales with the tailors. After eighteen months Cabet reported that "one of the important works which began last fall (1850) was the making of clothing for our shop in St.Louis. We have had 12 tailors occupied with this for two months. Our shoemakers have also sent boots and shoes, and our seamstresses have made

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wagon-makers, wheelwrights, blacksmiths, mechanics, barrel makers, metal workers, boatmen, printers, woodsmen, and farmers.

[56] Kolmerten, Women in Utopia, 97. Kolmerten concluded that women's labor was increased in these concentrated, repetitive work situations in the communities she studied. See Kesten, Utopian Episodes, 108-9. The "traditional" female work in Icaria "cast the die" for girls at the earliest ages.

[57] Le Populaire, August 1850. Bourg reported proudly that about thirty little girls wore their new clothes on Sunday. Their uniforms were "inexpensive and very gracious. Now, we are occupied with making them for the little boys."

chemises (shirts) and gilets (vests) for sale."[58] ("Many citoyennes worked for the tailors on the vests and pants," others work for the "shoemakers."[59]) This announcement was immediately followed by Cabet's reminder that the principal work of women was for the community, a reflection of his 'inner' vs 'outer' patriarchal mindset. Since he deemed it necessary to qualify the degree of sales products work done by women, it is clear that he was reluctant to permit them to spend time making many items to sell. This, of course would have raised women to the status of income 'producers' alongside men, rather than community 'charges.' Since there was always a numerically small number of women available to care for the large volume of wardrobe work, Cabet couldn't allow sales merchandise to detract from essential jobs.[60] Icaria's mini-textile industry coupled with the food and laundry needs of nearly three hundred people was fractured by gendered notions about unproductive women's work. In this sense, the dissemination of labor amongst 'charges' was very likely a "divisive" Administration issue.

The admission codes did not address the affranchissement of either women or workers.[61] Quite the opposite was taking place as Cabet, much like his conservative political colleagues back in France, erected a legal edifice to set patriarchal authority over

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58 Ibid., May 9, 1851.

59 Colonie Icarienne, September 13, 1854.

60 Le Populaire, May 9, 1851, July 7, 1850. "Des veuves et des orphelins en Icarie" Nauvoo, May 3, 1850. Poor parents, invalids, widows, and orphans were "unproductive charges." Many of Cabet's rules were driven by his expansionist profit-motivated objectives.

61 The word "affranchissement" disappeared from essays in Le Populaire after June 1848.

"ignorant and obstinate" women (and subdue workers). He and his rationally-endowed Icarian counterparts agreed upon the necessity of removing offspring from a mother's "blind tenderness" and "senseless prejudices." Characteristic of Cabet's mind-body dichotomy, masculine reason held mastery over feminine sentiment.

Daughters of Eve

As these Admission conditions were being discussed and approved, a Constitution for the Colony was drafted that incorporated parallel issues.[62] It was "voted unanimously on February 21 1850, revised, discussed and approved on May 4, 1851" (one week before Cabet returned to France).[63] Many of the 183 articles duplicated earlier laws. This document integrated Cabet's well-known, gender-specific interpretations of fraternity, equality, and liberty. It was debated in the weekly Assembly where women listened to the formulation of articles that were proposed to legitimate their repression.[64] As they

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[62] Constitution de la Communauté Icarienne, 1851. Admission laws and Constitutional articles overlap. For example, Articles 80-1 were on Clothing and Article 83 in the Education section granted the Community power to "dispose" of all children. Article 109 in the Religion section stated Icarians would adopt "Christianity in its primitive purity with the fundamental principle of Fraternity of Men and People." The Constitution, however, had no specific reference to Cabet's book, Vrai Christianisme. An abbreviated list of Constitutional articles was sent to the New-York Weekly Tribune on February 6, 1850 and published March 9, 1850, ACIS, Wheeler collection.

[63] Ibid. As previously noted, the February 21, 1850 Constitution appears to have been worked on until May 4, 1851 without a printing since no copies were found by Prudhommeaux who indexed it as the Constitution of February 21, 1850, (621-32). The Gontiers and Sutton had the same referent. Cabet left for France on May 11, 1851.

[64] Ibid. All men over age 20 were members in article 119 and in article 120, women were "admitted to a separate place, with a consultative voice. They are called to give their opinion on all questions which particularly concern them." Le Populaire, February 3, 1850. It is unclear whether more than 25 members were present at the November meetings on the Constitution, or whether women were there. The separate meeting for women is another puzzle, especially the note that they "adopted it unanimously less three voices." Did they approve of the whole or only the parts in "their interest" and what useful effect

observed the legislative process, opposition arose among some politically conscious women. Like their revolutionary sisters in France, they objected to being excluded from equal membership, access to elective offices, and voting rights.

These women surveyed the impact of Cabet's non-egalitarian laws on their lives as they carried out their daily work assignments. Without their consent and with no certainty that it would change, their children were educated and housed communally for the time being. Each day, husbands left to perform their customary jobs with other men and once a week on Saturdays everyone was obliged to gather at the Assembly. Parents looked forward to relaxation on Sundays when work was suspended and they could see and talk with their children. Cabet took the opportunity to give Sunday homilies based on his Vrai Christianisme and recalled the audiences' roles and duties which would bring about the success of his humanitarian mission.[65] Everyone enjoyed festive Sunday recreations - picnics, concerts, and plays.[66]

New arrivals were introduced to the system and membership grew.[67] Under the

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did their "voices" have?

[65] Le Populaire, January 31, 1851. Cabet himself explained that on Sunday, he lectured on the "common explanation of Vrai Christianisme" and they had "plays and promenades." Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 337n2. Cabet's "sermon" spirit on Sundays was captured by Job [Frédrich Olinet] in Voyage d'un autunois en Icarie à la suite de Cabet, (Autun: Dejussieu, 1898), 122.

[66] Le Populaire, March 3, 1850. Accounts of their Sunday pleasures appeared in many write-ups. This issue had a special feuilleton, "Une soirée de Dimanche en Icarie."

[67] Ibid., January 6, 1850. 46 Icarians left Le Havre and had divisions aboard ship. When they got to New Orleans, Cabet told 9 of them not to come. The remaining 37 arrived on November 27, some without any apport. In addition, Cabet had to pay 100 francs to redeem their baggage. It was "embarrassing and upsetting." This added to the accumulated reasons for the Admission laws. Le Populaire, January 31, 1851. In a report by Cabet on December 27, 1850, he stated that 155 new arrivals had come to Icaria and

revised admissions, aspirants now had to finance their own travel expenses to Nauvoo where adults presented 400 francs apport (children 200 francs), plus their trousseaus and professional tools.[68] The facade of success was discreetly polished for visitors and journalists.[69]

However, these polite images of internal tranquility were offset by Cabet's publicized battles with enemies on two fronts. Back in France, he was condemned in absentia for embezzlement charges brought by the Texas dissidents.[70] Besides this blow to his honorable stature, he had ongoing problems with the impoverished Nauvoo "deserters" who had joined forces with others in St. Louis and New Orleans to warn incoming Icarians not to enter the Colony. During the second half of 1850, Cabet's attacks from the outside were compounded by rebel women and their allies who were opposing him on the inside. He was engaged in a "delicate" war which members were not at liberty to discuss.

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21 babies were born. (In 21 months)

[68] Conditions of Admission, 11. No 14. The 600 francs was reduced to 400, but travel expenses consumed the savings. It eliminated "farewell" ceremonies and trans-Atlantic money exchanges. The wardrobe for two years was re-published in the April 7, 1850 Le Populaire. Newcomers' trousseaus and apport were checked before they were assigned "provisionary" status.

[69] Le Populaire, April 7, 1850. Among the American journal reports on the Icarians was the New York Tribune. The December 27, 1849 piece on Socialist doctrines, had a favorable reference to Cabet who was adored by "one hundred thousand generous hearts." He was "a man of great spirit, so profound, [and] so esteemed" who is one of the "preachers of a new doctrine like Wycliff, Luther, Penn, and all those whose names rest in history." These "heads who enlighten the masses are invincible like the martyr-leaders of great religious reforms."

[70] Sutton, Les Icariens, 69-70. Cabet was condemned for "fraud and deception in advertising an Icaria that did not exist" on September 29, 1849. His sentence was two years in prison, a 50 franc fine, and a five year suspension of his political rights. A lawyer in Paris appealed but the verdict was reaffirmed in December. Cabet also wrote letters to Louis-Napoleon.

The antecedants of this underground struggle can be traced to the 1848 feminists' rights campaign. In the the summer of 1849, women in the Colony protested their political powerlessness. In a letter to Lyon friends, Bourg leaked hints about "violent reactions" by "Eve's daughters." After telling his friends how difficult it was to make sacrifices for their "holy cause," Bourg said they needed to recruit men and women of firm convictions who were "constant in their work and reserved in their raptures" as compared to

> These **violent reactions** which are, moreover, the consequence of determinations taken under the sway of sentiments more excited than thoughtful.
>
> Among these ladies, if they have generally shown themselves as pleiae[71] (despairing sisters) of devotion and abnegation, it must also be said that a certain number of annoying ones have imported many of the fruits of their paltry and futile (trivial) education from the old world: vanity, coquetry, demanding, critical, and destructive, etc.; but, since these vénéneux (venemous poisons) are prohibited in our Icaria, their possessors, have either wisely made the sacrifices or have returned to cultivate their minds in the old society, the dunghill of all these vices.
>
> Many of the angriest are these ladies, worthy **daughters of Eve, who have presented the apple of dishonor to their too weak Adams**, who remain faithfully attached to their wives sermons. . . . a test of marital weakness. I am happy not to have to submit to similar ordeals.[72]

In this letter, Bourg, Cabet's secretarial appendage, placed much of the blame for women's "vices" on their "paltry" education in the "dunghill" of the old society. However, Bourg exempted himself from the ordeals caused by women's "violent reactions." He had no children, so the "excited" sentiments [about children], in his estimate, that moved the

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[71] le Quillet Flammarion dictionnaire usuel, 1071. Bourg's use of the word pleiae was a reference to the seven daughters of Atlas and Pléione who were despairing about the death of their sisters, the Hyades, and killed themselves after which they were changed into stars. This suggests Bourg sensed a type of despair among Icarian women either due to the many deaths from cholera, to their departed trouble-causing sisters, or to the forced separation from their children (devotion and abnegation). Since this followed Bourg's "violent reactions" theme, I maintain it was a mixture of the last two.

[72] Le Populaire, December 2, 1849. October 17, 1849 "Letter of Bourg to Friends in Lyon." Bourg's wife worked in Lingerie in the April 7, 1850 Le Populaire report. My emphasis.

Colony "Eves" to influence their "Adams" were beyond his constant, reserved nature. Such husbands failed the marital "test." The underlying message in Bourg's characterization was the same as that in the admissions rules, women must obey all laws, and men must control their wives.

Scant notice was paid to Bourg's observations about "Eves" by most Icarian workers in early 1850, for the skilled craftsmen were enthusiastically carrying out plans to restore the Temple with its rewarding images of glory. Pro-Icarian Nauvoo residents had donated $500 (2,500 francs) to help purchase the Temple property and Cabet had salvaged enough money for the rest.[73] If all went well, the work would be done by the fall and the "most beautiful edifice in the United States" would become their "grand common house." It would house their "Academy, schools, library, offices, physical and chemical cabinets, assembly courses, an observatory, and propaganda [office]." The Temple was to be the "high peak" from which "republican, communitarian doctrine and our evangelical principles of Fraternity of Men and People would be sent out."[74]

Nature's Capricious Test

In the early spring or 1850, Cabet dispatched a young architect named Alfred Piquenard to locate vital construction materials as workers began the project.[75] Eleven

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[73] Vallet, Icarian Communist, 20. Sutton, Les Icariens, 76-7. Vallet was a member at that time. He reported that the Temple cost $1,000 and each side supplied $500. Sutton's research discovered that Cabet's economic program exhibited his "flawed business talents." His "debit balance" figures were "misleading." See Cabet to Beluze, Januray 25, 1850, CIS, SIUE. Cabet was going to St. Louis to try to get a loan for materials for the Temple, to buy a steam-boat, a sawmill, and to begin publishing an American Populaire. See Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 32, 236-242 and Shaw, Icaria, 48.

[74] Le Populaire, April 7, 1850.

[75] Vallet, Icarian Communist, 23n24. Alfred H. Piquenard was in the 2nd

masons were on a scaffold at 3PM on May 27, 1850 when a thunderstorm spawned a tornado. They barely escaped with their lives as one of the Temple walls collapsed.[76] Throughout the stormy night, Icarians feared that twelve laundry women were drowned as their washhouse over a creek was swept away by the rising water. They had jumped out the windows and spent the night in a nearby barn. Everyone was relieved to see the twelve women return in the morning. Fortunately, no one was killed by the storm, which tore roofs off buildings and damaged crops.[77] The loss of the washhouse posed a minor problem, since it was only one of many repair and clean-up projects they faced. Everyone pulled together to recover from the disaster.

But Cabet's grandiose dream was shattered. The Temple could not be repaired and they had to tear down the remaining walls. Its limestone blocks could be used for other buildings.[78] "Was the storm good or bad?" Bourg pondered in his assessment of the damage on June 4, 1850. He surmised that the storm was propitious for the Temple "walls were barely solid, out of plumb," and would not have been secure. Restoring "that gigantic

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Advance-Guard and left the Icarians at New Orleans. He rejoined them in 1850. Piquenard designed the Iowa and Illinois State Capitals. See Shaw, Icaria, 31, 156-7; Sutton, Les Icariens, 57, 59, 69, 72; Le Populaire, August 1850.

[76] Flanders, Nauvoo, Kingdom on the Mississippi, 194. Flanders stated that three of the walls were 'toppled' by a severe windstorm and the "remaining pile was blown up as a precautionary measure."

[77] New York Weekly Tribune, June 29, 1850, ACIS, Wheeler collection. Bourg sent news of the damage to the paper on May 29, 1850.

[78] Extrait du journal le Hancock Patriot, May 29, 1850, CIS, SIUE, folder 9-10. Le Populaire, July 7, 1850. Vallet, Icarian Communist, 22-3. Vallet was one of eleven masons on the scaffolds at 3 PM. Four workers left as the storm approached, but seven stayed, taking refuge in a basement tool room on the south side just as loose rocks "flew in every direction." The 60 ft. north wall caved in with a sound that was heard three miles away. The masons hurried to the southwest. The east wall "was three feet out of plumb."

edifice was an act of courage, perhaps even reckless. We have need of a refectory, meeting room, etc." Now, Bourg concluded, they could have brand new buildings "more in harmony with our means" made from the "beautiful material of the Temple."

Cabet was upset by this sudden turn of events but hastened to assure others things were all right.[79] Two weeks after the storm, he initiated a new method of record-keeping to keep Le Populaire readers abreast of the Colony activity. On June 16, Bourg began composing a day-by-day journal of Icaria for the newspaper.[80] Aside from being a valuable record of births, deaths, etc., his weekly accounts had clues about the first blows in Cabet's war with women in the late summer of 1850.

The "Delicate" War and a News Blackout

The struggle for power over women was minimized in news reports after the 34 dissidents left in July 1849, but it re-emerged in an Assembly a year later. On July 20, 1850. Bourg reported:

> The order of the day called for a discussion on the proposition of some citoyennes. They demanded that the functions of the directrice of the lingerie and the distributrice of supplies for the sick and the nursing mothers, be conferred by an election and by women only in place of being by the Gérance. - Some reproaches, more or less direct, had been made to two citoyennes who had filled these functions. Moreover, the one position had been filled by the same person since New Orleans and the other since we arrived at Nauvoo. These two administrators demanded that they all have a discussion. Those who had complaints in this regard would manifest them publicly in the general Assembly. That demand was taken into consideration; but, since the hour was late, the meeting was dismissed until tomorrow.[81]

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[79] Cabet to Céline, June 21, 1850, CIS, SIUE, folder 3. Cabet was "tormented" and "worried."

[80] Le Populaire, September 7, 1850. The first of these weekly reports appeared on September 7th. Some of the activity on ordinary days was scarcely more than a sentence or two. They record births, arrivals, those approved for memberships, and those who were leaving.

The two women who held the same director positions were citoyenne Roux, director of seamstresses, and citoyenne Zeiss, director of laundresses. (Bourg did not name them.)[82] As promised, an "extraordinary" Assembly was convened on Sunday, July 21, 1850 at 11 o'clock.

> The Père brought out again how deplorable it was that we were obliged to spend our time listening to complaints by one against the other. But he also thought that the best means to remedy this was to make these women stop expressing themselves publicly and freely - This must be done without harshness, like advice to brothers and sisters. - So, judging from the range of these accusations which inflict blame on the [women] administrators, each must become more circumspect and always more tolerant about their little annoyances. . . . After having listened to some reproaches from the complainers and the explanations by the accused, and seeing that the **citoyennes asked for an election**, they say they have not any other accusations to bring **and n'etre mues (are not to be silenced) by a sentiment of equality**; the Assembly pronounced the conclusion of this incident and postponed to the next meeting the discussion on that **Constitutional question, that is, to know : If all the functions (posts) are going to be elective or if some of them are going to be conferred by the Gérance.**[83]

The discussion was postponed until the next meeting, but a terrible accident happened during the intervening week. A young man named Tabuteau had his leg caught in a harvesting machine and it had to be amputated.[84] Bourg's journal monitored Tabuteau's painful recovery and the "constitutional question" of elected or appointed authority over women was not in his report on the next Assembly. But the subject was raised two weeks later at the August 3, 1850 Assembly:

> The citoyen Thibaut, inspired by the meeting which produced the reproaches and

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[81] Ibid., September 20, 1850. July 13 - July 20. Bourg noted "some citoyennes" proposition.

[82] Ibid., April 7, 1850. This issue had a list of workshops, directors, and positions from Nov. 11, 1849 to Feb.15, 1850. According to this, the other directors were changed.

[83] Ibid., September 27, 1850. My emphasis.

[84] Ibid., October 11, 1850. The surgery was done by Doctor Pigott who was not listed as an Icarian. He was aided by chloroform.

> explanations about the two citoyenne administrators, asked to form a commission of concorde, whose members would be named by the general Assembly. That proposition was preceded by an exposé of the motives showing the inconveniences of individual altercations which always trouble more or less the general harmony and are an unfortunate cause of lost time . . . as the citoyen Thibaut was a little uncomfortable for not having formulated his project in legal phrases, the Assembly adjourned all discussion on that subject.[85]

After Thibaut's August 3rd proposition was killed, a news blackout on the women's "constitutional question" was not lifted until the end of January 1851.[86] In the meantime, a cholera epidemic had swept the Colony. The Icarian Doctor Taxil "quit brusquely" during this period "when many Icarians succombed to attacks of cholera, other sicknesses, and when many women were delivering babies."[87] Two directors of the infirmary also left the Colony.[88] Cabet reported in December that fourteen children, five men and four women had died.[89] Bourg succumbed to cholera on September 21, 1850.[90] He had prepared the journal accounts for the weeks of August 11 to 24 which were found in his papers and printed five months later on January 31 and February 7, 1851.

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[85] Ibid. It is worth noting how Thibaut was made " incommodé (uncomfortable)" about his inept legalist skills, yet, turned out to be a serious leader of the opposition.

[86] Ibid., November 4, 1849. Bourg noted in an August 26, 1849 letter that Thibault was appointed director of the Boys School, indicating that he was well-educated. Cabet's put-down about parliamentary procedures would have embarrassed him.

[87] Ibid., April 11, 1851. In a column requesting that Doctors come to Icaria, Cabet gave an account of the three Doctors who came and left - Leclerc, Roveira, and Taxil. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 311n1. Dr. Taxil followed the homéopathique medicine.

[88] Le Populaire, April 11, 1851. In the List of the February 15, 1850 report on members of the workshops, etc., (in Le Populaire, April 7, 1850), the two infirmary heads were "Lambrun, the director and his wife."

[89] Ibid., January 31, 1851. The editors noted the scarcity of news from Nauvoo during November and December. Articles about the nature of women composed by Guépin and Marie d'Agoult (Daniel Stern) were printed along with French political news.

[90] Ibid., October 25, 1850.

Bourg's posthumously published reports showed that Cabet had responded to the member's request for more discussion on the operations of the workshops at the Assembly with his argument that it would waste "precious time." The "little clouds of misunderstanding" and "personal complaints" were smoothed over with his speech on harmony. Afterwards they were allegedly, more "united than ever" with the President.[91]

But the unity on August 11, 1850 did not last. At a meeting the next day, Moquet's wife announced she was leaving the community, but her spouse was staying. Like Barelle's wife, she said she was not a communist. It was necessary to repeat at that meeting that "husbands must assure the dispositions of their wives" before coming. Bourg highlighted the fact that:

> Women must not come with ideas, for example, of remaining in their room to work or doing nothing that was distasteful, like serving the food, etc., etc. . . . All the healthy women must go to work at a fixed hour in the common workshops, likewise they must eat at the common table., etc. There can be no exceptions other than for the sick, infirm, and nursing mothers. We are angered to have to say that **90% of all the dissidences, the withdrawals, etc., have been caused by women**[92] who have come without convictions, without fixed ideas, or with false ideas and only to follow their husband, as if this were some outing in the country.[93]

Women who had engaged in these forms of resistance were forced to listen to such chastisements.[94] Did they accept Cabet's pronouncement that they were responsible for

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[91] Ibid., January 31, 1851. Along with Bourg's brief account was Cabet's address to them.

[92] My emphasis.

[93] Le Populaire, January 31, 1851. Bourg's report on meeting on August 12, 1850. See Rancière, Nights of Labor, 381. The same "90% of the troubles" statement was discovered by Rancière in a letter from Cabet to his friend Witzig written in January 1851.

[94] Kolmerten, Women in Utopia, 97-9. Women in Owenite communities also resisted the regulation of their time by refusing to cooperate with men's rules.

90% of all the community problems? Moquet's wife was leaving even though she couldn't get her "Adam" to come with her. It is likely that other women shared her discontent but not her courage. Their husbands did not want to fail the "marital test."

As the report on withdrawals continued, Bourg stressed that members needed to understand how "inconvenient these retreats were for them. They transform the Colony into a temporary hotel and its members into the servants of capricious women or men without resolution."[95] The August review in this issue of the paper was reinforced with a December 27 letter from Cabet lamenting the Colonies many difficulties with dissidents, storms, the ruined Temple, cholera, and the need for more money.

The final week of August review also noted that a letter was read to the Assembly written by Mme Chevillon, the director of the girl's school. She said that her father was a political prisoner in France, and she requested permission to return and promised to bring "many Icarians" back with her. Her husband would stay in Icaria and she was traveling alone, an exceptional situation. The Colony did not need to give her expense money for her friend, Esprit of Lyon was in Nauvoo, and willing to finance her trip. The Assembly did not take any action on this but Mme Oborne was assigned her position as school director.[96]

Less than two weeks after the perfunctory December letter, Cabet wrote an

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[95] Le Populaire, January 31, 1851.

[96] Ibid., February 7, 1851.Mme Chevillon's letter was read at the Assembly on August 20, 1850. Esprit had come to Nauvoo "without entering into the Community." Several deaths were reported that week. There were 19 new admissions. The widower Humbert came with his seven children from 5 to 18 and Leclerc's spouse came with five children aged 3 to 13.

extraordinary communique to his frères in Le Populaire titled, "Première adresse du citoyen Cabet aux Icariens."

> This address is the first number of many that I am going to write. I have written you as recently as December 27. But after the explanations that I am going to speak about, our Community of Icaria is going to begin a new era which could also be called a new life.
>
> I did not write you for a long time because we were divided, and because that division was between two kinds of parties. The lack of complete union and the lack of constant fraternity afflicted and paralyzed me.
>
> I could not write you that we were perfectly united and that I was satisfied, because that would have been a lie. A lie must never leave my pen nor my lips. It would be hard for you to know how we were divided, since in the situation of these things, we were not able to state the facts and give you the necessary enlightenment. I would have discouraged you. So, I condemned myself to silence. I waited for a favorable moment for the explanations, for the moment when I could bring them to light, with the union and the most complete practice of Fraternity. Similar motives imposed the same silence on most of the Icarians.[97]

Readers learned that most everyone in the Colony had agreed to be silent about their division into two parties, but readers did not discover the causes of the division. However, "today all is changed," Cabet continued. They had a meeting which lasted for twenty-four hours spread over three days, January 5, 6, and 7. It had resulted in the conviction by all that the "temporary division" which produced two parties was due to contempt, misunderstandings, and "probably the manuevers of some of the more or less powerful enemies of the Community, who decided to employ all their means to trouble and destroy it."[98] There were "long explanations" about all this and Cabet promised to release details about them soon. After posing the question of whether they wanted to "continue as a community without repugnance, without reservations, and contract a new, very free, and very voluntary Icarian engagement," members names were called, and most answered

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[97] Ibid., February 14, 1851.

[98] Ibid.

"yes!" Some of them, however, wanted more time to reflect on their position. "But the mass manifested their resolution to persevere and go forward in union filled with more energy." However, Cabet warned, the Icarians were now resolved not to tolerate any infraction of their principles nor any breaking of laws or regulations. They would publish the state of their finances and all that went on in their midst. Thus, on January 7, 1851 Icarians began a "new era" and a "new life for the Communauté."

Cabet's clandestine battle tactics capped his victory. Now he was going to begin publishing an English and a French journal. "Before these explanations, I did not dare to undertake our journal, nor write to you, nor put myself in a relation with influential men in any country; but today I am preparing a popular journal which will appear January 16, under the title The Popular Tribune: I will send you [in France] regularly, La revue Icarienne. I will adress myself to all the men who could be useful to us."[99] All who studied their doctrines and became true Icarians were invited to come and help in their work for Humanity.[100]

A few days after Cabet's address, Nauvoo Icarians composed and signed collective letters which were also published. One letter revealed that they "had been divided for six or seven months, perhaps even longer."[101] The writers felt that during that time,

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[99] Ibid. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 309. The Popular Tribune ended in January 1852 (when Cabet was in France) and reappeared as The Nauvoo Tribune.

[100] Le Populaire, February 14, 1851. This was followed by three joint letters from the Icarians of Nauvoo. Two of them contained little more news than Cabet's addresses. One mentioned they had five meetings in October which did not produce the desired results. After the three sessions in January, "tranquillity" reigned among them on January 11, 1851.

[101] Ibid.

democracy had been abandoned in Icaria and was replaced with anarchy. There were "secret criticisms against each other. Discontent rose silently; suspicions froze our journal connections . . . in a word, our situation had become intolerable."[102] They wanted their reader-friends to understand how the "particular precautions and prudence of citizen Cabet in **a situation as delicate** as that which we were in, had conducted us to such a satisfactory result."[103] Although this letter stressed the community had endured months of anarchical "discontent" and "suspicions," it only vaguely touched on the axis of discord.[104] The word "delicate" however, points to women. By recalling the unresolved issues in the weekly August 1850 reports of Bourg, the most likely source of the divisions concerned the "constitutional question" raised by women on Cabet's appointed vs. their elective powers.

The following week, another collective letter from the "Viennois en Icarie" was published. It was sent to their "brothers and sisters" with an apology for not answering their letters of last September 6 and October 10.

> We have suffered like you in silence to protect ourselves. The moral state that we were in did not permit us to speak about the harmony and union which is our strength and reigns among us today. We would have had to compromise our conscience; because, unfortunately Fraternity has not always been perfectly practiced by all the members of the Icarian family. What then is the cause? Each one believed he knew and attributed it to such and such a fact that he interpreted in

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102 Ibid.

103 Ibid. My emphasis.

104 Ibid.. They held "five general Assemblies in October over this purpose, but they had not produced the result that they were hoping for." Then, Cabet proposed the "frank and sincere" open meetings on January 5. "He had to listen to, with good faith, certain proposals which seemed to be little things at first, but which later, because of the developments that they took, brought these angry results." After the "eloquence of our venerable Père" all these "divisions ceased."

> his manner. A certain number believed however, that the **proposition to revise the Constitution (found to be inopportune and rejected by the majority) was the cause of the general malaise.** That malaise seemed to get worse! Two parties were drawn up!! What did the Mentor of Icaria do? He observed![105]

After introducing the information that "revising the Constitution" was "inopportune and rejected by the majority," the Viennois Icarians went on with their euphoric account of Cabet's eloquence and logic during the remarkable three days of January which found them "all united." They would "leave it to Le Populaire to explain it to you." Once again, Cabet's "silent" censorship stifled reports. Along with this letter, he refreshed readers with his narrative of Icaria, passing quickly over the period of division into their "new life."[106] But "Le Populaire (Cabet)" did not "explain" the causes of the division.

Cabet sent off two more "addresses" on the "new era." The third address on January 30 informed readers that he would soon be leaving for France to defend himself against the indictments in absentia and was written in an especially irate state of mind due to "twenty or thirty retrogrades" who were leaving the community. Despite this, there were three hundred who "had confidence in my judgment and my word" who were now "more united, stronger, and more satisfied."

> The **first cause of these separations is ignorance**. The profound and true words of Jesus that apply to our dissidents is "Forgive them for they know not what they do."

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[105] Ibid., February 21, 1851. The eleven Viennois co-signers were all men. My emphasis.

[106] Ibid. Cabet's story was followed by the group's "Composition" on January 1, 1851. There were 340 Icarians - 150 men, 86 women, and 103 boys and girls under age 20 and 1 deaf mute. (5 girls and 11 boys between 15 and 20; 27 boys and 34 girls in the schools;12 small children from 2 to 5; and 14 nursing babies.) The 14 nursing babies meant that 14 mothers were exempted from workshops. Thus, 72 women performed the laundry, sewing, and helped with food preparation and clean up for 340 people. This number was reduced by the end of the month as "20 or 30" were leaving. Their names were in the March 14, 1851 issue.

> The second general cause is the absence of Icarian qualities. These defects and vices were accumulated in their detestable education. For some of them, it is presumption, vanity, pride, the ambition to command, jealousy, etc. For another, it is greed, intemperance, a demanding nature, egoism, etc. This one has little taste and activity for working, etc.; and that one is impatient, violent, with a spirit of criticism, opposition, non-discipline, blind demagogy and anarchy, etc. Others have an absence of all sentiments of integrity and faithfulness to engagements, to service and duties, etc. I repeat, they know not what they are doing.[107]

This litany of derogatory characteristics was followed by an example of the behavior of "one member in one of the latest departures" who said he was an Icarian but "placed himself in a state of war with his comrades from the time they embarked." That person expected others to "serve him but did not want to work for them." He "habitually violated the rules of their little community, defied the authority of the director elected by the Assembly, greedily ate prunes and sugar in private, annoyed his companions, and had three fights with them." While few readers would lack sympathy for Cabet's efforts to deal with such a contrary individual, these petty infractions could hardly be applied to all those who were leaving. Cabet purposely sidestepped an explanation of party divisions by excoriating one person's behavior.

Some left immediately in January and others were staying until the Spring. Roux and his wife left with their daughter. She had been the director of the seamstresses every since New Orleans and was the target of complaints at the July 21, 1850 meeting which touched off the constitutional problems. The public charges against her lengthy term (with its attendant needle-worker complaints) during the three days of "open" discussions in January would account for the Roux family departure. While some wanted time to reflect, Champeau, his wife and young sons were leaving, but the eldest son was staying. Hatrel and his wife, who was a laundress, were leaving. The two Dorey brothers and their wives

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[107] Ibid., March 14, 1851. My emphasis.

were also leaving although their mother-in-law was staying. Janvray of Rouen, the director of the shoe-makers, was leaving. Jacquin's wife, who was a laundress, was leaving alone without her husband. However, he will "probably be influenced to follow her and their three children."[108] Humbert and his seven children will not be asking for definite admission for they are leaving. This list ended with the note that those who stayed in the area of Nauvoo "would be a grave inconvenience."[109]

Four days after this, on February 3, 1851, Cabet's fourth address presented a review of his position as the elected head of the "multiple gérance." He noted that the opposition to him had begun in August. "It would be too long to explain these divisions today, but I will explain them soon." But Cabet did not explain the divisions as he restated that the "systematic opposition" began "six months after he was re-elected President" in two more accounts.[110] However, on March 2, 1851, in a collective letter "A leurs Frères de Paris" the authors wrote that they were going to complete the details about their "long silence" and why they did not name those who were going to separate when conditions were more favorable.

> . . . The truth is that for a long time we had interior schemers whose aims were to seize the power of direction and eliminate the citizen Cabet and, if they did not

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[108] Ibid. It is hard to determine if she took the children or her husband would leave and take them. I suspect she may not have been able to take them (or support them) and left by herself.

[109] Ibid. There was a list of 19 provisional and definite admissions who had "heard the explanations" of the three days in January. One, Baloffet, had problems about his incomplete apport, and could not be admitted. He had four months to complete his payment. He was "one of the most esteemed Icarians in his village." Others without enough money had to write to the paper in Paris explaining their situation and wait to hear from Cabet for they were going to "rigorously" impose the need to have the full amount.

[110] Ibid., April 11, 1851.

> succeed, they would make a split . . . We state that definitely the wife of Chevillon, Lambrun and his wife, were part of the plot to destroy the Community. The principal agents were the wife of Hatrel, the father Champeau, Roux, and Barrier. Their helpers were Dorey, Labesque, Charnier, Janvray, Marinelli, etc. . . . We know there are others who are still in the midst of us. . . . We have our eyes on them.[111]

This is the first open admission that an organized party wanted to eliminate Cabet. These people were not the only plotters, for the letter-writers were sure that enemies on the outside had "provoked and facilitated the desertions." They added that

> Madame Oborne was no stranger to all that came to pass and her conduct was unspeakable. How could it be that a woman who came without apport and that the family of the Society which had paid her expenses to travel, and who came to be useful to us, has been one of the most contrary persons who have caused us so much trouble?
>
> We have nothing to say about M. Oborne, only that we do not approve of his wife. He does not know how to find a way to stop her from injuring us. We do not doubt that our London friends are extremely upset. [112]

Since they had last written, those who were named had left as had Jacquin, Jameray, and Pawlowiez. They have "declared that they are not hostile, but we do not have any illusions on that subject. The letters they are writing or that they have written to France prove that to us."[113]

These remarks indicate that Cabet and his staff were reading members' letters. While the letter writing group wished those leaving would not be hostile, they asked, "how could it be otherwise?" In addition, the "dissidents had made a protest against the third

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[111] Ibid. The "collective" letter was undoubtedly approved by Cabet if not prompted by him.

[112] Ibid. This letter also noted the Bill in the chambers of the State of Illinois to recognize them as a society (Act of Incorporation). Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 310. The Committee in London sent the Obornes to show them how to run the printing press and edit The Popular Tribune.

[113] Le Populaire, April 11, 1851.

address of citizen Cabet and different acts of hostility" which they would address in the next letter.[114] This is hardly surprising for Cabet's third address was filled with sordid attacks on the character of the dissidents.[115]

Twenty dissidents had composed a protest (11 men, 8 women and 1 child) on February 25, 1851 that was printed in the March 8 The Popular Tribune. Cabet composed an 8 page Response à cette Protestation. The "war" they had endured was caused by those who wanted "to reform and ameliorate our organization and our laws."[116] He reviewed the defects of those who were leaving and named "the wives of Barrie, Champeau, Lecouteux, Moquet, Jacquin, Dorey" as women who were "well known in the Community for being incapable of having an opinion."[117] The wife of Hatrel was 'not without some abilities" but had "pretensions."[118] Unlike Cabet, the reformers "had never written anything, and are incapable of writing anything, or doing anything." They dared to claim that the Icarian laws "encouraged inequality, espionage, duplicity, and servility. . . . Their lies prove their ignorance and bad faith."[119] Portions of this document were printed in Le Populaire on

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[114] Ibid.

[115] Ibid. This response was sent to the paper on March 2, 1851 by a group of Icarians. They were taking up a collection to help with the expenses for Cabet's trip to France.

[116] Cabet, Response à cette Protestation, March 5, 1851, Nauvoo CIS SIUE folder 3, 3. "They wanted to impose their opinion against an immense majority and me."

[117] Ibid. The last phrase was in parenthesis. Barrie was "their chef, whom they called their philosopher, like a man of genius . . . in my eyes, he did not have any of the necessary qualities to exert the least influence on reasonable men."

[118] Ibid.

[119] Ibid. 3-4.

April 18, 1851. The twenty dissidents claimed that "after sacrificing everything to come to Icaria, they were expatriates and ruined. They were forced back into individual life and had to search for their bread." Cabet responded that everyone was an "expatriate and that some who left had nothing when they came without apport." Those people often were the most undisciplined after "pleading and begging to be admitted." He had let them in by an act of goodwill, but they had "imposed on my generosity, deprived me of financial resources which were necessary."[120] After this, he listed the names of those who had not paid any or all of their apport. This monetary disclosure would publicly disgrace the poorer members - Champeau, wife and three children, Barrie and wife, Lecouteux, Dorey, Chevillon and wife, Charnier and wife, Labesque and his family. He concluded that "nothing forced them back into individualism, they were perfectly free to stay in the Community. . . . no one forced them to look for bread for their families. . . . in the Community they could find bread for them. Perhaps, one could say they sacrificed their wives and children."[121] Class distinctions surfaced as Cabet humiliated the poor members for their ingratitude to his charity. They deserved their unhappy condition. Only those with the full apport (or more) were capable of unqualified acceptance.

Nonetheless, both charity-case and full apport members continued the exodus. In an April 5, 1851 report, "Potocki, Blanc, Debever, Morel, Trécourt and Soliveau

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[120] Ibid., April 18, 1851. The original document had sections crossed out. The Paris editors did not print this insulting tirade in its entirety, but did note the dissidents' finances.

[121] Ibid. Another correspondence of Cabet's pointed out that My. . ., Pyq. . .Chav. . . and others who had left the community at New Orleans asked to be readmitted. Bind. . .Beif. . . and B. . . also were readmitted and he was "sure many others would like to return to us."

separated: we knew for a long time that they were going to quit."[122] Not only were these dissidents searching for "bread," but some, like Mme Chevillon wanted their "wooden beds" and "chairs, dishes, and linens returned." In their presence, the Assembly had "unanimously decided not to give these things to anyone."[123] Therefore, dissidents knew about the non-restitution law. Following this report, the paper had an account about thieves in Icaria who had stolen blankets, dresses, shoe-maker tools, etc. The suggestive juxaposition and wording implied a connection between these incidents and the beggared dissidents.[124]

Women lost one of their allies in the August 1850 Constitutional fight when Thibaut, the Director of the Boy's school who had challenged Cabet, left on April 26. The remaining group was now "too united" to consider his views as they revised their Constitution just before Cabet returned to France. Thibaut was "regarded as the head of the opposition" which brought "trouble among us." He had "spoken to two people about how easily thirty individuals of his character, equipped with a note of 1,000 francs, could establish a Communauté on the banks of the Mississippi." They had subsequently decided it was best for them to leave.[125]

On May 11, Nauvoo Icarians bid adieu to Cabet and "two brothers."[126] He went to

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[122] Le Populaire, May 23, 1851. This was in two articles. The other noted Trécourt had a daughter, and Soliveau had a wife and two little children. Day-by-day reports on the Colony were continued in a factual format.

[123] Ibid., May 16, 1851.

[124] Ibid. and Ibid., May 23, 1851. Mme Chevillon had made a round-trip to France alone. When she returned she decided not to stay.

[125] Ibid., May 30, 1851.

New York before leaving for London and Paris.[127] The war in the Colony was over and Cabet had won. Exactly what articles in the Constitution Thibaut and the others wanted to change was never explicitly revealed. From the potpourri of minute details that leaked out since January, it can be determined that Cabet's leadership was at stake. So too was the political participation of women. It was a "delicate" situation. Icaria had been in a state of "anarchy" with two parties. When Prudhommeaux investigated this division, he termed it, "the first storm in the Icarian sky." In an interesting understatement, he noted that "the official correspondence revealed nothing more than a certain discontent among the female personnel."[128] Prudhommeaux had access to a letter from Cabet to Krolikowski that reported how during August [1850] two Icariennes decided that they had too much clothing to wash and mend; in December, Cabet complained about an angry spirit of revolt manifested by some Icariennes. Mme Soliveau said she is a slave and makes opposition with others because we do not recognize **absolute poltical equality for women. They declared they wanted to be electors and eligible for all the public functions, even for the gérance**. Mme Chevillon and Mme Oborne were the most ardent demanders."[129]

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126 Ibid., June 20, 1851.

127 Semi-Weekly Tribune, New-York, Tuesday, May 27, 1851, ACIS, Wheeler collection. "We had on Friday [May 23] the pleasure of a visit from M. Cabet . . .and were glad to see him looking quite as young and vigorous as when we met him some three years since at Paris," the writer stated and went on to describe the colony even adding, "there is great freedom and much intercourse between the families." (This was very likely Charles Dana who was in Paris in 1848.)

128 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 274n1.

129 Ibid. This account was in Cabet's correspondence with Krolikowski. To my knowledge, his letter is not at the CIS, ACIS, nor did I find it in Paris or Amsterdam. My emphasis.

Prudhommeaux also discovered in another letter from Cabet to Krolikowski "that two parties were constituted, one wanted to revise the Constitution, the other found that the moment was inopportune."[130] This further evidence of Prudhommeaux's confirms the case that women wanted full political power in the Constitution and that Cabet absolutely opposed them. However, women's quest for political power would not be so evident to readers of Le Populaire. Clearly Cabet did not want to raise women's hopes regarding their political roles should they come to Icaria. The reports in the paper camouflaged the aggressive political activity by women during 1850-51. At the same time, Cabet did not want to jeopardize his trial outcome in France by publicizing the extent or nature of anarchical opposition to his leadership in the Colony. His silence was never complete, nor was the exuberant unity of all. Some of the "ignorant and obstinate" mothers were still in the group at the end of two years. They were unable to influence their "Adams" to leave the Community but the memory of their cause, their injuries, and dashed hopes remained, albeit underground.

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130 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 274n1.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

LIBERTY - EQUALITY: CABET, THE 'REDS' AND 'MARIANNES'

"At last, I am freed, as I would expect; and I am happy for my brothers in Icaria and in France. This acquittal will permit me to serve them more usefully," Cabet informed readers of Le Populaire on August 3, 1851.[1] He described the trial scene in the Paris courtroom where, after "four hours during which I opened my entire soul and sometimes had to suppress a multitude of details which would not have been without interest in a cause so vast and so complicated,"[2] the conviction (in absentia) was overturned. It was "a rare spectable to see a man of my age beaten by so many storms, fatigues, [and] sufferings who was the head of a Ecole, a man honored by the title of philosophe and reformateur who had made a trip of six thousand leagues, prove that he was not the most vile and contemptible of swindlers."[3] As he continued his courtroom narrative, Cabet commented on the necessity of explaining "frankly" to the judges and to the "audience of men, women, lawyers, and journalists" that he was a "man who was the most independent, the most free, [and] the most proven by persecution." After noting the nefarious deeds of his persecutors, he angrily reproached those who had brought the swindling charges against him. They had called him their "père," but these "Judas" and these "Cains" betrayed him. Nonetheless, Cabet sanctimoniously "pardoned" them for "that which concerned me personally."[4]

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1 Le Populaire, August 3, 1851. "Réhabilitation du Citoyen Cabet par la cour d'appel de Paris." Cabet was acquitted on July 26, 1851.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

Cabet's sensational legal victory over the Icarian dissidents in Paris took place a few months after he had eliminated the opposition party back in Nauvoo. His heroic self-image was validated and a renewed burst of energy and political fervor followed. After the trial, "Many citizens that I did not know as Icarians came to express their sympathy" and asked about "admission to Icaria. . . . Courage then! . . . I am more assured than ever that the future is headed towards the free and voluntary Communauté based on fraternity."[5]

Buoyed by congratulatory messages from colleagues, Cabet took the opportunity to stir French audiences toward a better understanding of their rights as citizens by publishing a "Nouvel organe de la démocratie (New organ of democracy)."[6] Important national elections were to be held in 1852 and voters would be better able to select the best candidates for a "republican socialist victory" by studying his journal's reports.[7] Cabet had written Beluze earlier about the viewpoints of his current editors. "I have found Le Populaire more revolutionary than Icarian and a little Babouviste," he observed. When he was back in Paris, he told Beluze, they would get together and plan a better propaganda.

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4 Ibid.

5 Le Populaire, August 3, 1851. "Propagande Icarienne."

6 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 264-6. Le Populaire had a deficit in February 1850 of 30,000 francs. In November 1850, Cabet wrote his editors to "exercise all possible economies."

7 Ronald Amizade, Class, Politics, and Early Industrial Capitalism: A Study of Mid-Nineteenth-Cnetury Toulouse, France (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981), 189, 172. Both the left and right anticipated such a victory despite repressive tactics. The voting law of May 31, 1850 reduced the electorate 31.4% by excluding those with police records, unpaid taxes, and less than a 3 year residence.

Babeuf-like writings by G.Vauzy and Krolikowski were in the November and December 1850 issues when Nauvoo reports from Cabet were 'silent' due to the 'war.' Daniel Stern's (Marie d'Agoult) January essay, "La Femme" may also have promoted more liberty for women than Cabet advocated.[8] Now, he announced that Louis Blanc and Pierre Leroux would be editing the forthcoming journal with him.[9] The "Prospectus" for his paper asserted:

> Everyone senses that the actual situation in France is intolerable and a great change is inevitable in 1852.
>
> The solution will be violent or pacific. Change will be one of Reform or one of Revolution.
>
> If it is a revolution by combat, all the world will almost certainly see that as a social cataclysm, not only for France, but for Europe and all the world. It will be as dreadful for Humanity as it will be for the family and oneself.
>
> In that terrible position, the Press will certainly have one of the first roles to fill. The salvation or the ruin of the Country will depend on it.[10]

In his invincible frame of mind, Cabet had misjudged the political climate of Louis-Napoleon's administration and its alert repressive powers. Fifty copies of the August 3, 1851 "Prospectus" were seized and he was called in for questioning on the "pretext that the first two paragraphs contained the crime of *exciting a civil war*."[11] Although the

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[8] Cabet to Beluze, February 28, 1851 CIS SIUE. "V . . . has a predilection for Babouvistes ideas. That is his opinion. I am angry that all of you do not know more about the best means of serving the popular cause today. . . . When I am nearby [in Paris], we will adopt together a system of propaganda which will be the most useful for the Colony and the most suitable for the actual situation."

[9] Sutton, Les Icariens, 70-1.

[10] Le Populaire, August 3, 1851. "Prospectus." Le Populaire, June 27, 1851. It would be easy to assume that Cabet had worked out his newspaper ideas during the month before the trial that he spent in the Prison de Magdelonettes for the guns found in his office. (November 30, 1848 conviction.) He composed news articles geared to his defense and had his editors publish positive reviews about the success of the Quaker and Oneida Communities.

[11] Le Populaire, August 10, 1851.The charges were dropped. Amizade, Class,

charges were dropped in a few days, Cabet was being warned about brash statements.

In addition to resolving the legal difficulties for his new journal, Cabet discovered that neither Leroux nor Blanc were anxious to merge their philosophical views with his nor did they share his objectives. And, there were financial problems. When Beluze wrote Prudent in Nauvoo on August 14 to inform him that Cabet wanted to found a journal with these men and "all the principal Republican-Socialists" before returning to the colony, he stressed the paper's purpose in preparing the "people for the 1852 National Assembly and Presidency elections."[12] He also told Prudent that Cabet was about to leave for London to see Blanc and that their new "journal will cost 400,000 francs to organize completely." Beluze confessed that it was "a gross sum but Cabet has no doubt that it will be furnished by the sale of actions at 500 francs each. He asks the English Democrats for an important sum."[13] Besides soliciting money from allies, Cabet encouraged women to donate to his

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Politics, and Early Industrial Capitalism, 172-3. Laws passed on June 19, 1849 had made it a crime to attack the President of the Republic in print. Press caution money was raised and publication of inaccurate facts likely to disturb the peace was outlawed. Banquets were forbidden as were all symbols of republican socialism including red flags, red caps, red ties, and red belts. Even the use of the word "social" was ruled illegal since it expressed opposition to the constitution which established a democratic, not a social Republic. The newspaper repression was ineffective as juries acquitted the arrested editors. The Government's prosecution did cause financial problems for papers however. It is easy to understand why Cabet discontinued using the word "communisme."

[12] Beluze to Prudent, August 14, 1851, CIS SIUE, folder 9-10. Beluze told him about the seized Prospectus. The tribunnal had just dropped the charges which rendered them a "second victory nearly as important as July 26." Cabet penned lines in the margin to the effect that he would write to the Nauvoo group when he had more time.

[13] Ibid., Le Populaire, October 4, 1851. Prudent responded with a letter on September 4 telling Cabet that they understood the need to make the new journal. "If the community would be in danger by your absence, we would tell you," he wrote, adding that they would be vigilant and wanted him to have the "most liberty possible." Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 253-4 n1. This footnote has a brief history of the Le Populaire staff after Cabet left in 1848. Krolikowski's communism evolved into an evangelical

upcoming journal. In return, his Prospectus stated, women could be "editors, members of the discussion Committee, Actionnaires and members of the General Assembly."[14]

This was a surprising contradiction. It seems Cabet dealt with well-educated and more prosperous women differently than he did artisan/working class women. He was offering these Parisian women positions of power in his newspaper project which had no corollary posts for women back in the Nauvoo milieu. Since 1849, there had not been any letter 'excerpts' by colony women printed in Le Populaire, although the editors copied many that were written by men. Did women not send any? Or were they ignored? In any case, we can be sure that the colonists could not participate in financing the newspaper, since Nauvoo women did not have the 500 francs required to purchase the action solicited from Paris women in exchange for their editorial imput. Besides slighting Colony women, Cabet did not promote the mood of "independence" or "freedom" that he assigned himself for those back in Nauvoo regardless of sex. Like Beluze, the Colonists were interested in Cabet's 400,000 franc ($80,000) expenditure to start up a newspaper and they surely hoped London and Paris financiers, either men or women, would contribute the money.[15]

Press finances were only one part of Cabet's concerns as he summoned French

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socialism. Cabet to Beluze, January 11, 1853 CIS SIUE folder 5. In this letter, Cabet referred to Charles (Krolikowski) who along with Barbot was slandering the Colony and Cabet which points out that Cabet had some type of disagreeable interactions with Charles when he was there.

[14] Le Populaire, August 3, 1851. "Prospectus."

[15] Le Populaire, October 4, 1851. Cabet to Beluze, January 11, 1853. CIS, SIUE folder 5. Cabet confessed to Beluze that he had to be patient and prudent "in the execution of my explanations" to the [Nauvoo] Assembly. "I was more free and more hardy in my action in France . . . as in America."

republicans and socialists to political unity. He was dismayed to learn that the three associates he named in the "Prospectus" were reluctant to join his enterprise. After futile exchanges with Blanc regarding the editorial position, Cabet published their letters. Blanc wrote that although he did not want to be on the staff, he would contribute articles at no cost.[16] Likewise, Leroux declined because he had "metaphysical" questions about Cabet's doctrines.[17] After these disheartening refusals, Cabet tried to enlist other journalists like Doctor Guépin,[18] Lamennais, and Michel de Bourges. They too, turned down his co-editorship offers.[19] Cabet vowed to "continue alone" while deploring the "precious and nearly irreparable time that was lost."[20] When the first issue of Le Republicain appeared on October 11, 1851,[21] Cabet assured readers that it would carry articles composed by a "great number of collaborators" and they "would also have some [by] women."[22]

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16 Le Populaire, September 6, 1851.

17 Le Republicain, October 18, 1851.

18 Cabet to Guépin, September 9, 1851. CIS SIUE. Cabet said he could be with him and Leroux. He obviously declined, but would send articles for his name was with the collaborators. Cabet to Guépin, October 19, 1851. CIS SIUE. Cabet had missed seeing Guépin when he called, but wanted him to keep sending materials to print. The two articles Guépin had left were both "too long." Le Populaire, September 13, 1851. Cabet printed a letter from Guépin "applauding" his work and offering his articles on social economics, arts, science, and industry.

19 Le Republicain, October 18, 1851. Lamennais refused 'because of his age and health."

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid., October 11, 1851.

22 Ibid., October 18, 1851. They were: Pierre Leroux and his friends; Alexis Dumesnil, Guépin, Vauzy, Krolikowski, Sédail, Chedane, Morand, Rochery, François, Jules Leroux, Lachambandie, Guillard, Magin, Perrin, A. Desmoulin, Reydemorande, Hubert, Labrunie, Nadaud, Greppo, Myot, Mallardier, Michot, Boutel, and friends of Félix

Deroin Calls For Women To Reclaim Their "Rights" to liberty and equality

After stimulating interest in women journalists, Cabet's second issue carried an article by feminist Jeanne Deroin. She had recently set a historical precedent for women by asserting her right to citizenship and entering her name as a candidate for a seat in the French legislature in May 1849.[23] "Women have to reclaim, in the name of fraternity and human solidarity, their rights to liberty and equality," her essay stated.[24] One could speculate that Deroin's stirring words would perplex Icarian women readers back in Nauvoo. Their rights had just recently been the subject of disputes in the colony and they were denied full legislative citizenship. Deroin's article contended that "true liberty for women as for men, is the complete development and free exercise of all their faculties. True equality is the right to take part in the work of social well-being for everyone. It is acquired by work [performed] according to their aptitudes and their free choice."[25] Unlike

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Pyat. Cabet invited them to send their writings for him to insert and to meet at his place for the next issue.

[23] Scott, Only Paradoxes, 82, 84-5, 87, 88-9. Deroin was the first woman in French history to run for a public legislative office. Fifteen democratic-socialist delegates voted to place her name on the electoral list. The Constitution did not forbid this. In the end, the delegates agreed it was unconstitutional. Scott's chapter on Deroin recorded her critique of "law made by men," and her "religiously inspired vision of social regeneration," etc. Scott missed the impact of Cabet's writings on her doctrines, which others have noted. And Deroin's 1851 essays in his paper.

[24] Le Republicain, October 25, 1851. Riot-Sarcey, La démocratie à l'épreuve des femmes, 259. Deroin had been freed from a sentence of six months in prison at the start of July 1851 for her "associationist" activity in 1850.

[25] Le Republicain, October 25, 1851. "Tribune des femmes. Huitième lettre aux Travailleurs sur le travail des femmes." Deroin may have attended Cabet's mixed-sex staff meeting. Hunt, Only Paradoxes, 203n94. Deroin had published, L'Association fraternelle des démocrates socialistes des deux sexes pour l'affranchissement politique et social des femmes (Paris 1849). Deroin's goal was for both social and political affranchissement of women. (Cabet's vision was "social.")

her ideal, Nauvoo women did not have 'true' liberty, equality, or 'free' choice in their work programs, although they understood that in carrying out their assigned jobs, their toil was a contribution to the Colony's "social well-being."

Deroin's series on women's work effectively pointed out the endless, double-day of the average working wife. She earned pitiful wages for her hours of waged labor that was a necessary supplement to the family income, and then spent the remaining time each day cooking, cleaning, and sewing for her husband and children.[26] Women's work tasks in Nauvoo were comparable, but they were executed on a larger, more efficient scale and without money worries. The major difference lay in the ambivalent gap surrounding Icaria's 'family' concept. Colony women were forbidden daily interactions with their children (over the age of three). Family had a different meaning for them than it did for the French working-class mother whose children were nearby. Cabet's publication of Deroin's call for women "to reclaim their rights to liberty and equality" was hypocritical. Icarian women had none of these.[27] He may simply have printed Deroin's essays because she was a 'big name' among republican-socialists and not considered its impact on women in Nauvoo who might think their liberty and equality needed reclaiming.

A Paris Artist's Testimonial to Mme Cabet

Along with Deroin's sympathetic appeals on behalf of women's rights, Cabet

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[26] Le Republicain, Nov 1, 1851. Deroin's essay from the "Tribune des femmes," 8th letter, depicted a day in the life of a busy mother in the household.

[27] Scott, Only Paradoxes, 68-9. Scott aptly pointed out the "paradoxes" inherent in feminist's discourses on rights and duties. Deroin concluded that women were undeniably citizens. This paradox perhaps accounts for Cabet's use of citoyenne for Icarian women's 'consultative' rights.

printed two articles by an artist-writer named Glatigny. He was one of the new journal's actionnaires and his signature appeared under the masthead of the Le Republicain fondé par le Peuple, redigé par M. CABET et par un grand nombre d'Ecrivains Republicains Socialistes.[28] Glatigny's essays addressed the cruel and inhuman treatment administered to dying prisoners in a hospital ward.[29] He was inspired by Cabet's doctrines and had just completed a colorful edition of Mon Credo Communiste which he dedicated to Madame Cabet.[30] Flowery etchings bordered the113 hand-lettered pages. Each section began with special symbolic designs.[31] Medusa represented the chapter on Propriété (property). Her snake-tangled hair was a popular figure of satirists during the 1848 revolution. She characterized men's anxieties about women, property, and the mixed-sex situation of barricade fighters.[32] Medusa was a "hideous and fierce but not exactly sexless woman."

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[28] Le Republicain October 11, 1851, Le Republicain, Nov.1, 1851. The line below read: "D'après la Constitution, nous sommes tous Frères, tous égaux, tous électeurs et éligibles."

[29] Ibid., November 29, 1851. Glatigny's two articles were on hospital abuse and an eighteen-year-old prisoner's death after being denied a visit from his family.

[30] Cabet, Mon Credo Communiste illustrated and signed by Glatigny on June 20, 1851. Fonds 109-113, IISG. This one-of-a-kind text has been treated to preserve the pages at the archives and is in excellent condition. (Also, copied on microfilm.) In response to my inquiry about the source of the book, Kees Rodenburg, French archivist at the IISG, replied on November 7, 1994 that this manuscript "belongs to the collection of personal papers of Cabet and his son-in-law Beluze that, as far as I know, came our way before the Second World War. It belonged to the historian of the Cabet-movement Jules Prudhommeaux to whom Beluze had given his papers. Both lived in the Familistère at Guise where Prudhommeaux was born."

[31] Cabet, Mon Credo Communiste The book's title page was illustrated with a dragon. See Dorothy Norman, The Hero: Myth/Image/Symbol (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1969), 58. Dragon, a "benevolent beast," was a "paragon of strength and goodness." Its "life giving services" were compared with "good administration of officials" and "imperial dignity."

Victor Hugo used her in his account of the two women who were shot and fell on each others bodies in the June Days. She symbolized the nervous and "murmured subtext of writing like Hugo's" which gave "expression to men's epistemological anxiety," to "narcissism," and to "sexual anxiety."[33] Glatigny's portrayal of her in Cabet's Credo implied that when society eliminated private property, it would no longer harbor Medusa-like women. He signed his work on June 20, 1851, while Cabet was serving his month-long prison term.[34] This artful memorial of her husband's creed was a touching gesture at a time when she was worried about his well-being and the outcome of the approaching trial.[35] At

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[32] Ibid., 25. Medusa was one of the three Gorgons in Greek Mythology whose hair was a horror of tangled snakes that turned those who saw her to stone. See Melzer and Rabine, Rebel Daughters, 143, 186. The authors discussed the use of Medusa's imagery in literature related to sex role problems present during the first Revolution.

[33] Neil Hertz, "Medusa's Head: Male Hysteria under Political Pressure" Representations 4, Fall 1983, 27-54.

[34] Cabet, Mon Credo Communiste by Glatigny. Glatigny's name also appeared in 1848 accounts of the Le conseil central aux électeur Republicains-Democrates-Socialistes in records stored at BHVP. Comte d'Alton-Shée was president of this group formed on November 23, 1848. The BHVP has two lengthy pages on the group's principles which agreed with Cabet's. They held that "woman is equal to man," the family is the "first form of association," men are brothers, divorce should be established, prostitution destroyed, and suffrage made universal. Unlike Cabet, they wanted the Presidency suppressed. Names of men on a list of subscribers (~ 150) overlap with Icarians. E. Valadon authorized Glatigny to receive fees. (This signature of Glatigny's matched the one in Cabet's book.) Two Glatigny names were on the list, one was Emile Glatigny rue St. Antoine 65 and the other had no first name. Glatigny's membership in this 1848 group and his links with Cabet point out the multiple associations of those who were interested in supporting Cabet's colony. Cabet to Beluze, January 11, 1853 CIS, SIUE. Beluze was instructed "to communicate this letter to Mailli, Lafere, Sinon, Tiran, Bouchard, Glatigny, Borde, Lefevre and all our friends." Glatigny's name was also in a list of six associates in, Beluze to Cabet, August 4, 1853, CIS, SIUE folder 7. They proposed a "project of collection" to aid those who wished to go to the colony who had difficulty paying apport fees. Colonie Icarienne, July 26, 1854. Glatigny was a donor of three bushels of grain (seed) shipped to Nauvoo.

[35] I assume Glatigny's artwork was a gift, although someone may have

the end of the book, Glatigny added an impassioned tribute to Cabet:

> Courage! Perserverance! Man who receives regenerating power from God. Follow your inspirations without fear. They are all dictated by Providence. Socialism existed for centuries, millions of men have succombed for propagating this great humanity! It will accomplish the emancipation of the people despite the persecutions of wicked people. Follow your divinely courageous mission without fear! Our century perhaps will be the last stage of tyranny. Persevere, and do not let the terrible death of your predecessors paralyze your march, nor disappear from the earth. They are the basis of the peoples admiration and are the eternal flame which guides them towards the future.[36]

Glatigny's sincere commemoration coupled with Cabet's court victory added fuel to his exultation during this period. Mme Cabet had experienced few rewards for her years of service to the Icarian cause, and Glatigny's Credo dedication was a singular affirmation of her supportive role in the establishment of Icaria.[37]

Mme Cabet stayed behind when Cabet left to set up his colony. The many short letters to her from Nauvoo provide evidence of her ongoing help in shipping supplies to the colony and Cabet's affectionate sentiments for her.[38] His letters to Beluze usually ended with loving regards to his wife and daughter who worked in the Paris office.[39]

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commissioned it. Artists, like other craftsmen were being de-skilled as printing press plates were mass-produced. Their talents were poorly reimbursed and some hoped to find better conditions in the Icarian system described in the Voyage. Sculptors and engravers were listed among the workers' occupations in Nauvoo. Le Populaire, August 15, 1851. In Nauvoo, four artists decorated their refectory. A German artist named Schroeder painted inscriptions. Shaw, Icaria, 156-7.

[36] Mon Credo Communiste, 109-12.

[37] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 395. Cabet, Toute la Verite, May 3, 1856, ACIS, 23. Cabet's families' "anguish" was increased by his fight with these "denatured children" which "destroyed their health and forbid them making a long and perilous voyage, leaving them no solace but their tears."

[38] There are 16 pieces of correspondence from Cabet to Mme Cabet between June 21, 1850 and June 23, 1856 in the archives at CIS. Most were only one page long and frequently denoted his concern about their health with comments on his well-being.

Conservative writers at the time wondered why Cabet's family did not go with him to the United States. An article in the Nouvelle Biographie générale (1855) stated that his family "did not believe in him."[40] Isambert, the editor, observed that "Mme Cabet, a woman of modest condition, but spiritual and sensible, did not share at all in the ideas of her husband who took care not to expose his enthusiastic disciples to having contact with her skepticism."[41] Cabet's messages to his wife and daughter do not support Isambert's interpretation. His view would very likely reflect the women's cautious public reticence, which served to protect them during periods when Cabet and his affiliates, Krolikowski and Beluze, were under surveillance or arrest.

During the late summer and fall of 1851, Mme Cabet shared moments of triumph with her husband. His name was introduced as a candidate for the Presidency of France. This was a special honor which he declined for several reasons. "I do not want to be a candidate because I do not have that ambition. I am too old and I have too much experience," Cabet explained. "I know too much about men and these things, as well as the difficulties. I do not want the demands of time nor do I desire that moment of power. . . . My doctrines excite too many security measures against me as the head of a ecole . . . I do not want to be a candidate. No person in France has more friends than I, perhaps, and no person also has more enemies, adversaries, or rivals."[42] Although Cabet refused to act

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[39] Raynaud of Angers letter, November 16, 1852, CIS SIUE. Mme Cabet sent brochures to the Raynaud family. Desmoulins to Madame [Céline], July 31, 1852, CIS SIUE. This letter had a reference to the work of Mme Cabet as "Cabet's secretary." Desmoulins to Beluze, September 22, 1852, CIS SIUE.

[40] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 396n1. This quote was found in a citation on "Cabet" by Alf. Isambert in Nouvelle Biographie générale t.VIII (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1855), 25.

[41] Ibid.

on this political commendation, he was not in a hurry to leave his wife and daughter, nor the limelight of Paris to return to the Icarian colony. On the contrary, the popular plaudits in France fueled his determination to remain and enlighten his countrymen. A socialist victory at the polls in the spring would enhance his Icarian cause.[43]

Nauvoo Icarians Celebrate

News about Cabet's acquittal did not reach Nauvoo for nearly a month. When word of his "triumph" came at 3PM on August 23, 1851, all work stopped. The men fired a canon, then a twenty gun salute in his honor, and proceeded to improvise a "ball" to celebrate.[44] In addition, the last remaining internal dissidents who had "nourished a plot to run the Colony" should Cabet be convicted, decided to leave. They were characterized in Le Populaire as the "unfortunate instruments of the Jesuits" and the Icarians were "glad to be rid of them."[45] The men who left were Buisson, Guillot, Babelay, Lecouteux, and Coquelet. Their names had often appeared on the Assembly lists of opposition voters.[46]

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[42] Le Populaire, September 20, 1851. Three papers, La Patrie (14th), Elysée, and Assemblée nationale (15th) claimed Cabet was "preparing his candidacy for the presidency of the Republic."

[43] Ibid., September 27, 1851. Emblematic of Cabet's improved esteem was a letter on September 10th from a former anti-emigration proponent, Marcelino Prat (typographer) who was now a converted ex-dissident. "Today, he does not fight us, he approves and desires to aid us."

[44] Ibid., October 18, 1851.

[45] Ibid. This report was paraphrased by Beluze and was not a direct excerpt from a letter.

[46] Cabet to Nauvoo, October 30, 1851. Cabet was "profoundly afflicted" because they left. (Advance-Guardsman Buisson left in July 1849, then asked to return, was readmitted, and left again. Coquelet and Guillot had voted against the majority at Assembly meetings.)

While Cabet was gone, the colonists also organized an impressive 4th of July celebration with their American neighbors who remarked afterwards that it was "the best festival they ever saw." The enterprising Icarians inflated a "Montgolfier balloon" at the Temple site. Unfortunately, some alcohol spilled and a burst of wind ignited it, spoiling their exhibition.[47] Later that day, they hosted a banquet for about 600 people,[48] performed a concert, and danced with the Americans at a ball until midnight.[49] Everyone had a good time at these social events.[50]

The Nauvoo Icarians were having fun, but they also pursued their work and the building crew finished the refectory while Cabet was away.[51] Carpenters and architects

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[47] Le Populaire, August 23, 1851.

[48] Ibid., August 23, 1851, September 20, 1851. The September issue had a short account of the 4th of July signed by Prudent alone. He left out the balloon & dance details noting that "Brent and Piquenard were the Marshals of the day." A letter written by Therme on August 17 raved about the fraternity between them and the Nauvoo inhabitants at the 4th celebration. First, they danced the Quadrille and then the Americans did their dance. They were all "very decent." See Jacques C. Chicoineau, "Dances, Music, and Theater in Nauvoo." Western Illinois Regional Studies (Spring 1979), 5-19.

[49] Ibid., August 23, 1851. They also listed new members: 7 men, 3 women, and 2 children.

[50] Le Republicain, November 29, 1851. The 4th of July was included in a letter from an Icarian in Nauvoo who added details about the songs, speeches, parades, and picturesque landscape filled with people.

[51] Le Populaire, August 15, 1851. Sutton, Les Icariens, 72. The two story refectory had a stage at the south end and a basement kitchen. The "general plan" had been drawn up and adopted in July 1850 after the tornado. Vallet, Icarian Communist, 24. The first story had an 80' dining hall and a 40' workshop where the women sewed, mended, and ironed. The Icarians' conveyor system carried "vituals, plates, knives and forks" which impressed visitors and lightened utensil labors. They replaced the tin goblets and plates with glasses and porcelain dishes (after 1852). Each second floor room was 16' x 20' for married couples with a door, window, bed, two chairs, and a looking glass. Two bachelors shared similar rooms. There was an outside balcony around the building. See Crétinon and Lacour, "Allons en Icarie," 161-2. When they wrote about the buildings in 1855, they

also designed a railroad-like track on a conveyor line to send plates back and forth from the basement kitchen to the dining hall. Their labor-saving invention was especially helpful for women who were responsible for food service and clean-up.[52] They engaged "four painters, artists, decorators, [who] adorned the walls of the hall with inscriptions. The Icarian principles [and] moral precepts could be read from one end of the hall to the other."[53]

The Gérance wrote to tell Cabet that they had agreed to accept some young American children as paying boarders in their school.[54] The Education report confirmed the progress teachers were making in correcting the children's "exterior defects, fruit of their first education." A confession-type formula was used with the youngsters which urged them to "recognize their own defects and make efforts to correct them." Cabet printed a sample of the students' "recapitulations" in Le Republicain:

> I am a talker; I have not been attentive to lessons. - B.C. . .
> I am always turbulent and badly behaved in the English lessons. - D. . .

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noted that celibates were lodged three or four to a room in adjacent houses where sometimes they had to move their beds several times a night to avoid the rain from the leaking roofs. By 1855, conditions in Nauvoo were crowded. Some Icarians were in Iowa.

[52] Le Populaire, August 15, 1851. Icarians were in good health, but this was "not so in town."

[53] Vallet, Icarian Communist, 24.

[54] Le Republicain, October 11, 1851. The school report from September 4, 1851. The policy to accept children from the neighborhood changed by late 1855. See Cabet to Homer Brown, Hamilton, Illinois, December 14, 1855. CIS SIUE. In this letter, Cabet declined to "receive the young man in question" into their school. They had just gained 86 members with children from France and were unable to accomodate more students. They were "very desirous to receive as many as possible" and when they were able to get a new school, they would do so "with pleasure." Whether there were still some paying boarder children in 1855 cannot be determined. This request to admit a "young man" implies there was reason to expect he would be accepted.

I hold grudges. - F.F...
I am always teasing and I am a mocker. I want to correct myself. - Y.G. . .
I have been sulking and not paying attention to my lessons; I always want to be right. - B.
I am impatient. - A.G. . .
I am always a little badly behaved; I disobey and talk in the dormitory; I am somewhat abrupt. - P.G. . .
I have been badly behaved in nearly all my lessons; I will make every efforts to correct my impolite manners. - F. . .[55]

The report concluded that when the younger students were shown the exemplary effects of the older ones' improvement in correcting their faults, they were then led toward acquiring Icarian virtues. This learning system was outlined by Cabet in the Voyage where a student jury of peers used public shame as punishment to advance good behaviors and "pass judgments on little disobediences."[56] Cabet's methodology represented a measure of progress in the school practices of the day where teachers frequently corrected students' wayward behavior with whippings.

Cabet's operations in both Nauvoo and Paris seemed to be running smoothly during the fall months of 1851. He wrote Prudent that he had "decided to pass the winter here where I have the best chance to be useful to you."[57] Twenty new recruits left France for the colony as Cabet worked out his political agenda for the paper.[58] He published a

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[55] Le Republicain, October 11, 1851.

[56] Voyage, 91-2. Punishments were shame and small deprivations. "The sole distinction of the children is to be chosen as the most capable and most worthy to guide and instruct under the teacher's direction."

[57] Cabet to Nauvoo (from Paris), October 30, 1851 CIS, SIUE, folder 7. This news was relayed two weeks after the start of the new paper. Cabet noted he had not had too much success organizing and only a small number of "young and vigorous" new recruits were leaving. Some were "excellent" while the "others, elderly and chargés of children are not leaving, they can not render the apports to send for a long time." [This was in Beluze's hand-writing and signed, "C."]

[58] Le Populaire, October 4, 1851. They left on September 17, 1851.

second "Lettre à Louis-Napoleon" that he had sent the ruler about revising their Republican Constitution. Cabet stated that the "Republicans and the people demand the legislators revoke all the laws which hinder and destroy the exercise of universal suffrage." In a measured, prophetic mode, Cabet told Louis-Napoleon that he had heard that "you counsel violence, coups d'État, violation of the Constitution and the usurpation of it . . . Is that possible?"[59] Then, he advised Louis-Napoleon that such actions would not be in his best interests, nor those of the people.

A week later, Cabet published an alarming list of twenty-five "Accusations du gouvernement provisoire de 1848." He accused the leaders of forming a conspiratorial coalition that usurped power and cared nothing about the people. He charged them with violating their promises. They had betrayed the revolution, favored the party of the Regency, neglected to organize Democracy, kept Orleanist functionaries in their ranks, and deceived foreign refugees. They had a "livery" of Jesuits in France and had applied bayonets in place of public opinion. France was a police government, he said, which had not organized assemblies of the people. Socialists were repressed and the country was being poisoned with lies and calomnies.[60] As a follow-up to these charges, Cabet proposed

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[59] Le Republicain, November 8, 1851. Were the revisions to the Constitution "in the hope of your re-election?" Then he warned Louis-Napoleon, "you will perish if you mount the Empire."

[60] Ibid., November 15, 1851. Ted Margadant, "Modernisation and Insurgency in December 1851: A Case Study of the Drôme" in Roger Price, ed., Revolution and Reaction: 1848 and the Second French Republic (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1975), 254-279. Margadant examined "popular perceptions of the effectiveness and legitimacy of state power" and other causative factors that led to the outbreaks of violence in December 1851. Cabet's newspaper essays synthesized many of the socialist-republican's efforts to put pressure on the government.

that his newspaper would begin to examine the accusations, one at a time, in the weeks to come. Readers were called upon to send him pertinent documents.[61] "In my opinion, the greatest sevice that could be rendered to the country today, is to put the members of the provisional government before the tribunal of public opinion, not to condemn them, but to have them justify everything . . . Otherwise the revolution which has already been lost by them the first time, will be lost a second time by them or by others." Cabet was trying to understand what went wrong early in the revolution and arguing that if the republicans can revive, they should not make the same errors. As promised, an article the next week addressed the shortcomings of the legislature's universal suffrage laws.[62]

In the last issue of Le Republicain, Cabet reminded Louis-Napoleon that his "right to rule came from the People." This 'right,' he cautioned, was not the same as the "imperial heredity on which you have always based yourself." After citing the history of the Bonaparte family's persistent efforts to "reclaim the Empire and the title of Emperor" that they believed was conferred on them by the "grace of God," Cabet issued a cryptic warning to Louis-Napoleon. "We, republicans, democrats, and puritans, would rather be killed then let the Constitution be violated and the empire restored!"[63]

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61 Le Republicain, November 15, 1851.

62 Ibid.

63 Ibid., November 29, 1851. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 272. The French Assembly majority discussed ending the Republic on November 4, 1851. Cabet kept up with these political events. It would appear that he counted on his political discussions with Napoleon in the past (~1839) to have the freedom to speak his mind so bluntly. My discussion of Cabet's news' reports is not intended to imply that he pushed Napoleon to the coup take-over, only that his writings reflected the subject matters agitated by Socialists. They were daring charges and courted reaction. Sutton, Les Icariens, 71.

Three days later, on December 2, 1851, the anniversary of the coronation of his uncle, Louis-Napoleon's forces executed a coup d'État. The calm was over. French citizens who resisted the coup set up barricades in Paris and engaged in bloody confrontations. There were uprisings of peasants throughout southern France and demonstrations of protest in almost all major cities.[64] Cabet's paper was shut down along with the rest of the opposition press. The Government jailed 26,000 people in "the largest wave of political arrests that France had ever witnessed."[65]

Cabet went into hiding for almost two months but was found and arrested on January 26, 1852. He was detained in the Fort de Bicêtre where he wrote letters to his family on January 27th and 31st. Mme Cabet should not worry about him. "She has courage which has often been put to the test and does not lack resignation and patience. . . . Do not take any steps," he advised, "it is useless." As an afterthought he mused, "Perhaps, my arrest was an error."[66] Cabet was confined to a cell with eight others and slept on an iron bed.[67] After questioning, he was released February 1st with the condition that he leave France.[68]

Cabet went to London where he met with his partisan friends and considered

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[64] Amizade, Class, Politics, 189. Margadant, "Modernisation and Insurgency in December 1851," 265-276. Margadant prepared a chart that classified the participants and their occupations who took part in the Drôme insurrections (page 266).

[65] Amizade, Class, Politics, 189.

[66] Cabet to Céline, Depot de les Prefecture de Police, January 27, 1852. CIS, SIUE folder 3.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Sutton, Les Icariens, 71.

setting up an Icarian Community in Britain.[69] Reluctantly, he explained later, "my duty called me to Icaria in America."[70] Nauvoo members of the Gérance had written him a letter requesting, on their figurative "knees," that he return to help settle disputes in their Assembly.[71] After a two week stop-over in New York, he was back in Nauvoo on July 23, 1852.[72] He had been gone for over fourteen months. During that time, the character of the Colony administration had changed.[73]

Daily life, however, had flourished without Cabet's 'direction.' Capable members oversaw their diverse agricultural and workshop projects. They mixed routine work

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[69] Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis d'Amérique. Sa Constitution, ses lois, sa situation matérielle et morale, après le premier semestre 1855 (Paris: Chez l'Auteur, No 3, Rue Baillet, et Chez Tous Les Libraires, Janvier 1856), 22-3. Cabet speculated that Icaria was impossible in France, but would be easy in England because "there was more liberty and more independence; because there was more money and greater fortunes; more chances to find necessary loans for a parallel operation." Furthermore, he had no doubt that it would be a success in England, but "duty called him to the Icarian Colony in America, to realize his first project of a Communauté in the desert."

[70] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 273 n2. Dated London, June 12, 1852. Cabet had a plan for an Icarian commune in England on 4,000 to 5,000 acres, a loan, and about 400,000 pounds.

[71] Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 140. This long, rambling document looked back on his reasons for returning to Nauvoo in several places. In this section, he noted that the Gérance in Nauvoo was forced to make "angry concessions" and the "Gérance pressed me to return . . . He [Prudent] who presided wrote me that if he were near me, he would get down on his knees to urge me to return promptly." He also referred to "my absence of a year" which was really 14 months and 12 days. - May 11, 1851 to July 23, 1852.

[72] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 276. Left England June 19, 1852 - New York on June 30, 1852.

[73] Le Populaire, June 20, 1851. Cabet summed up this point of change in Guerre a mort, 63, ". . . because you have deceived me and violated the engagements you took towards me before the departure in 1848, and before my return in 1852."

activities with social events that may have went beyond Cabet's cautious separation from townspeople. They also encountered some serious problems with floods and crop losses due to the unpredictable Mississippi climate. Everyone worked hard to salvage the remains of their fall harvest and arrange for safe winter shelter. The member's health improved in 1851 when only two adults and eight children died, as opposed to the loss of 25 to cholera the year before.[74] The membership figures of 340 on January 1, 1851 were reduced by about 30 withdrawals following Cabet's intensive three-day January 'unity' sessions.[75] Five more left after Cabet won his court case in July.[76] But twenty new recruits came in the fall of 1851 and others arrived after the coup d'État. Unfortunately, another cholera epidemic in 1852 claimed eighteen of the thirty deaths that year.[77] When Cabet returned in July 1852, there were 365 members.[78]

A New York Tribune journalist visited the Colony that summer and reported that Icaria "offered asylum to all the proscribed republicans of Europe." He found "300

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[74] David Babelay, "List of Members of the Icarian Colony at Nauvoo, Illinois who died between 1848 and July 19, 1854" This list was in the October 4, 1851 issue of Colonie Icarienne. (Published from July 19, 1854 to December 27, 1854.), (1975) CIS. Babelay's list for 1850 had nine deaths from cholera, one from TB (consumption), two from fever, one from typhoid, one delivery (child-bed),and nine children's deaths caused by "enfance" (children's illnesses). [The 39 year-old Babelay mother, her 24 day-old baby, and a two year old Babelay boy died in 1850.] The doctors left the colony in the fall of 1850. In 1851, Mazarin (48) died of exhaustion and Monturiol (29) drowned. Seven children ranging in age from three months to three years died of childhood diseases and one two year-old died of TB (consumption).

[75] Le Populaire, February 21, 1851.

[76] Ibid., October 18, 1851.

[77] Babelay, "List of Members." CIS.

[78] Sutton, Les Icariens, 77.

Frenchmen, women and children" whose "appearance is very much like the ouvriers that one will see everyday in Paris, with an occasional retired soldier and artist. Most of them seem very happy and contented. The women and children struck me as being much more comfortable and happy than the men." Despite this cordial impression, the reporter claimed that to the "ordinary observer, Icaria, as it is now, will seem dull and stupid enough, and he will be likely to agree with the ferryman's wife, who said to me, 'Catch me to live as them folks do up there, all in a heap, and nothing to eat but bread soup! I had rather live on fish bones and dig for pebbles!'"[79] It seems that at least one woman in the neighborhood viewed Icarians in a more negative fashion than the reporter. He counted "about 75 women and 50 children" among the 300 living there, leaving 175 men divided into about 75 husbands and 100 bachelors. Some of the less happy men he encountered were indeed, "proscribed republicans."[80] Their Colony membership was fueled by political opposition rather than the peaceful, communalistic visions which had inspired the original advanced guardsmen and their families.

Cabet recognized a division that had developed in the Colony shortly after his return. He defined it as the 'Party' - a "monstrosity" and was extremely dissatisfied with the situation.[81] However, his freedom to act decisively and change things in Nauvoo was curtailed by his own constitutional mechanism - the multiple gérance. After spending some

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79 "Nauvoo- Icaria" Friday June 10, 1853. New York Tribune, July 2, 1853.

80 Ibid. The journalist listed three purposes for the founding of Nauvoo Icaria: 1) "to clear, cultivate and civilize a portion of the desert; 2) to create a new State or series of townships based on community of interests; 3) to offer asylum to all the proscribed republicans of Europe."

81 Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 207.

time observing the political antagonisms, he came to the conclusion that the only way to reform the Colony was to recover his original power as Icar-dictator. Six months later, he wrote Beluze that, "In the future, I will be more free and more hardy in my actions."[82] This optimum goal would follow from the grande reforme that he had worked out to repair the state of indiscipline due to "a great relaxation in the execution of the laws and many little disorders resulting from the tolerance and the concessions that my absence made nearly inevitable." At that time, he noted, "I did not want to reproach anyone, [but] I had to stop this. The present reform will remedy this evil."[83] He also told Beluze that the reason he had not wanted to apply his remedies immediately was because, "No 1 - cholera had absorbed us and has now stopped, [and] No 2 - because I needed to examine, study, and observe the evil before applying the remedy."[84]

The "evil" that Cabet referred to embodied a number of related components. He held that the origin of the evil was the April 5, 1850 Law on restitution which left pioneer Icarians with fewer withdrawal options than newcomers.[85] It was opposed by Party men.[86] Although it is difficult to sort out the most significant sources of Colony divisions, another trouble spot was Cabet's push to finance and acquire "land in the desert" of Iowa. He

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82 Cabet to Beluze, January 11, 1853 CIS, SIUE.

83 Ibid.

84 Ibid., "The Icarian Colony at Nauvoo" Pittsburg Post November 12, 1852, ACIS. This article was taken from the N.Y. Tribune where Cabet sent news reports. It stated that during August of 1852, 6 men, 10 women, and 6 children died of cholera. This tragic month of deaths compounded Cabet's gloomy temper.

85 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 365.

86 Colonie Icarienne, July 26, 1854. The vote was 104 to 5.

believed that it was necessary to isolate the Icarians from the neighboring individualistic influences and to provide space for the numerical expansion he anticipated. Barely two weeks after his return, he sent out a commission of ten men to buy land in Iowa.[87] One of the men, Jules Renaud, carried "$2,000 in gold in a belt around his body, with which he paid for the 1,200 acres of land bought from the government for the Icarians."[88]

Cabet's quick action on the Iowa land stirred opposition in the Assembly. Witzig became "hostile" after Cabet sent the "first avant-guard to Iowa in the Autumn against his advice." Witzig had explored the property and recommended they send men there the next Spring." Cabet argued that Witzig's opinion "was not justified by anything" and he was simply hurt because he did not direct it, therefore "I reproached him eight or ten times very seriously."[89] He also "reproached Fageol, who was very audacious in his letter to

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87 "The Icarian Colony at Nauvoo" Pittsburg Post November 12, 1852, ACIS. According to the article the Icarians had 365 members, 176 men, 101 women and 88 children. They had $42,402 on the credit side and debts of only $4,822..

88 Emile F. Renaud Interview, "Recalled Early Days: Visitor from Keokuk Talked of Corning's Early History. His Father Was An Icarian. Purchased the Ground on Which the Famous Colony Was Established In Iowa." Corning Iowa Paper, October 10, 1933, ACIS, Gauthier Collection. Mr. Renaud "killed deer during the first winter that he resided along the banks of the Nodaway river . . . there were scattered bands of Indians . . . but they were not warlike." Renaud paid the government $1.25 per acre. Writing in 1933, the Corning journalist claimed the "local Icarian Colony was a part of what was originally the greatest socialistic movement the world ever saw . . . in its membership were some of the most learned men of the age." The writer went on to note that "Russia has been trying to work out a bigger socialistic undertaking than Cabet marked out in the last century." See Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 145, 163, 165, 232. The Iowa land cost "over $2,000 (10,000 francs). They already possessed 4,000 acres. Cabet sent a petition to Congress for "a concession of 100,000 acres." They had $10,000 (50,000 francs) in debts on Iowa lands (worth "more than $50,000) borrowed in the last two years. See Colonie Icarienne, July 19, 1854. They had "preempted" 1760 acres and purchased 912 acres in Iowa.

89 Cabet to Beluze, January 11, 1853 CIS, SIUE, folder 5. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 338n1.

Sigot," telling him about Cabet's "oppositions in the Assembly."[90] It was also necessary to "reproach Jeunin for blasphemy against the fraternity of the Community that he called a joke."[91] Jeunin was a member of the Party and wanted industrial reforms to expand their financial state. Cabet disapproved of Jeunin's ideas and denounced him as a Proudhonian and an individualist.[92] After Cabet asked these dissidents if they wanted to "withdraw peacefully," he proposed that the entire Colony take another "new engagement to execute our principles, laws, conditions, constitution, and rules." Fageol and his wife responded "no, it was useless since they had already taken one." When they responded "non," about a "dozen others" also said that "new engagements" (vows) were useless.[93] In his absence, some of the Assembly men (and women) had acquired a heightened sense of their own capabilities. Cabet's singular and adamant 'direction' was no longer regarded as the only axis for their projects. His "eight or ten reproaches" to Witzig caused him to leave the colony with his wife, child, and brother. Since they entered before 1850, they were not entitled to any restitution. They left in February 1853 along with Faegol, his wife, and Jeunin.[94]

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[90] Cabet to Beluze, January 11, 1853 CIS, SIUE folder 5. Cabet was reading mail when he discovered this "letter to Sigot" information.

[91] Ibid. After Jeunin's remark about fraternity being a 'joke,' Cabet asked him "why he came when he was a Proudhonian and individualist." Jeunin did not accept their laws, and only wanted "to overthrow them by making trouble among us."

[92] Ibid.

[93] Ibid. Cabet assured Beluze a cours Icarien would help make "ameliorations."

[94] Cabet to Beluze, February 8, 1853 CIS SIUE. Icarian Studies Newsletter, March, 1979, 5. The 1850 census showed Jean Jacques Witzig as a mechanic, age 28. He had been with Cabet since 1848 and was one of the men who explored locations that led to the choice of Nauvoo.

Although Cabet acknowledged that he had disagreements about Iowa with these members, it was the group of men who wanted to abolish the Law of April 5, 1850 that were causing him the most trouble. Their judgment, according to Cabet, was based on the "pretext or motive that the April 1850 law violated equality." Furthermore, "their rationales were so specious" that several members "admitted they were seduced" and simply going along with the arguments of "a large number of their brothers." Cabet claimed the "law did not violate equality and was only a necessary measure of propaganda and salvation." After he explained this "the great majority came back to my opinion."[95] To his dismay, however, several intractable Party men were the same members of the gérance who pleaded with him to return from France. This was a difficult division to reconcile. They "preferred their opinion to mine and began a new dissidence," he recalled. "In my eyes, that is an inexplicable fault which troubled the Society harmony."[96]

A review of the generous provisions of the Law of April 5, 1850 shows that it permitted new members to leave after a four months' novitiate with the restitution of four-fifths of their apport. If they left after being definitely admitted, they could still take back one-half of their apport. However, this law was not retroactive and those who came earlier (like Witzig, et al) and decided to withdraw would not get any part of their apport returned.[97] This was because Icarian pioneers had originally signed a statement to give all to the Community and take nothing back if they left, which was the legal premise in the

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95 Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 140-1.

96 Ibid., 141.

97 Ibid., 139.

embezzlement lawsuit that Cabet won in France. Changing this condition to allow restitution for newcomers created an internal stratification. Cabet had contrived this measure to attract colonists without a realistic vision of its divisive consequences between new and old members.

Although Cabet did not mention lawsuits in his defense of the April 1850 law, one could speculate that hundreds of dissidents who had previously left with nothing might now sue the Society if he extended the law to cover the earlier members. If successful, such suits would bankrupt the Colony. In addition, those who came after 1850 and decided to leave after four months with four-fifths of their money returned, barely contributed to their upkeep. Temporary Icarians were a strain on the veterans' efforts to make room available and introduce them to the system. The "arrivals and succeeding departures give our Icaria the allure of a movable hotel - poorly furnished," they complained.[98] Regardless, the April 1850 law remained in place. It was judged unjust by those who fell outside its perimeters and they refused to accept Cabet's flawed logic on equality. These men led the opposition party.[99]

Because Cabet demanded more from his primary supporters than he did from those who came later, his political judgment was out of touch with a vital segment of Icarians. The Party men wanted to submit everyone to the same standard and abolish the 1850 law.

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[98] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 305. This remark was by Vallet.

[99] Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 207-10. Cabet connected the pioneer members who opposed the law with the direct formation of the new party. They saw themselves as "dupes" and "slaves" of the newcomers. This law was also made in 1850 in response to the Nauvoo neighbors concern about the "indigent" condition of those who left the Colony. With these generous 1850 restitutions, those who left would not be poverty-stricken and trouble the charity of the Nauvoo Catholics or other residents.

Cabet not only refused to change it, but subsequently denied his personal responsibility for the development of the opposition resulting from this basic injustice. Accordingly, he blamed the Party for "all the disorders, all the criticisms, all the arguments over trivalities which followed." He failed to deter, appease, or persuade these men. The new dissidents joined with

> . . . four or five old dissidents which the Gérants were at war with . . . shaking hands . . . caressing, flattering, and encouraging these partisans of unlimited liberty. [They wanted] absolute equality and independence to the point of license. The Party employed every means to recruit all those who were unhappy for having been justly reproached for their faults or vices."[100]

The Party was "against him in all the measures he proposed." They were against his "sentiments in education, the cours Icarien, the propaganda, and the newspaper edited by me," Cabet wrote. The Party men had proceeded to "defend tobacco, whiskey, and hunting for pleasure." They felt they had the "right to critize everything everywhere" and encouraged "disorganization and non-discipline in industry and work." They violated Icarian "rules and laws."[101] The Party members joined forces with the "old dissidents," the "justly reproached" participants of vice and scandal, and an extant number of 'ignorant and obstinate mothers.'

The core of rebel women that Cabet fought during the 1850-51 'silent' war were gone. But another set of malcontents formed what Cabet called, a secret "Marianne" society.[102] They found support among male allies in the Party which confirmed Cabet's

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[100] Ibid., 210.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Cabet, Guerre a mort de l'opposition contre le cit. Cabet, Fondateur et President d'Icarie et mémorable séance de la nuit du 12 au 13 mai 1856 de 7 1/2 du soir à 6 du matin. (Nauvoo: Typographie Icarienne, 1856), 47. According to Cabet, the cause of the revolution (in Icaria) was the "abundance of false Icarians, egoists, pleasure seekers,

suspicions about them. **'Mariannes'** were among the partisans of "unlimited liberty . . . absolute equality . . . lawbreakers . . . independence [and] license." According to Cabet, their discontent was due to "just reproaches for their faults and vices."[103]

Cabet was unhappy about the moral condition of the Colony and undertook a vigorous reform campaign. He attempted to suppress tobacco use and reduce the consumption of whiskey, vices that he noticed had increased during his European absence. Recalcitrant members not only resisted his proposals, but insulted him by smoking in his office,[104] at public meetings, in the refectory, infirmery, at the dinner table, in their beds, in workshops near inflammable materials, and in the presence of children at schools.[105] They "spit tobacco everywhere."[106] In a rage, Cabet tore up their patch of tobacco plants.[107] Smoking, he contended, was a "narcotic contrary to activity at work; a species of slow

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revolutionaries, [and] demagogues, who betrayed me . . . it is the spirit of Party, the secret society, perhaps the organization of **Marianne in Icaria**, the occult Government to overthow the Power, after my death or even before it." Melzer and Rabine, Rebel Daughters, 64. "Marianne" was the symbol of Liberty and her bonnet rouge was adopted by some militant women in the streets. Their act was objected to because it was "only for men to wear." Thus, Marianne's red cap of liberty became a symbol of disorder - "sexually as well as politically transgressive." My emphasis.

[103] Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 210. These dissident women joined the "systematic opposition."

[104] Ibid., 214.

[105] Ibid., 187, 183-4. Cabet postulated that workers' misery was due to their vices, dissipations, drink, pleasures, and amusements. They needed to form good habits and work. All "must work in Icaria." This view reflected Cabet's acceptance of a simplistic bourgeoisie attitude that ignored workers' low incomes and blamed their unhealthy living conditions on 'vices.'

[106] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 332.

[107] Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 188.

poison, which destroys the health of many individuals and renders a man the slave of his senses."[108] Matches used by pipe smokers had caused fires in the Colony.[109] Cabet urged teachers to instruct the school children to detest smoking. At a February anniversary celebration, a young girl proposed a toast that carried an incentive for men to abandon their tobacco habit. She resolved not to give her hand in marriage to any suitor who smoked.[110] While an admirable sentiment, it cannot be determined whether the maiden's vow caused any pining bachelors to give up their tobacco.

Some women smoked and drank whiskey.[111] One group of women workers shared the daily whiskey allotments with men. The 'eau-de-vie' Cabet conceded, was "perhaps, useful and necessary for workers."[112] A measure of whiskey was distributed to them each

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[108] Ibid., 186-88.

[109] Ibid., 187, 144. Matches were "perhaps, the cause of our recent fire," Cabet stated. The list of losses on page 144 showed that fires caused by "neglect or imprudence" had cost the colony between $4,000 and $6,000 (~30,000 francs). Cabet added that when they had the money they would install "lightning rods" on all the buildings, which indicates that members proposed these fixtures and were not disposed to accept personal blame for all the fires as well as Cabet's budget expenditures which prioritized accumulating funds to acquire land in the Iowa "desert" over immediate safety measures. See Crétinon and Lacour, "Allons en Icarie", 57, 57n23, 193-4. "Lightning was perhaps the cause of our last fire which had a considerable loss." (May 23, 1855) The Lacours lost much of their trousseau in the fire and "a storm was raging" at the time. Cabet used the occasion to condemn tobacco. A young girl was killed when struck by lightning.

[110] Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 188.

[111] Vallet, Icarian Communist, 25. Vallet wrote that a few women used snuff and some members "had the chewing habit." ("Members" were men, but it is possible that women also chewed.) Cabet injured their feelings by comparing them to "hogs." This failed to deter their behavior since they challenged him by smoking openly.

[112] Ibid., 189. Vallet, Icarian Communist, 25. The colony did not produce enough corn for the distillery nor enough wheat for the mill. Twenty to thirty men were occupied cutting wood to supply their fuel. Sutton, Les Icariens, 74. One year's whiskey production amounted to one thousand barrels of bourbon. The distillery and mills were purchased on

morning and mid- afternoon "with bread."[113]

The wash women and those who hung the wet clothes outdoors had negotiated a portion of liquor which was not available to other women. Their laundry house was conveniently located near the Mississippi water supply and next door to the mill. It was about a half-mile below the refectory buildings on the bluff. Clothing and linen items for three to five hundred people moved up and down the hillside in wagons each day.[114] After the tornado destroyed the first wash house, a new one was constructed which housed a washing machine sent from France.[115] It burned in a fire and the laundry was rebuilt with stone materials this time. "The new buanderie (laundry)," Cabet reported in the fall of 1854, "was already much more comfortable than the old one." It was "conduite (conducted, managed) by a citizen" and will make the washing much easier.[116] The

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credit.

[113] Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 189,190. Cabet wrote that workers were inclined to lie about the amount they consumed and had a report where "16 liters in six days" were drank.

[114] Cabet, Prospectus The Icarian Colony, vol. 1 no. 1 July 19, 1854, 21. Laundry facilities needed improving. Cabet noted, "we shall procure as soon as possible, the best washing machine." See New York Semi-weekly Tribune, May 27, 1851, CIS, SIUE. One man carted the clothes a half-mile away to the laundry women by a creek. (Down by the Mississippi.) See Robert P. Sutton "An American Elysium: The Icarian Communities" in Donald E. Pitzer, America's Communal Utopias (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 288. Sutton , Les Icariens, 75. Women "had the responsibility for the laundry in a dozen or so washrooms and drying rooms located near the center of the square behind the apartment houses." A surviving photo of the wash house next to the Mississippi can be found at the Icarian Historical Museum in Nauvoo, Illinois. See Palmer, "The Community at Work," 183-4.

[115] Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 153. Twelve to twenty citoyennes were transported in a wagon downhill to the laundry. Young girls were assigned the hanging out and drying detail.

[116] Colonie Icarienne, September 13, 1854. In an article on "Ateliers de Femmes,"

"lessives (washing powder), made of ashes from the mill, does not have the regularity desired, and the washing women complain that it sometimes burns their hands, or that they are using too much soap, or that it burns or ruins the linens and clothing" which much be conserved. "The washing workshop has twelve to fifteen citoyennes who have consented to do their part" there four days a week. They spend the other two days mending for the families. The community wants to make that operation as "easy and economical as possible" and they hope to get a new machine from Paris.[117] They had investigated one and would get it "as soon as the money was available."[118] By the end of 1854, the laundry boasted a large basin sent from France which doubled as a bathtub for women.[119] (Men bathed in the Mississippi.) Cabet also had to deal with women's complaints about the crowded workshops where they did the ironing and mending. They were uncomfortable, but as soon as material conditions improved they would have more "desirable" work places.[120]

Cabet noted "La nouvelle buanderie, près du moulin, conduite par un citoyen, est déjà beaucoup plus commode que l'ancienne." This phrase places one man in charge of the Laundry, very likely to see that the water supply is ready and perhaps, the 'hot' ashes too. The 12-15 wash women who scrub the clothing complained about burning themselves. They had a woman director over them.

117 Ibid.

118 Cabet to Beluze, July 28, 1854, CIS SIUE folder 6. Cabet instructed Beluze to send the washing machine that they had investigated "if" it is "not too expensive." Gontier and Gontier, Partons, 169-70, Vallet, Icarian Communist, 23-4.

119 Colonie Icarienne, November 1, 1854. A laundry tub was listed with purchases from France that cost 150 francs ($30).

120 Ibid., September 13, 1854. The directors authorize someone to read out loud and sing sometimes.

But the laundry women's discomforts, and the cadre of rugged whiskey drinkers and unconquerable smokers were not Cabet's worst antagonists. The Party, "a systematic opposition" was the "serious evil." Party men continued to defy him. One read a paper when he was giving a talk on fraternity. Another disobeyed him "formally" and some "desired my death."[121] In conjunction with the 1853 Reform Icarienne, Cabet was able to resume the Sunday Cours Icarien lectures.[122] They had been discontinued when he left and resisted by the Assembly after he returned. Cabet observed that the Cours Icarien was an "absolute necessity" for many of the women who "completely ignore the Icarian principles and have neither the convictions, the devotion, nor the necessary qualities for the prompt triumph of the Community."[123] Some women were still 'ignorant,' and perhaps, the 'Mariannes' were 'ignoring' his principles. After several years of allowing members to spend Sundays as they wished, Cabet had now decided to withdraw part of the women's (and men's) free time by requiring their presence at his sermons on Vrai Christianisme. This was another 'duty' added to their obligatory attendance at the Saturday evening Assemblies. But despite Cabet's sincere desire to improve women's devotion to principles, this latest effort was not received with much enthusiasm. It was rescinded three months later.[124]

To facilitate the airing of diverse ideas, Cabet placed a boîte publique (public box)

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[121] Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 222.

[122] Ibid., 141. The reforms were proposed in November, 1853.

[123] Ibid., 199-200.

[124] Rancière, Nights of Labor, 393. Article 24 of the November 1853 Reform made attendance at the Cours Icarien obligatory.

in the refectory where members could "deposit their observations, their opinions, counsels, [and] useful propositions." Some "ameliorations" would be realized after these concerns were discussed at weekly Assemblies. Freedom was one of the issues that Cabet had to respond to. A series of articles in their paper was devoted to its interpretations. "Liberté is the word one invoked most often and with the most ardor," he wrote.[125] Some members felt his reforms were too restrictive. They argued that they had not traveled 3,000 leagues "not to be free." Even the children repeated this phrase.[126] Cabet justified the need to limit individual liberty at the present time due to his own unfree situation in France, which made it impossible for him to prepare the Colonists 'minds."

> If I had been prefectly free to delay the emigration of the the Icarian colonization in 1848, I would have consecrated four or five years to the preparation of minds, to draw up in minute detail all that which concerned food, lodging, furnishings, etc., etc., to examine all the objections, all the types of people, etc., in a manner which, when a colonist left, there was nothing unforeseen and unknown, nothing which he had not freely and spontanteously approved, accepted, adopted, and which was desired by him. . . . That is the organic system that I would have followed in 1848, if I had been free.[127]

Cabet's logic might have insured that Icarians would have met his standards more closely, but it was based on a static ideal that implied perfect preparation was a realizable goal. In another article on Liberté, he reasoned further that "if" they simply admitted men to the Colony by chance, "the Icarian system could not produce all its advantages and liberty" for everyone. It was necessary that they choose men who were the "best educated and most

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125 Colonie Icarienne, September 20, 1854.

126 Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 175. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 363.

127 Colonie Icarienne, August 16, 1854. This was signed by Cabet on August 14. It was part of an article criticizing Considerant's Texas colony (phalansterien). Considerant proposed that each of his colonists have extensive "liberty." Based on his "experiences," Cabet felt this was an error.

moral" republicans and democrats. However, "today, the Icarian System cannot produce all its fruits because, despite all the precautions taken in the choice of admission, the men today are all children of the ancienne social Organization and the ancienne Education."[128] When the "Colony has prepared many Generations with its Icarian Education, when they are true Icarians, we are convinced that they will be given not only more liberty than any other Society, but all the liberty possible in an ordinary Society."[129]

Once again, Cabet took up educational issues in the paper, stressing the need to raise a generation in Icarian principles. Their current system of "transitory" common education would become "definite" when "nothing was neglected that would be necessary to render all the fathers and mothers capable of raising their sons and daughers." Then, the children "could be with their families in the morning and at night, and only gather together during the day in the common schools."[130] The defensive tone of this article in the fall of 1854 points out that Cabet was still being challenged by parents about the boarding school rules.

These indicators of internal discord included resistance to Cabet's system by 'Mariannes' who were partisans of "liberté and absolute egalité."[131] Like the men Cabet

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[128] Ibid., October 25, 1854. This was the infamous issue no. 15 that was referred to in later disputes during 1856. Although Cabet did not specify what aspect of liberty was being questioned, some members had "made these objections."

[129] Ibid., October 11, 1854. Cabet also attempted to "distinguish between natural intelligence and acquired intelligence" in "response to one of the objections" about educational divisions in the Colony.

[130] Ibid., October 4, 1854. "I tell you that the Education plan is the most perfect . . . I have the presumption to believe that I am able to bring it to perfection."

[131] Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 210.

reproached so severely that they joined the Party (or left), the 'Mariannes' found allies in the Party which Cabet appropriately called the "reds." They recruited other 'red' partisans.[132] Icaria was at war again.[133]

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[132] Ibid., 206. The women of the Party enlist other women.

[133] Cabet to Beluze, April 28, 1854. The war terminology was used eighteen months before Cabet published his request for full dictator powers. In this letter, Cabet recalled for Beluze the objections to his reforms. "All that, the general misery and the war, put a cruel uncertainty on my spirit and the success of subscriptions and loan projects." He told Beluze that he had been reflecting on the difficulties involved in putting his theories into practice. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 363 n1. The "sounds of war" were heard in August 1855.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

FEMININE TRANSGRESSIONS

Many of the violations of Icarian order that Cabet publicly sensationalized were shared by men and women alike. Both used alcohol, smoked, and disregarded food rules.[1] Cabet denounced trivial lawbreakers like those who had "indigestion" after being caught eating melons during a cholera epidemic, or those who capitulated to their hunger and snacked between meals. Some hoarded foodstuffs to indulge in clandestinely in their private rooms.[2] The "violators" who rejected fish, or had a "gourmand" appetite were distributed among both sexes.[3]

Public shame was Cabet's moral deterrent. Towards this end, men and women who were workshop directors were instructed to kept track of their workers' non-fraternal, sometimes serious, but often innocuous deeds, which were read aloud each week at the Assembly.[4] These public reproach sessions stimulated remorse, but they also caused many

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1 Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 147. Everyone was to eat at once. Not between meals. This rule was broken by "many." Cabet also wanted to reduce the amount of sugar, tea, and coffee that was consumed because it was a "considerable expense."

2 Vallet, Icarian Communist, 29. The melons might foster (false) diarrhea-like symptoms comparable to cholera. Some were "caught or suspected of cooking extras for themselves, at home." Several folks kept a "few hens in order to have fresh eggs, others would cultivate a few flowers."

3 Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 184, 190.

4 Ibid., 155. Thomas Teakle, "History and Constitution of the Icarian Community." Iowa Journal of History and Politics April 1917: 214-86, 268. "Reporting Offenses" Article 170, stated that "Each Workshop Director must report, in a weekly or special report, the offenses committed in his workshop." Article 171, 172, 173 and 174, called for "each citizen to make known" the "offenses" committed against the 'Community," which would be "investigated." The workshop offenses were to be "judged by the workshop" and those against the Community "judged by the General Assembly or by a jury."

wrongdoers to seek revenge resulting in alignments against Cabet - and more 'red' Partisans. Whether deserved or not, it seems unlikely that members relished these humiliating chastisements. Cabet railed against rule-violators in print as well, the forum he controlled until he lost power.[5]

The Clothing Issue

Clothing was a major ingredient in Cabet's moral crusade. Take, for example, the Assembly discussions about the admission of the wife of Citizen Alexandre. He was a "devoted Icarian" and had a "first-rate wife" who came to the Colony later.[6] Cabet wrote Beluze telling him to be sure to "see Mme Alexandre" and get "information on instruction and education" from her.[7] Cabet intended to have Mme Alexandre teach in the girls school. But her clothes emerged as a central feature of reports in 1854. She had brought "seventeen dresses and had changed her dress three times in one day" during her ocean trip.[8] Her husband expressed his opinion that she would become a good Icarian despite her fellow-travelers' criticisms. Mme Alexandre had also said she "wasn't an Icarianne" when she was on board the ship. And, she had taken an expensive "bourgeois cabin" for herself at St. Louis. Mme Alexandre "criticized and injured" the others and "made efforts to

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[5] Colonie Icarienne appeared from July 19, 1854 until December 21, 1854 with French and English editions. On October 11, 1854, Cabet printed a polite complaint that he was reproducing his works and that the journal ought to be more interesting which he refuted. (He was.) In the same issue, an article on whether Icaria would survive its founder, points out that members recognized Cabet's deteriorating health which was perhaps being mentioned out of his earshot, and carried back to him by spies.

[6] Cabet to Beluze, May 3, 1853 CIS SIUE.

[7] Cabet to Beluze, August 16, 1853 CIS SIUE.

[8] Colonie Icarienne, November 29, 1854.

corrupt three young girls." Furthermore, she refused to "do any work in the common interest during the trip" and brought "trouble into the Society and into many families." At first, Mme Alexandre was refused provisionary admission, but Cabet interceded for her and read a letter to the Assembly on her good character. He asked the members for their "indulgence, generosity, and fraternity" towards her. Mme Alexandre's husband had been a good worker and Cabet was looking forward to having her "here for our schools."[9] When a new vote was taken, the Colony women remained against her, 18 to 17. The men, however, voted 93 to11 to allow her provisionary status.[10] In this case, Cabet was willing to overlook Mme Alexandre's sartorial shortcomings because he wanted her help with the school. There is no record of how her seventeen dresses were handled, but Mme Alexandre's clothing was an important factor in the women's hostility towards her. Many of them would have liked to keep more dresses, but had to follow trousseau rules and give

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[9] Cabet to Beluze, November 17, 1854. CIS SIUE folder 6. Cabet wrote that the Commission was "very pronounced against Mme Alexandre" and that her husband was "desolate" upon having to leave with her. Cabet to Beluze, December 5, 1854 CIS SIUE folder 6. At the end of this letter, Cabet wrote, "You do not tell me more about Alexandre: I would very much like to see her here for our schools." It is hard to understand why he would want to place her in a position in the schools when she exhibited clothing excesses. They may have had a shortage of women in a teaching field, but Cabet did not provide any more evidence.

[10] Colonie Icarienne, November 29, 1854, December 13, 1854. Cabet took the opportunity to note that the character of Mme Alexandre was determined by others. Her husband was already in the Colony and awaited her arrival. She was part of a group of 51 with Mercadier acting as secretary of the trip. It continued to be a topic of discussion and the journal of the trip was published. She was refused admission by a vote of 21 against her. Then, her husband wrote a letter saying he would leave with her. On December 13, Cit. Carre sent a letter that presented Mme Alexandre's behavior during the twelve years that he had know her as favorable and that the "accusations were unjust and without fraternity." After reading the letter, Cabet "invoked their indulgence, generosity, and fraternity in favor of the wife of Alexandre." Another vote was taken. Citoyennes = 17 yes, 18 no, and Citoyens = 92 yes, 11 no.

them up. It was hypocritical of Cabet and the men to overlook Mme Alexandre's dress violations because of her educational skills and their desire to keep her husband in the Colony. This episode, however, was consistent with Cabet's solicitation of well-off and educated women in Le Republicain in 1851.

Cabet also showed preferences toward another highly educated woman, Mme Tiran, who was enthralled with the Colony. Cabet soon appointed Citoyenne Tiran to help direct the girls school.[11] She was excited about the children's "public performances," and two weeks after her arrival, she wrote a complimentary letter about Colony life to a friend in Paris.[12] She told about their theater program, the musical renditions, the "charming" recitations, and the children's "affectionate" expressions toward Cabet.[13] Her friend had permission to pass her letter on to Mme Favard and Mme Cabet. Tiran wrote with expert grammar and penmanship. She gave minute descriptions about the "forty rooms" where she was lodged which had "muslin curtains" over the windows. Everyone had their "linens marked for the laundry" but Tiran noticed that some embroidery items "excited jealousy" among the women.[14]

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[11] Tiran's name does not appear in the director reports in the Colonie Icarienne in the fall of 1854, but she was one of Cabet's school directors the Majority replaced in 1856.

[12] Femme Tiran to Madame, April 10, 1853 CIS SIUE folder 11. They had arrived at Keokuk on March 22, 1853. Mme Tiran noted that at the Sunday performances, "Mr. Cabet never failed to help and had a place near the school children who appear very affectionate towards him. . . . He is a good père of the family, happy with the happiness of the children."

[13] Ibid. Tiran wrote after "passing twenty days in the Colony." Sharing the letter with Mme Cabet would reassure her about the good conditions at Nauvoo and that her husband was happy. The Tirans went with Cabet's 'faithful' to St. Louis in 1856.

[14] Ibid. The 40 rooms were in the rented Mormon hotel. Although neat and precise, Tiran's handwriting was very small.

The Colony women's desire to keep and display decorative items concerned Cabet who regarded such individualistic sentiments as "moral offenses." It was a form of vanity associated with egoism, luxury, and sexual temptresses. Women's wearing apparel held disturbing consequences. Cabet abhorred stylish fashions and affectations. This sexual admixture was so strongly fused in his mind as evil, that the sight of any frivolous ribbons or lace on women's garments enraged him. Although Cabet described women in his utopian novel as charming, flirtatious, and attractively clothed, their dress was simple and uniform. Still, they were shown making hats out of "silks and velvets in brilliant colors" that they trimmed with "laces, ribbons, flowers, and feathers."[15] Furthermore, if a Colony woman might hope to be treated like the "divinity" described in La Femme, she soon discovered that it was necessary to give up silk dresses, lace, embroideries, jewelry, objects of the toilette, or other visible signs of luxury, and submit herself to plain apparel.[16]

When Marie-Virginie Descombes walked by Cabet's office on the arm of her suitor, A. Marchand, wearing a "Sunday best" dress trimmed with velvet bows styled to display her youthful beauty, Cabet reproached her. "Citoyenne," he said, "if all the women of Icaria were dressed like you, the Community would be impossible."[17] Humiliated and confused, she placed her dress in a trunk and never wore it again.[18] Although

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[15] Voyage, 136.

[16] Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 147-8. Cabet wrote these into laws and he repeated them incessantly. Women were not to have anything useless, luxurious, or of a "superfluous vanity. Coquetry is contrary to our economic necessity and our principles of reason and morality," he stated.

[17] Marie Marchand Ross, Child of Icaria (1938 reproduced in original Corning, Iowa: Gauthier Publishing Co., 1986), 126. The dress was made of "satin amazone." Dress and bonnet were "trimmed with brown and green velvet ribbon bows."

Mademoiselle Descombes submitted to Cabet's dress codes she refused to comply in other areas where she could reject the Community's stern control. Marie-Virginie and her sister Louise Descombes were seamstresses and had been good friends of Cabet's daugher Céline and her husband Firmin Favard since 1844. They helped out in the office of Le Populaire and worked on the designs for the Icarian women's uniform model. The Descombes' sisters donated their sewing labors in 1848 (after learning that tailors were working for free on men's uniforms). "Céline cried" when the Descombes' sisters "announced their admission to Icaria." Soon after they came to Nauvoo, Louise married Pierre Favard, the brother of Céline's deceased husband, Firmin Favard. Marie-Virginie married Armel A. Marchand.[19] (His first wife, Laurenée Martin had died at the age of 26 along with their infant daughter during the 1852 cholera epidemic.[20]) Mme Marchand was a dedicated, intelligent Icarienne seamstress who could not 'measure up' to Cabet's ideal. She refused to learn English or sew on the Singer sewing machine in Iowa, but carried out all the expected labors of women.[21]

Despite Cabet's repeated admonishments about the practical contents of trousseaus, the clothes women brought in created a stir. When new members arrived, the exchanges between women who expressed interest in the beauty, fabric, or fashion of their

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[18] Ross, M., Child of Icaria, 126.

[19] Gontier and Gontier, Partons, 203-4.

[20] Colonie Icarienne, October 4, 1854. Their names were in the death report list.

[21] Ross, M., Child of Icaria, 22, 50. Mme Marchand witnessed the war against Cabet in 1856 and ten years later, when the Iowa Colony split into factions with her husband and son on opposing sides, the violent disagreements exacerated her health problems. She became ill hovering near death for months as the stressful battles raged.

clothing, were characterized by Cabet as 'jealous.'[22] Women's admiration of a newcomer's trousseau naturally inspired pleasure for their owners who were then scolded for being the 'source of envy.'[23] Such scenes particularly disturbed Cabet because he was forced to recognize that the pioneer women's faded, patched garments compared badly with the new arrivals' fresh wardrobe items.[24] It became especially trying when he began to realize how costly replacing worn out clothes of the earlier immigrants was going to be.[25]

Always the puritan father, Cabet even exerted his control over the undergarments of women. He wrote Beluze telling him that "corsets are not necessary" for Icariennes.[26] This instruction followed his counsel to Beluze that a sage femme (midwife) was also not "indispensable" because they "already had one."[27] These two bits of information may be

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[22] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 325. This was emphasized in a letter of Cabet to Beluze, July 12, 1853, "the clothing of women is the cause of jealousies."

[23] Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 193.

[24] Crétinon and Lacour, "Allons en Icarie," 174-177. In their summary of the "Defauts du système icarien" chapter, clothing was included as one of the important defects of the system. "Beautiful phrases" about their prosperity were lies. The new arrivals found "misery." Men's clothing was worn out and they had no way to get replacements. They even "disputed" the deceased "depouillé (spoils)," indicative of these probationary men's disgust with the clothing frugality they observed in the Community. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 324. A man left the Community because his wife "had to dispose of her silk dress." (Reported by Holynski.) Women had carried jewelry with them to Nauvoo while Cabet was gone. They hid them when he returned and looked at their jewels "behind closed doors." (The second-floor balcony around the building made window-peeping and spy-reports about such clandestine activity feasible.)

[25] Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 148. Cabet wrote that they were replacing all the "used and destroyed" old trousseaus. "The expense for cotton, linen, etc., is very considerable, because we are speaking of thousands of dollars."

[26] Cabet to Beluze, August 16, 1853 CIS SIUE.

[27] Ibid.

related, for the "corset" item could refer to a stay-like binding women used after childbirth. Perhaps, it was merely a decorative waist-cincher. Either way, Cabet intervened and women were not going to get "corsets" nor an extra midwife.

On the other hand, did Icarian men ignore clothing matters? Evidence shows that they complained too. Vallet reported that men had to submit their requests for a shirt, pair of trousers, of anything else and then listen to remarks on the validity of their replacements such as, "he was wearing his clothes [out] too fast, that he was applying too often, [or] that he could do without." The "mortified" man would then point to others who did not work as hard and had gotten articles they did not need, adding discontent to humiliation (and more irritations about favorites, directors, and the workers whose jobs were less physically demanding).[28] It is unclear whether men or women controlled the clothing distribution or if it was sex separated between tailors and seamstresses. Nonetheless, those in charge were exercising power over a basic need in a manner considered unjust by others.

Cabet understood that clothing was a source of dissatisfaction but he continued to lecture on thrift and simplicity.[29] He resisted allocating any unnecessary money for clothing budgets. Seven years had not changed his mind-set as he siphoned off the monies for his priorities like purchasing land and building supplies for the Iowa Colony. His 'dual-sex

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[28] Vallet, Icarian Communist, 28.

[29] Detailed lists of trousseau requirements were published several times and Beluze was scolded for allowing departees to bring forbidden objects into the Colony. Excesses were confiscated and placed in a general storage place. What happened to them afterwards was never recorded. 'Excess" fabrics could be cut up and reused. But all goods belonged to the Community.

monastery' conceptions in the Voyage, reinforced his notions of thrift.[30] He always hoped for wealthy philantrophists who would donate money. In 1854, he wrote, Ce que je ferais si j'avais 500,000 dollars (What I would do if I had $500,000). But he did not. Nonetheless, in December 1854, he sent Mourot and Jonveaux to Iowa on horseback with $1,800 to "buy the land in question."[31]

The clothing-cost issue raises questions regarding Cabet's ability to empathize with either the men or women's distress over their appearance. Did he apply the same rules to himself? While he preached frugality (especially to women), he undoubtedly was appropriately attired when he traveled or attended functions like the inauguration of the US President in March 1853.[32] His daily garments (as an intellectual worker) were not subjected to the wear and tear of those worn by men occupied with manual labor in coal mines, wood-cutting, farming, mills, and other dirty jobs.[33] Likewise, women who cared for little children, worked in the laundry, or were busy with food preparations and clean-up, had to contend with daily rips, spills, and stains.[34] When Cabet wrote to his wife

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[30] Cabet, Ce que je ferais si j'avais 500,000 dollars (Paris: 3 rue Baillet, 1854). For an examination of Cabet's fiscal shortcomings, see Sutton, Les Icariens, 76-7.

[31] Colonie Icarienne, December 21, 1854. At a meeting on December 9, Cabet "exposed the urgency of buying some preempted land" and sent the men to do so despite the winter conditions.

[32] Cabet to Céline, February 20, 1853, CIS SIUE folder 3. He was leaving the next day for Washington, he explained, where he would be among "all the men of influence in America. I hope that I have the occasion to make good acquaintances that will be useful to the Colony. I will return about April 10." Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 337-8. Prudhommeaux cited reports about Cabet's appearance and portraits.

[33] Vallet, Icarian Communist, 28.

[34] Cabet, Prospectus, for Colonie Icarienne, 22. The kitchen work required to serve and clean up three times a day for three to five hundred people was one of the least

and daughter about the "warm clothes for the winter" that they were making for him, he noted his thanks, "but they will probably be a luxury for me and I will be upset if you have spent much for them."[35] Despite his lame protests to his wife, all of Cabet's portraits depict him in fashionable suits and it is most unlikely that he greeted visitors, statesmen, or news reporters in worn, faded, or patched clothing.[36] Some, if not all, of Cabet's garments appear to have been supplied by his wife and daughter in Paris, a 'privileged' source that may have been permitted to others, although there is no concrete evidence that members received parcels of clothing from relatives in France.[37] Nonetheless, it is very likely that the women in the Colony graciously went out of their way to give special attention to the upkeep of Cabet's apparel. The sparse clothing budget did not impact on him in the same manner that it did others, especially those whose jobs involved more daily wear and tear.

Women's Work and Its Discontents

All women were not meek and deferential to Cabet. Some went out of their way to defy his 'principled' regulations and viewed his orders that they perform 'extra' work in their living quarters beyond the day's assigned jobs as an unfair demand. Despite the fact

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attractive chores. That it was a contentious issue for the women can be discerned because it is the only "assignment" Cabet noted whereby workers were selected "by lot."

35 Cabet to Céline, October 11, 1853, CIS SIUE folder 3.

36 Crétinon and Lacour, "Allons en Icarie," 51-2. The Lacour family had a lithographic portrait of Cabet. There are others at the IISG. In writing their book, they reviewed the images of Cabet by Holynski, Prudhommeaux, Considerant, and Pierre Leroux, which ranged from a "paternal bonhomie," "good apostle" to the "vain, authoritarian," and "intolerant Pope of Communism."

37 Cabet to Céline, March 10, 1856, CIS, SIUE folder 3. This letter was a thank-you for the "excellent" pantalons (trousers) and gilets (vest). It was dictated to a secretary and ended with a scrawled signature by Cabet.

that women were to do the domestic work in the Voyage and Cabet reaffirmed this in their work conditions, some Icariennes took it upon themselves to "subtract from the workshop obligation to be free at their places." Cabet rejected the women's Nauvoo labor time argument and wrote; "That is an abuse which must cease because it is contrary to the principle of equality, to that of economy, and to the Opinion générale."[38] His rational argument for not counting housework as part of a day's work time ignored the women's scale of gender equality. He argued for its contrariness to "l'Opinion générale" with a capitalized "O" implying that his gendered Opinion was an authority-confirming abstraction like Nature, which thereby sanctified his command.

Admittedly, women's upkeep of their small rooms in Icaria was greatly reduced because of the public meals and public laundry. However, Cabet's idealized portrait in the Voyage had depicted men working from 6AM until 1PM at workshops while women worked at home from 6 to 9AM and at workshops, from 9 until 1PM. Whereas, in Nauvoo, they had outside work assignments of 'only' ten hours.[39] Cabet's telltale comments show that women not only knew their Voyage, but were actively disputing his labor calculus and refused to accept his authority over their time and location, despite his "Opinion générale" thesis.

After calling attention to women's disobedient labor "substractions," Cabet cited other violations of Community-owned supplies. Everyone in Icaria had their household 'needs' provided so that all had the same furnishings. Every family had two rooms with a

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[38] Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 181. This was a comment by Cabet placed in the section on members' agreement to work in the Workshops.

[39] Cabet, Prospectus for Colonie Icarienne, 27.

white pine bed, a wooden chair and table, a shelf, a mirror, a small heating stove, a broom, bucket, and a chandelier. Their wardrobe was the trunk that they carried across the Atlantic.[40] But general things like clothing were not always distributed fairly by members. Another example of such egotistical behavior was the coal supplies which were inadequate to furnish the "wants of the society." Some members selfishly wisked the coal off the wagons for themselves, leaving others without a sustainable source of heat for their rooms.[41] Another "degrading" measure that caused members to feel that they were "treated like small children" was the manner of dividing the (rare) butter at meals. It was cut into 10 "moulds" for each table so no one could use more than one piece.[42] Some men were also caught using Colony wood and materials during working hours to make "pretty little furniture, small playthings or toys for their wives or their children . . . which excited jealousies, criticisms, and discontent which more or less troubled the harmony in the Society."[43] Cabet maintained that the Community had the rights to all the work, abilities, and time of each member. It was not to be spent for individual friends or family. Toys for children were purchased by Cabet who, for example, requested Beluze send him a dozen or so "colorful parachutes that ones sees everywhere when walking in Paris, to amuse the children."[44] As the sole provider of "toys" or rewards, Cabet engendered the children's

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[40] Sutton, Les Icariens, 73. Vallet, Icarian Communist, 24. Crétinon and Lacour, "Allons en Icarie," 162.

[41] Vallet, Icarian Communist, 28. Each table seated 10 people.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 180.

[44] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 334 n2. The letter to Beluze was dated February 15, 1853.

affection. But save for the occasional benevolence of Père Cabet, a nebulous 'Community' exercised control over all aspects of an Icarian's energy, products, and distribution.

However, some women misunderstood the rule giving the Community the right to control everything they owned. Since no one in Icaria had any money, these deviant women found ways to get some. They secretly sold their clothes or furnishings to Nauvoo neighbors.[45] Selling used clothes was a common practice in France, but in Nauvoo it was against the Community property law. They were caught and disciplined. Cabet argued that all the women's clothes belonged to the Community and they were no longer their personal property.[46] Given these traditional resale practices, the women had trouble accepting this gender alteration in their lives.[47]

One of the ways women used the funds from their secret 'sales' (before being caught) was to send money to France for various goods. A telling example involved a professional embroiderer who sent 20 francs for embroidery tools she wanted to practice

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[45] Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 176. The traffic in used clothing was a thriving business in Paris. For a discussion of this in the previous century, see Daniel Roche, The People of Paris: An Essay in Popular Culture in the 18th Century translated by Marie Evans in association with Gwynne Lewis (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 183-5. Women selling "fine dresses" and "old clothing" were the "shrewdest" shop-keepers. Roche's analysis of the "rogues" whose court cases involved "stealing clothing" showed that those who were caught were only 25% female. Likewise, it would appear that Cabet's Colony women who were selling clothes did not view their activity as "theft" but Cabet inserted that point. He argued that everything belonged to the Icarian Community and they were not free to sell their clothes (let alone have disposable money).

[46] Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 176. He added that women may not have "perfectly known" the consequences of our principles, indicating that women pleaded their "ignorance" and disagreed with him which added to his portrayal of them as "ignorant" of their principles.

[47] Cretinon and Lacour, "Allons en Icarie," 65.

her craft.[48] Cabet uncovered this offense by reading her mail and condemnation followed. His excessive concern with women's pecuniary 'vices' suggests that his selection standard for 'moral' market products was biased. Would creating and selling women's artful embroidery work in the St.Louis shops have produced some income as did the men's whiskey sales?[49] One could also speculate about which consumer product would be more morally distasteful. Whiskey was a recognized vice that Cabet often preached against as was embroidery because of its association with vanity. Nonetheless, Icaria's contradictory scale of values encouraged alcohol production and forbade embroidery work, thus providing one of the clearest examples of Cabet's gender bias in matters of 'morality.' And there was also the 'practical' issue: Cabet knew that embroidery was time-consuming, and women's labors were needed to care for the group's routine demands.[50]

Incoming women, like the skilled embroiderer, soon discovered there were few opportunities for them to gain equal professional status with men. At most, they could serve as directors of women's clothing workshops, teach, or supervise the care of school

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[48] Cabet to Beluze, January 3, 1854 CIS SIUE folder 6. Cabet told Beluze about his discovery of the collection of 20 francs to pay for "embroidery tools" being requested for one of our women. "That is a violation of our principles of equality, of simplicity, and economy." Beluze was then reminded again to take care that the "women did not bring any silk clothes, luxury or coquetry" into Nauvoo. This unidentified embroiderer may have been Mme Mourot who taught girls embroidery skills in Iowa. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 323-5. Sutton, Les Icariens, 83.

[49] Sutton, Les Icariens, 74. In reality, the distillery made "one thousand barrels of bourbon" in a year and it would be impossible for women to sell things to match that income.

[50] New York Herald, "Letter to Julien" [by Cabet] July 19, 1854. ACIS. The Colony sold items in St. Louis for $150 and whiskey for $234. Sutton, Les Icariens, 75, 83-5, 95-6. Alcohol provided income. Some members reportedly drank too much.

children. The Voyage had explicit descriptions of trained women doctors working in spacious, sanitary hospitals. Ideally, all women gave birth in sterile hospital rooms, but in Nauvoo, they had no hospitals, only midwives and medical manuals to use in caring for women's illnesses.[51] There is no evidence that any special area was set aside for births. Men had an infirmary, but women were nursed in their lodgings.[52] Because of Cabet's highly touted rhetoric of equality, he countered women's demands for gender equivalency with his "relative and proportional" modifications. It was inscribed on the refectory wall: "Equality. Not absolute, but relative and proportional. From each according to his abilities. To each according to his needs."[53]

On the other hand, community leisure programs did offer extra incentives for women to creatively entertain the group. They organized recitals by school children dressed in their uniforms and were able to stage and act in plays (with morality themes).[54] However, the professional use of musical instruments and lessons was reserved for males.[55] In the Voyage, music was open to men and women. The narrator explained that

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[51] Cabet to Beluze, May 19, 1854, CIS SIUE. In this letter Cabet asked to have three works sent to him. 1) Journal de médecine et chirurgie ; 2) a treatise on Maladies des enfants by Rillets and Barthe; and 3) Guide des femmes et des meres "if" they are not too expensive. Cabet to Beluze, August 16, 1853. CIS SIUE. As already noted, they had one mid-wife.

[52] Sutton, Les Icariens, 75.

[53] Crétinon and Lacour, "Allons en Icarie," 272.

[54] Colonie Icarienne aux États-unis. Cabet envisioned the pageantry of children. He liked the "spectacle" of orderly children lined up in their identical uniforms.

[55] Sutton, Les Icariens, 77-9. Colonie Icarienne, July 26, 1854, August 2, 1854. Musical scores and instruments like metaphones, Ophiedeide, and flutes were in the lists of donations from France. Cabet also wanted a large clock and encouraged donations from France. The Colonie Icarienne, November 1, 1854 issue showed 1,033 francs had been

"vocal and instrumental music is an object of our general education, each commences to learn this from childhood. Everyone here, men and women, children and elderly, are then musicans . . . you can not calculate the happy effects of that musical revolution!"[56] Nonetheless, the "musical revolution" had not begun in Nauvoo. When a new member who was an accomplished pianist and teacher, Mme Baxter, offered the gift of her piano to the group when she and her husband joined, Cabet refused it. He stated that it would be too costly to transport and lessons would take up too much time. One piano would cause problems, Cabet argued. It would need to be accessible to all and that would be "an impossibility."[57] Similar arguments, however, did not apply to the cost of shipping other instruments or to the time spent by men and boys practicing or playing instruments. Aside from Cabet's refusal of Mme Baxter's piano, there are no other recorded protests from women about their exclusion from playing instrumental music in Nauvoo.[58]

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donated towards the purchase of a large clock for the Colony (to promote promptness). Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 336. Both music and theatre plays were frequently presented before American audiences.

[56] Voyage, 81.

[57] Baxter file, CIS. Lillian M. Snyder, "A Day in the Life of Emile Baxter" in Robert P. Sutton, editor, Adaptation of the Icarians to America (Sunnyvale: Optima Print & Copy Center, 1993), 14-24. The eleven Baxter letters exchanged with Cabet began September 17, 1854 and concluded with the families entry into the Colony in June 1855 with two sons, a two year old and 4 month old. Annette Baxter taught English in the school. Emile was elected Secretary on February 3, 1856 in the midst of the Colony disturbances. They left in September 1856 just as the exodus to St. Louis was beginning.

[58] Crétinon and Lacour, "Allons en Icarie," 58. Cabet, Prospectus, for Colonie Icarienne, 18a. Cabet wrote that music was "an absolute necessity for any colony" and they had made "every sacrifice to organize our instrumental music." There were 34 musicians, 19 men and 15 boys playing horns, clarinets, flutes, néocor, clavicor, cornets, ophicleides, trombones, drums, triangles, and violins.

Perfect Preparation for "Communauté"

If for Cabet, music was a unifying force, it was education that he distinguished as the supreme method of bringing about human perfection. In the summer of 1854 he exclaimed, "What a spectacle and what propaganda in action it will be when we have thousands of little girls and thousands of little boys in uniforms in one grand family. They will all practice fraternity and be disciplined, docile, respectful, polite, instructed, and working. Each one will mutually direct themselves and judge themselves. They will be happy because of the Communauté!"[59] There are no records by children about their reactions to being in the communal schools. The published student progress reports point out that they were trying to live up to their instructors' expectations (albeit they promised to behave better in their written confessions).[60] Cabet took steps to guard them from the mental contamination carried from the ancien society by adults. He evaluated and appointed the teachers for the boys and the girls schools and supervised all their books, studies, and rules.[61] They studied arithmetic, english, spelling, drawing, music, gymnastics, and the latest daguerréo type photography.[62] Cabet asked the Paris office to find a good basic reader for children and generous friends shipped many books to Nauvoo for their library. In 1855, Crétinon estimated they had about four thousand texts.[63] Cabet

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[59] Colonie Icarienne, July 19, 1854.

[60] Le Republicain, October 11, 1851. The students' examination of faults was noted earlier.

[61] Kesten, Utopian Episodes, 163-165. Crétinon and Lacour, "Allons en Icarie," 59.

[62] Crétinon and Lacour, Allons, 266. This was in "Le témoignage d'un satisfait; une lettre d'Étienne Ravat" (September 1850) at the end of this text.

[63] Shaw, Icaria, 51. Cabet to Beluze, May 24, 1853 CIS SIUE. Cabet asked to have

considered many of them to be outdated and useless.[64] Children who came to the Colony at an older age were not allowed to enter the schools and disrupt their educational program. When Vallet's wife-to-be came to the Colony at the age of fourteen, Cabet refused to permit her to join the other students "on the pretense that she, having been raised in the old world might set a bad example to the selected ones supposed to be pure as angels."[65]

In July 1853, Cabet drew up a list of school regulations.[66] Along with the usual admonitions for students to engage in quiet behavior during line-ups and acquire respectful study habits, Icarian children were to expected to take care of themselves and help with the younger children. They did all the school clean-up chores. Boys helped men with harvests and girls sewed under instructions from the women's workshop directors.[67]

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them send material on the "best teaching methods."

[64] Cabet to Beluze, April 19, 1853 CIS SIUE folder 5. Cabet said they were "inundated with old books on medicine, mathematics, science, philosophy" that were useless and never to be read.

[65] Vallet, Icarian Communist, 31.

[66] Colonie Icarienne, October 18, 1854. Written by Cabet on July 25, 1853, the rules were published in the paper in October 1854.

[67] Ibid. The Girls' School Director, Mme Raynaud, gave detailed accounts of the girls sewing efforts in a month by month tally. They helped make the infant layettes and sewed shirts, dresses, pants, and assorted linen items. Girls also folded the newspaper for mailings each week. Grubert and Delhuile were directrices of the Sewing workshop. It is difficult to know exactly, but it would appear that these young girls interacted with older women while sewing, some of whom would have been their mothers. This activity, and their intermittent help in the kitchen, garden vegetable preparations, etc., suggest that the separation between parents and children was never complete. Cabet, Prospectus, for Colonie Icarienne, 18. "Girls wash the dishes for both schools, clean the vegetables for the Colony and fold our newspapers and our pamphlets." Boys carried food, water, and fuel and work in fields." Thus, it appears that the children were a light 'charge' on the budget.

Youngsters were expected to acquire habits of sharing, fraternity, discipline, and order. There were rules about walking softly, not slamming doors, or talking too loud. Students were to be deferential to their teachers and they "must not shout." School children were not to "eat or drink between meals. . . .[and] they must not eat or drink too much. But they must eat everything without any repugnance for a food."[68] There were 44 articles minutely regulating behaviors down to not "eating green apples" or "throwing stones."[69] The school had a "punishment room" where "troublemakers" were taught.[70] Cabet argued that these precautions were necessary since the school had "children of all ages. Many of them had been nearly abandoned to themselves and their education was unavoidably neglected, such as the children of workers who inevitably and generally arrived without any instruction, and with more or less bad habits."[71]

Aside from the problems of teaching children raised by uneducated workers, the school had three handicapped youngsters. One was blind, another deaf-mute, and the third

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[68] Colonie Icarienne, October 18, 1854. Article 17 in "Bonnes et mauvaise habitudes."

[69] Ibid. These were among seven forbidden behaviors in Article 2. For an insightful discussion about the extension of "picayune laws" in Icaria see Lloyd W. Gundy, "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity in Butter Rights: Icarian Rules Can't Govern Everything" unpublished paper read at 26th Annual Meeting of the National Icarian Heritage Society, July 14-17, 1994, Nauvoo, Illinois.

[70] Sutton, Les Icariens, 80. Vallet, Icarian Communist, 30-1. Three boys with "uncontrollable dispositions" were considered a "dangerous example" and isolated in this room.

[71] Colonie Icarienne, October 18, 1854. Assuming that talk like this about workers' children was an inherent part of Cabet's repertoire, some might well have taken offense, ultimately aligning themselves with the Party. Sutton, Les Icariens, 65, 80. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 333-5.

had a brain disorder.[72] A six-day trip with the Colony Doctor accompanied by two citoyennes to secure a place for them in an Illinois "institution for the blind" proved futile in 1854 and they continued to be cared for in the schools.[73] After reporting this, Cabet affirmed his Society's commitment to care for the sick, infirm, old, children, widows, and orphans, and then asked, "What other current Society presents the same advantages?"[74]

Dedicated, energetic, and capable directors and school instructors were expected to manage the children day and night and prevent them from having any contact with parents.[75] They cared for 129 children in January 1856.[76] Some of the school personnel

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[72] Colonie Icarienne, October 18, 1854. "Soins des Infirmes: dans Communauté." This report stated that the "hot sun in America" caused illnesses like that which afflicted guardsmen in Texas. Victims became "perpetually sick in the head." Citoyenne Cledes (age not given) was a "victim at Nauvoo." The state of Illinois had three new establishments at Jacksonville to care for blind, deaf, and mental patients, which they were making inquiries about.

[73] Ibid. The deaf-mute was the son of Jalageas, Camus' son was blind, and Clèdes child had a "mental" disorder. In the eventual split, Camus left and the other two families stayed with Cabet. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 342. This child may have been the "innocent" blind offspring of the "adulterous" union of "Femme C. and H.C." who were expelled after an investigation by the Grand Jury of Icaria on March 11, 1855. I am unable to determine when the blind child was born, but it appears that the humanitarian impulse of Cabet to care for all was slightly qualified by his effort to place them in an institution for the blind. This helps to understand his Admission rule that called for fathers to guarantee the health and behavior of their children.

[74] Ibid. While Cabet magnanimously boasted that the "society" cared for them, he delegated their day and night guardianship to the women in the schools. The trip with the Doctor provides evidence that they were searching for an "institution" capable of aiding them in the teaching of the blind children.They lacked money, facilities, and Doctors to care for them.

[75] Vallet, Icarian Communist, 24. Vallet stressed that the children were "with their parents on Sunday only and never at night." It is incredulous to think that when the children were sick, and many did die of cholera and infant diseases, that parents were not permitted to stay by their side to comfort and help them recover from the feverish illnesses of childhood. I have found no written statements about this, but since Cabet made exceptions in many situations, he may have done so for mothers of sick children.

may also have been parents, albeit selected by Cabet for qualifications that met his standards.

Although Cabet continued to single out mothers as "the major obstacles to the progress of the Community" in his 1856 report, all of them did not easily fit the category.[77] Mothers who were nursing their babies were the recipients of Cabet's solicitude. They were described as "little princesses"[78] who promenaded with their babies in "pretty little blue carriages with four wheels."[79] Some of the newborns' parents idolized the characters and visions in the Voyage and gave their babies names like Icar, Valmor, Dinaros, Dinaîse, and Corilla.[80] Given the unhealthy wet-nursing practices in Paris, Cabet wisely provided a sheltered setting for mothers to nurse their own children, which was an important change.

However, many of the young mothers in 1855-56 had not encountered the anguish of the boarding-school separation from their children after age two experienced by mothers of older children.[81] In addition, the nursing mothers were exempted from

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[76] Gontier and Gontier, Partons, 205. In 1852 there were 107 children. Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 151. In January 1856, there were 35 nursing babies under three, 22 from 3 to 5, 39 boys and 33 girls 5 to 16. Total school age (over 3) was 94. Counting babies, 129 children.

[77] Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 202.

[78] Gontier and Gontier, Partons, 207.

[79] Cabet, Prospectus, for Colonie Icarienne, 18, Colonie Icarienne, July 19, 1854. "A score of babies of nursing age are with their mothers while another score of children from two to five are brought together, during the day, in an infant school, to play together under the direction and supervision of one of our women."

[80] Colonie Icarienne, August 16, 1854. This issue has a list of the first and last names, and the date of birth of the 108 children in the Colony on July 19, 1854 (55 boys and 53 girls).

[81] Ibid., July 19, 1854. "Young" and "anguish" are my conjectures. Many couples

workshop labor and did not eat meals at the "common table" but in their homes.[82] They were also excused from attendance at the Assembly. Nursing mothers were isolated from discussions in the workshop, Assembly, and mealtime gatherings, and thus did not witness the Assembly conflicts in 1855-6 and had to rely on second hand information for judgments. Their exclusion and protected status helps to explain the large coterie of nursing mothers in the ranks of Cabet loyalists. He used his protection for them as a virtuous propaganda tool. They were a devout shield raised to defend his disputed system.

Cabet's compassionate care of mothers and babies, however, was motivated above all by his desire to produce healthy future Icarians. In turn, the correctly reared and educated children would demonstrate the truth of his system. However lofty his purpose, it is hard not to say that he acted inhumanely in deliberately removing small children from their mothers care after they were weaned and then reducing contact between them to a few hours a week.[83] Indeed, he even begrudged mothers these Sunday visits which he called "useless."[84] In short, Cabet's benevolence toward the maternal role ended with

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married soon after they came which attested to the popularity of the "no dowry" change. The "anguish" draws from the law separating children despite Cabet's reassurance to parents that the children would go home at night when the Colony was better established. Time would very likely soften separation anxieties and they could always look forward to their Sunday visit

[82] Ibid. Nursing mothers did not eat "at the common table" or attend the Assembly, quite likely to avoid any embarrassment about breast-feeding or noisy babies. Likewise, mothers and babies would disturb the efficient order and quiet in the women's workshops.

[83] Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 151. "Parents can take them on Sunday between dinner and supper, and could see them at school each day during their recreations (recess, playtime)." The goal of the schools was a self-sufficient "little community."

[84] Ibid., 201.

lactation, "the Community," guided by its Father usurped the mother's place. This arrangement was backed by Icarian men, who alone had voting privileges. Women had to acquiese or leave.

Thus, Cabet's concerns about women's vanity and clothing and his petty rules on food and working hours were not the the primary reasons why women were the 'greatest obstacle' to progress. It was because they disputed his control over their children. In 1856, he was determined to have more authority over parents and expulsion powers for those who disobeyed. He elaborated on this in his rewriting of Admission condition 45. Parents must

> . . . . consent to have their children completely at the disposal of the Communauté.
>
> This consent is absolutely indispensable, and is a major precaution for the success of the Communauté. On the one hand, everyone is convinced that the success of the Icarian Communauté depends principally on its children. Icarian education will form the future generations' Icarian habits and qualities. On the other hand, the fathers and mothers themselves were raised in the ancien monde and are generally less enlightened about the most perfect means of education from birth to puberty (and that is not their fault). Always the questions of education are the most difficult, even for the wisdom of the most experienced philosphers.[85]

Cabet, the "experienced philosopher," anticipated parents' objection to being separated from the children at night. He countered it with obscure promises about the future:

> When Icaria is not so new, when Icarians are more capable of contributing to the education of their children themselves, they can be raised half in the common school for instruction, and half in the paternal house for social qualities and virtues. That combination appears the most perfect to me; but today the **daily contact of children with their parents appears to be almost useless to children** and to the Society. I have told you many times already, and I do not think I have to repeat to you; **I would very much like to see the school moved many leagues away rather than see the children continually with their fathers and mothers**. And, as this is impossible because of the enormous cost to set up a parallel school, I regard this rule as an indispensable condition.[86]

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[85] Ibid., 200-1.

[86] Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 201. My emphasis.

Cabet's dream of having the school "moved many leagues away" indicated his assessment that parents were too nearby. The earlier allowance that they could 'observe' the children in the school yard allowed for some talk through the iron fence, which would not happen if the school were elsewhere. The Nauvoo school was still constructed at some distance from the refectory kitchen and food had to be transported there each day. Meal-carrying was done "by the leading men of the Community." It was reported as "an unattractive duty, owing to the distance and to the fact that in bad weather, the way was muddy."[87]

Cabet was decidedly unhappy with the current situation and insisted that:

> Parents must conform to all the dispositions taken by the Communauté in regard to their children. If that condition is repugnant to you, it would have been better that you had not asked to be admitted, but you have formally accepted it.
>
> Mothers and fathers, you have all consented, you have all made this contract.[88]

The fact that Cabet felt it necessary to remind parents about their binding contract suggests they were not united with him over the childrens' care. This becomes clearer as Cabet continues:

> And yet, nearly all of you have forgotten your promises today. You want to remain teachers of your children, many **mothers want to meddle in all that concerns them**; many give them bad habits and think they prove their tenderness for them by exciting their taste for the toilette or for gourmandise (sweet things); some of them are exposed to talk which incites them to independence and disobedience, and to speaking about unlimited liberty. Their **children see and hear things which reverse all the previous educational efforts**. This is one of the greatest difficulties to Icarian education. It is, in my eyes today, one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of the Communauté.[89]

Cabet's derogatory tone in these 1856 conditions was harsher than in those that were

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87 New York Semi-weekly Tribune, May 27, 1851, CIS SIUE.

88 Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 201.

89 Ibid., 201-2.

written in the 1850 original document. In the later work, he inserted incriminating clues about the aftermath of the boarding system on parents. First, he acknowledged that he had experienced conflicts with mothers who "meddled" in their children's education. Second, since he confessed that he "told them many times," women had been repeatedly resisting (disobeying) his regulations. Mothers were not passive actors. Third, after claiming that "daily contacts with parents" were "useless," he exposed his desire to place the school farther away. His wish foreshadowed a future where parents had less, not more contact with their children. Finally, his remarks about the on-going impact of their ancien habits had obviously failed to convince parents that they were "incapable" of educating their children.

Cabet ended his comments by telling parents that "I have already made regulations for the children in our schools. I will present to you, as soon as possible, a law project which will regulate the rights and the duties of parents relative to the education of their families." In light of his previous statements, a "law project" for parents posed another threat to their liberty.

While all these mitigating factors must be considered, it is important to recognize that an underlying reason for Cabet's removal of children from mothers was his absorption in bourgeois cultural attitudes regarding working-class mothers perverse effects on children. In particular, Cabet was familiar with concerns about their "morals" as presented in inquiries by reformers' such as Baron Dupin and Dr. Louis Villermé. He had begun his own survey by sending out questionnaires about the moral and material conditions of workers' families in the early 1840s.[90] He asked workers questions like "What is the usual

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[90] Johnson, Utopian Communism, 166.

housing for your family? Did the mother work during her pregnancy? Did she work when she was nursing? What became of the baby during the hours of the mothers' and fathers' work?"[91] He did not complete it, but must have drawn ideas about the worker's conditions from those who responded.[92] The environmental deterministic theory presented by Dr. Villermé in his major study had concluded that workers' children were "raised in an atmosphere of impurities, fashioned by bad examples, and unable to know anything else." Because of this, the children "imitate what they see . . . and become, like their parents, drunken, debauched, brutalized."[93] Cabet's compassion for working class women and their children was equally conflated with pity and condescension. In addition, he especially believed that women lacked the higher element of reason conferred on wise 'philosophers' like himself. His formulation of Icarian equality for women was not only strained by class, but by sexual differences like those upheld by the pervasive Christian imagery of Eve.

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[91] Cabet, "Enquête sur le travail et les travailleurs par les travailleurs eux-mêmes," IISG. He also asked about their furniture, clothing, the number of children, whether they worked on Sundays, were in favor of the "right to work" and "principal desires." What was the "cause of their vexations? And did they belong to any associations?

[92] Ibid. Ranciére, Nights of Labor, 257-8. Ranciére noted from this survey that Cabet was asking workers questions like, "How many out of ten are married?" and then anticipated their answer by asking "Why so few?" Ranciére proceeded to deconstruct Cabet and other reformist authors like Baron Dupin whose "smooth, white hands" stroked their pens against the "rude manners and plain clothes of the men with callused hands." They investigated their "familiar vices: alcoholism, barrier districts, cafés, gambling, fancy dress, dances, neighborhood bars, debauches, [and] carnival." For my purposes, Cabet seemed curious about their family and children's care which held implications for the Nauvoo schools and his attitudes towards working-class parents.

[93] Sewell, Work and Revolution, 223-232, 226. Like Cabet's attitudes towards workers' children, Villermé criticized workers' family morals in his 1840 report, Tableau de l'état physique et moral des ouvrieres employés dans les manufactures de coton, de laine et de soie (Paris: 1840).

Under Cabet's reason-inspired guidance, the Icarian school system was set up to produce rational beings who practiced fraternity shorn of inappropriate familial sentiment in accord with his utopian product. Cabet would be the paternal creator of perfect Icarians. Thus, he set out to exclude the first generation of mothers from the upbringing of their 'weaned' children. After their small child entered the nursery, mothers were expected to meekly resume workshop labors. This shift may have motivated complaints about the children's treatment which in turn, pressured Assembly men to prove that they were well cared for. Two school Commissions were delegated to visit and give periodic reports on the schools and the childrens' progress to the Gérant.[94] They were instructed to "verify" the lodging, sleep, clothing, nourishment, exercise, work, and promenades. They asked students questions in the presence of their instructors. Were they practicing fraternity? Did they watch, aid, and care for their younger students? Did they have the habits of silence, docility, and respect towards teachers? The Colony doctor was also to check on the sanitary state.[95] The commisions had no authority over the instructors or the children and were to report the "facts" to the Gérant who would direct or censure the instructors. The students rapid "intellectual progress" was "astonishing," according to the Report. Their conduct, "save for rare exceptions," was "irreproachable." The rooms and clothing were clean, and there was an "abundance of toys" and "amusements" for the little ones. The commission's published report ended with the reminder that taking care of the children

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[94] Le Populaire, March 3, 1850. "Commission spéciales pour visiter les ecoles." The (first ?) report was presented on December 22, 1849 by Citoyennes Busque, Chartre, and Marinelli for the girls and by Citoyens Montaldo, Roux, and Blaise for the boys.

[95] Ibid. Dr. Taxil examined the children for the first report. He left during the cholera epidemic in the fall of 1850.

"lightened the mother's" load so she could "be useful for other work, and especially be in perfect harmony with our plan of Icarian education."[96] Nothing seemed amiss.

On the other hand, the cluster of children who died from cholera in late 1850 was a stark reminder that bacterial contamination spread rapidly among crowds of youngsters during epidemics. If their child died while under the school caretakers' supervision, mothers experienced added sorrow, especially if they had regretted leaving them there or were not allowed to comfort them during their sickness. Nonetheless, the system was in place from 1849 until 1856. It is difficult to determine exact parental attitudes beyond the filters of Cabet's and the hostile dissidents' reports.

One of Cabet's most striking comments about the level of opposition to his school system by mothers in the Community followed his 1855 declaration of

> . . . devotion for the young girls and boys, as if they were my own children. I love them better than you, because I love them all so much. Perhaps, that is because my love is more enlightened and capable of rendering them happy. But, **if all the mothers are against me in everything**, if they talk among themselves about the smallest detail of my education system, which was made in order to remove children from the **blindness of maternal love,** then I do not want to have the responsibility for our schools.[97]

Cabet's written perception that "all the mothers are against me in everything" provides overwhelming evidence that mothers were never rendered powerless. They talked about the "smallest detail" of his system, and their criticism was inflated to the extent that Cabet believed they were "against" him in "everything."[98] With his own pen, Cabet verified his

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[96] Ibid.

[97] Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 225. (This was sent to Paris on December 3, 1855 and published in January 1856). My emphasis. This lovingly-motivated threat appeared near the end of the document with his reasons for needing dictator powers. Rule number 6 was captioned, the "means to cover my moral responsiblity."

[98] Ibid.

failure to crush the "blindness of maternal love" that interferred with his education goals.

All Icarian mothers, of course, did not readily consign their children to his system. Some were able to convince their husbands to leave. Several reports confirm family defections due solely to the system of schooling. As already noted, these family separations were listed among the collective charges published by dissidents. As late as October 1854, Cabet noted that a family was leaving because the mother did not want to be 'separated' from her children.[99] When the Lacour family arrived in 1855, they placed their two daughters in the girls school. Lacour observed that "contrary to that announced in the Voyage en Icarie, the children were separated from their parents and submitted to a regime of internat (boarding school)." Lacour's reflections point out that those who came did not always understand the firm rules on overnight separation in their education plan. Lacour argued that in the Nauvoo schools, "they have carried the communist system too far."[100] They took their two girls out and left after three months.

Thus, in a strange admixture of reformist, humanitarian motives, Cabet offered new mothers a tempting release from exhausting workshop labors and provided shelter for them to watch over and nurse their babies for two years. In exchange, mothers surrendered to him the exclusive right to direct the full-time upbringing of their offspring from then on.[101] When the Party war battles erupted in 1856, the disparaged "ignorant and

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[99] Colonie Icarienne, October 4, 1854.

[100] Crétinon and Lacour, "Allons en Icarie," 56-7, 46, 51. They were among the 58 who left Le Havre in January 1855 and arrived on April 14 after experiencing "party divisions" aboard ship. They lost some of the immigrants at New Orleans because of these quarrels.

[101] George D. Sussman, Selling Mother's Milk: The Wet-Nursing Business in France 1715-1914 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 103-4. The 1840 study by

obstinate" mothers who were "against" him in "everything" emerged from their underground trenches.

Villermé concluded that mothers could "make a lot more money working in silk shops than raising the children themselves." Thus, they sent them to wet-nurses who charged low fees. Another report in 1847 (by Devillier) noted that it was the "well-to-do" who nursed their infants. Thus, it could be argued that the 2-year nursing period was viewed as a class privilege.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

GUERRE A MORT

After fifty years, the perfected social organization in the Voyage utopia had eliminated illicit sex, the quintessential moral vice.[1] All in Icaria were married and faithful. But when Cabet began setting up the model Icaria in 1847, he compromised his marriage requirement and permitted bachelors to enter the Colony in order to attract young, vigorous working men. They in turn, agreed to marry as soon as possible. Since its inception, however, bachelors outnumbered married men nearly two to one. When couples in Nauvoo married, they had a festive celebration with a banquet, toasts, and dancing.[2] The bachelors on the sidelines had not refused to marry, but there were never very many unattached girls in the Colony. Young, single women rarely ventured across the ocean on

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[1] Voyage, 140-3.

[2] "Mariages en Icarie. Extrait d'une lettre de P. Bourg à d'intimes amis." January 7, 1850 CIS SIUE. Bourg's letter noted 5 marriages: Lecouteux with Victorine Petit - Savarian with Caroline Mazarin - Busque with widow Maria Lorieul - Montaldo with Celina Pigny - Labrunerie with Emilie Réville. A Nauvoo notable performed the ceremony before the Icarians dressed in their departure uniforms. Then, the "grand Patriarch" had them take their solemn engagements to respect their union and to have the "grand Community adopt in advance the fruits of these little ones." They had marriages of "love, each spouse chose the other . . . without having as an object of choice a dowry, nor pretensions, nor birth, nor social positions." "Affreuse misere resultat d'un horrible esclavage en Icarie," June 12, 1850 CIS SIUE folder 9-10. Three marriages were celebrated: Alexis Marchand with Laurenée Martin - Bira with Pauline Guillet - and Moquet with Josephine Lemeure. Colonie Icarienne, August 23, 1854. There were 5 marriages in the last six months. Colonie Icarienne, December 21, 1854. Two people asked to marry but Favard invoked the Assembly decision of April 27 (n.d. ~ 1854) which was made to stop marriages during the noviciat. Cabet interceded because the couple had paid their full apport and were going to be married back in France. The decision was postponed till the next meeting and they then agreed to allow them to marry. This suggests that the free apport for young women had resulted in quick proposals. Other weddings are scattered in letters and news accounts. Weddings were not tabulated separately in the membership records and these items reflect my brief sampling of them.

their own. Even if a working girl wanted to go to Icaria, she was paid such low wages that it was nearly impossible to accumulate the apport, which amounted to as much as a year's income. Thus, the Colony lacked a pool of single girls to supply the men with wives. Like other disheartened bachelors, Arnaud said he was leaving because "he wants to marry and there was no one to marry in the Colony."[3] Cabet did not advocate romantic trysts with neighboring American girls, so whom could the young men marry?[4] And when? Complaints arose regarding this social deficit in 1854, and the Assembly approved a plan to overcome the shortage of brides.

On July 19, 1854, an item in the newspaper revealed that the Assembly voters had acted to solve the Colony's bachelor problem: "In our desire to facilitate the admission and the marriage of young Icariennes who possess the appropriate qualities but not the fortune, and to facilitate the marriage of the present young Icariens in the Colony, we have decided that young Icariennes over age sixteen can be admitted without their complete apport and with only their trousseau and bedding."[5] Thus, after five years of accumulating bachelors, the Assembly had inaugurated a promotion to bring young girls with good moral habits to Icaria by waiving apport costs.[6] The regular apports were also reduced by

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[3] Colonie Icarienne, October 4, 1854. This was three months after the apport was waived for girls over 16. Arnaud, it appears, did not wait to see if girls might come.

[4] Voyage, 219. Icarians could not marry foreigners. (Carisdall had to obtain a dispensation.)

[5] Colonie Icarienne, July 19, 1854. The account added that the young women could not give anyone else funds that they might have, nor transfer amounts that they saved to someone else, but must put whatever they had into the common fund. They should not hide any possessions. They should not bring toilette items or luxuries.

[6] Prospectus for Colonie Icarienne, CIS SIUE, 25. This was decided on July 12, 1854.

100 francs. With a minimum of preparatory exchanges and travel arrangements, the prospective charity brides knew that anxious bachelors awaited them overseas.[7]

Clarisse Descombes was in the first group allowed to take advantage of the new opportunity.[8] At a November 1854 Assembly, the members were engaged in deciding who among the 51 new arrivals had met the monetary and trousseau criteria. A question was raised as to whether they could apply the newly legislated apport "reduction" to anyone with incomplete apport who arrived before 1855. Favard responded that he felt it should be applied "immediately." Cabet applauded this decision. Clarisse Descombes was able to "invoke the law," although she had part of her apport. Others who had an apport that was "in kind" or complete were also admitted. Among them were demoiselles Charpentier, Lanfroy, and Sablier (2 sisters). A German widow came with four young daughters ranging in age from age fifteen to nineteen, all of whom boosted considerably the tally of young marriageable girls in the Colony.[9]

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[7] Cabet to Beluze, August 4, 1853 CIS SIUE folder 7. A year before the July 1854 "free" ruling for girls over 16, a list of six associates had proposed a "project of collection" in Paris to help pay apport to aid those who wished to go to the Colony. (Glatigny's name was one of them.) Even with "free" apport, women had to have trousseaus, bed, and travel costs.

[8] Colonie Icarienne, September 20, 1854. A Mademoiselle Descombes age 42 was listed among those leaving Le Havre in August 1854. Cabet to Beluze, April 26, 1853 CIS SIUE folder 5. Cabet wrote that the "Vve Descombes and her two daughters have not shown up. Perhaps they were detoured by the dissidents." Gontier and Gontier, Partons, 203-6. The Gontiers found that "eight days after the arrival of Louise Descombes, Favard asked to be engaged to her." The Gontiers' added that this was while Cabet was in Europe and they awaited his return to marry which is incorrect according to the 1853 letter. Marie-Virginie Descombes married Alexis Marchand and their son Armel was born on April 27, 1854. The Descombes' woman in the December 1854 report may have been a relative or the girls' mother (detoured by the dissidents?).

[9] Colonie Icarienne, November 29, 1854. I can not determine if the other girls were allowed to waive the apport. Other newcomers were Mercadier of Toulouse who was in

The response to Icaria's bride-finding incentives did not please Cabet for very long. The excited atmosphere over the girls' arrivals, romantic affairs, and weddings, disturbed him. On June 26, 1855, less than a year after waiving the apport for poor girls, Cabet wrote Beluze telling him that if he had put out another circular "in favor of young girls, I am against it, because these young girls are an enormous charge for the Community."[10] Not only were they a 'charge' at a time when Cabet wanted to accumulate funds for his Iowa expansion, but several sex scandals had been reported.[11] Cabet wrote Beluze to stop recruiting single men and women altogether. Only "young, married men with their wives were welcome."[12] Whether the Colony bachelors were informed about Cabet's follow-up directives to Beluze cutting off the supply of unmarried girls, is hard to determine, but the

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charge of writing the voyage journal for the 51. The Roine family came with six children. A widow Loeber, wife of a protestant minister, had come recently from Germany with her four daughters age 21, 19, 18, and 15, and two other girls age 10 and 7 and a 5 year old boy. (November 18 Assembly). Colonie Icarienne, December 13, 1854. The widow Loeber did not have the full apport "only the créances (debts) and hopes." Some opposition was manifested. Colonie Icarienne, December 21, 1854. Mercadier's wife had refused to board ship with her husband at Le Havre. Later, she wrote to her husband that she had changed her mind, asked his pardon, and agreed to go to Nauvoo.

[10] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 321n1. After Cabet's illness in December 1854, the newspaper ended. Records that would help to determine how many girls over age 16 took advantage of this offer during 1855 are incomplete. Cabet's correspondence declined that year.

[11] Colonie Icarienne, July 19, 1854, August 2, 1854, August 16, 1854. Cabet was upset about the advent of Considerant's Texas Colony, La Réunion and about the reappearance of Gouhenant (the Cross-timber's 'traitor' driven out in 1848). Considerant hoped to get 4 million dollars for his project. (Cabet wrote "If I had $500,000" at this time.) This competitor very likely prompted Cabet to renew the debates over the Fourierist - Icarian doctrines.

[12] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 321n1. The letter was written on March 20, 1855. Sutton, Les Icariens, 81-2.

fears about passionate conduct loomed large that year.[13]

Overall, Cabet avoided drawing public attention to rumors about sexual liaisons for he wanted to safeguard the respectable aura that his system was designed to foster. Nonetheless, in order to eliminate scandalous intrigues, Cabet expelled troublesome women and their accomplices who thought they could "court" with abandon and "establish illicit liaisons" in the Colony.[14]

Several incidents illustrate the moral guardianship that was taken by the Assembly in these cases. One involved a woman who was separated from her husband back in France when she came to the Colony. Once there, she became pregnant.[15] In January 1855, the Assembly expelled her (femme C) and her partner (E.G.) but they voted to retain the care of the couples' blind child.[16] Information about another illicit sex violation between two women was introduced before the Assembly for censure. The visual testimony of witnesses regarding the improper positions of the two women's hands on each others bodies gave rise to the charge that they were engaged in a delit de fornication. Cabet declared that the witnessess' evidence was insufficient and the two women were

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[13] If word about Cabet's orders to Beluze to only recruit married people was leaked out by one of the secretaries that he dictated his letters to, then it could be considered a factor in the anger leveled against him in December 1855. The bachelors would be without partners again.

[14] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 339n1. Cabet told Holynski this in an interview. This confirms that Cabet did not want any unguarded, flirtatious exchanges which would inevitably follow from the recruitment of potential brides.

[15] Sutton, Les Icariens, 81.

[16] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 339-42. This H.C. was very likely the Camus blind boy that they tried to place in a blind institution.

pronounced not guilty.[17]

Keeping track of one another's moral violations was a formidable chore as the Colony membership expanded to nearly 500 in 1854.[18] Supervising the activity of so many people was a challenging task. Not only morals, but the Colony's material conditions were troubling Cabet when he asked the Assembly to give him more authority to direct their affairs. He wanted firmer control over the selection of men placed in vital areas, like Iowa. Likewise, he wanted to be able to name the "directors of workshops or the administrators who dealt with their finances, like the mill, distillery, manufactures, and farms."[19] He would not change the 'ordinary' workshop situation where he confirmed or rejected directors that the workers elected. Women were allowed to meet and submit two names to Cabet for their 'ordinary' (social product) shop directors, and then, he would appoint one.[20] Cabet had separate categories for 'income' shops and 'ordinary' shops. Women's workplaces were in the non-income classification. Thus, it was men employed in profitable enterprises who would be demoted and most affected by Cabet's bid to take back their elective rights.

In order to enlist support for his reforms, Cabet appealed to the Icarian's

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17 Ibid., 342-3. Some Icarians wanted them expelled.

18 Teakle, "History and Constitution," 268. The "Reporting of offenses" section included article 171 and 172 making it the "duty of each citizen to make known, in the interest of the Community, the offenses committed against it" and the "duty" of the "Board of Managers to investigate offenses and demand against the offenders the execution of the laws."

19 Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 229.

20 Colonie Icarienne, November 1, 1854. This process was described in the replacement of a pregnant lingerie director, Citoyenne Lefebvre.

compassion for his physical suffering. He recalled that

> Following all the fatigues and agitations at the end of a long explanation on my part in the general Assembly last December, that you have not forgotten, I was frappe (stricken) by an attack of paralysis which thanks to the care of our Doctor, did not stop me from going out the next morning, so as not to worry you. Since then, my eyes do not have the same strength to read, nor do my hands have the dexterity to write. I am, in some ways, sick and suffering.[21]

Cabet's illness in December 1854 was very likely a transient stroke.[22] It is difficult to understand why he felt that an appeal to their concern for his partial paralysis would encourage approval for his reforms. His initial effort to hide this disability also points out that his declining vigor worried members (and sheds light on an article in the paper about what would happen to Icaria if he died).[23]

In light of this medical information, Cabet's health must be considered as one of the critical elements in his panic-stricken writings and un-Icarian episodes during 1856.[24] His physical impairments surely had an impact on his irascible behavior. Some angry partisans

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[21] Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 221. This document was dated December 3, 1855, but sent to France and published in Paris, January, 1856.

[22] Ibid. The report was dated December 3, 1855, and his stroke was in December 1854. Cabet to ma chere femme et ma chere fille, Novermber 30, 1852, Cabet to Celine, October11, 1853, CIS SIUE. Both letters note Cabet's eyesight problems. In 1853, he said he was seeing better and thanked them for making him warm clothes for the winter.

[23] Colonie Icarienne, October 11, 1854. The article was captioned, "Icarie survivra-t-elle a son Fondateur?" This question was "addressed by Albrecht and by Emile" in their letters and "by many others." Cabet answered "yes" and cited the supportive letters sent him in France during his 14 month absence and the colonists "reason, and devotion to the cause of the people." Emile was very likely Emile Baxter who was exchanging letters with Cabet about joining the Colony.

[24] Palmer, "The Community at Work," 202. Palmer observed that after the stroke, "Whether, now sixty-seven years old, he began to sense that time was running out, or whether his mental and emotional balance were indeed disturbed by his physical condition, in the months that followed Cabet became increasingly unable to put the welfare and needs of the Community ahead of his own ego and personal demands."

even derided him as a vieil enragé (mad old man).[25] But Cabet's health did improve in 1855, and he traveled to Iowa in the fall, a trip that took six days. It was his first glimpse of the new Colony that had been in the building stages for three years.[26] The Iowans were not only working on farm buildings but they were constructing separate cabins to house individual families in the future. Before he left Nauvoo, Cabet wrote Céline about the lingering pain in his eyes and the lack of flexibility in his fingers. He "regretted" that he was so far from his family, but added stoically that one must, "have courage, infirmities come to each of us in our old age: it is the order of nature."[27]Nonetheless, neither consideration for his 'infirmities' nor his 'reproaches' to the opposition, won support for his reforms. His animosity towards the men of the opposition Party became more spiteful and irrational. Women who disagreed with him and sided with the Party were no less despised.

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[25] Cabet, Guerre à mort de l'opposition contre le Cit. Cabet, Fondateur et Président d'Icarie, et mémorable séance de la nuit du 12 au 13 mai 1856 de 7 1/2 du soir à 6 du matin. (Nauvoo: Typographie Icarienne, 1856) ACIS, 39, 5. This was Montaldo's term on May 13, 1856. When one of the dissidents left, his "comrades" called after him, "You are acting with stupid despair! He (Cabet) will not live forever!" Vallet, Icarian Communist, 35. Vallet recalled that when Jean Baptist Gérard challenged Cabet for the presidency position, he had "never expected so much audacity and became raving mad. He kept the assembly three days together trying to influence the bashful, the old, the women by threatening to leave, to abandon them."

[26] Cabet to Céline, October 15, 1855, CIS SIUE folder 7. After assuring his wife and daughter that his health was stronger, he told them he was making a trip to Iowa that took six days. He would stay six days and then return, eighteen days in all (returning then around the first week in November). He was busy and the fall weather was "magnificent." Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 165. After noting his visit to Iowa, he added that he was soliciting Congress for about 100,000 acres. He hoped to obtain a concession, a sale, or find credit for it.

[27] Cabet to Céline, October 15, 1855, CIS SIUE folder 7. There are no full letters in Cabet's handwriting from 1855 on. The ones to his wife and daughter have very jerky signatures.

In his report on the situation at the end of 1855, Cabet ventured that if he had the freedom to control Colony affairs reinforced by a commission of policing personnel with expulsion powers, then all Icarians would "march together toward the success and triumph of the Community."[28] (This contradicted the Voyage which had no police.) If they did not approve his Constitutional reforms, then he would "retire next February [1856]" and they would be "left to take care of themselves."[29]

> I am too useful for the mass to think about separating from me, and I am too devoted to separate from them.
>
> I want to accomplish my mission, to achieve the foundation of Icaria, to rally the mass around the flag of Community, to defend our women and our children, our old and our infirm, our widows, and our orphans. If the majority are firm and energetic in union with me, my fatigues will diminish, my health will be strengthened, I will be happier with you, and I will live for a long time to guarantee and consolidate Icaria.[30]

After this assurance that everything would improve, even his health, if his demands were met, Cabet added, "Listen well. We must be in accord, here are my conditions."[31] In the next ten pages, he defined eight reform conditions. Although he backed them up with numerous details, in brief they were: 1) The Party must stop fighting him, or they must leave. If not, they will have an exclusion pronounced against them; 2) The Majority must take an engagement to be firm in pronouncing any necessary exclusions; 3) Women must also support him so he can defend them and protect their children; 4) Everyone will have to take a new engagement and promise to fill all their conditions, principles, regulations,

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28 Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 230.

29 Ibid., 221.

30 Ibid., 222.

31 Ibid.

and try to be better Icariennes, without repugnance or hesitation; 5) He must have all the means at his disposal to cover his moral and material responsibilities, for "It is me whom all the world accuses for Icaria's lack of success;" 6) More than the material responsibilities, "perhaps," all must be in accord with him about their moral responsibilities. Then, they will be happy, moral people, the masses will join us, and Icaria will regenerate Humanity; 7) He can not be paralyzed in his propaganda and correspondence work. He can not afford to lose time by intervening in their quarrels; 8) He wants "grave modifications" in the Constitution to have more authority - authority like the US President. He would not have changed the original 10-year Gérant to the multiple Gérances if they had not sworn to follow his directions when he was gone. He wanted to set up a new Commission that would execute the laws, regulations, and oversee their decency, order, health, and economy.

These changes were presented to the Assembly on December 15, 1855.[32] A clause in their Constitution only permitted it to be changed during odd numbered years and the next possible date was 1857.[33] The Assembly rejected his Constitutional proposals at their next meeting. On the evening of December 21, five opposition leaders marched around the refectory singing the Marseillaise and proclaiming, the "bloody flag of tyranny is raised against us."[34] Months of political and physical fighting followed this bid for power.

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[32] Cabet, Guerre à mort, 45-6.

[33] Sutton, Les Icariens, 87-8. The next date to revise the Constitution would be March 1857.

[34] Ibid., 88. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 377, 381. Five persons including Marchand and Mousseron were in the troupe. They held consecutive meetings on December 23, 24, 25, and 29 which indicated the serious concerns raised by Cabet's proposals.

While the focus of Cabet's rancor was directed at the Party men, in his opinion, women continued to be the "worst obstacles" to the Colony's success.[35] They were the foil for his moral condemnations of the opposition's 'ring-leaders.' He had suppressed a number of reports about members' 'moral' transgressions, for hearsay evidence and denials were hard to manage.[36] However, in the Spring of 1856, Cabet could no longer endure his detractors maligned talk about him. Their "cruel outrages authorize me to say everything."[37]

And so Cabet proceeded to publish scraps of blackmail to suit his political ends. His most striking character assassination was the case he presented against Eugéne Mourot: Le Cit. Mourot n'a-t-il pas une mission en Icarie? This exposé was written on June 27, 1856 after a series of violent Assembly conflicts had split the Colony.[38] Cabet saw Mourot as a Party leader who wanted to "make a Revolution."[39] He conceded that Mourot was a well-liked young man, for he "spoke easily, better than most of his comrades." He was "tall, strong, robust, audacious" and many times "abandoned himself to violence

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35 Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 202.

36 Rancière, Nights of Labor, 399. Rancière refers to Cabet's work in preparing his exposés as the "sleepless nights of a despot seeking to amass dossiers and reports on his opponents."

37 Cabet, Guerre à mort, 48-9. Newspaper issues they resented were numbers 5 to 10.

38 Rancière, Nights of Labor, 394, 394n89. Mourot was a "glover" and "reader of the anarchistic Proudhon." Martin Nadaud said that Mourot was "always ready to outdo the master in using words beyond the understanding of the workers."

39 Cabet, Le Cit. Mourot n'a-t-il pas une mission en Icarie? (Nauvoo: Typographie Icarienne, 1856) ACIS, 4.

where he always had the advantage." Although Mourot was "vehement in his insolence," he was "superior to his comrades in general, and exercised a great influence on them."[40] Cabet's characterizations of Mourot portray an affable man whose speaking "influence" over the Icarians posed a serious challenge to him.

Mourot came to the Colony in February 1852 during Cabet's absence in Europe and was soon elected to administrative office. Cabet had known Mourot in 1848 when he headed a club and visited him at his Paris office.[41] He was a barricade fighter whose father was killed in the June days.[42] The crux of Cabet's exposé stemmed from a rumor that Mourot had given the order to shoot General Bréa, a protected peace emissary during the June fighting. Cabet presented details about his suspicion that at Mourot's trial, the two women who testified in his defense were liars.[43] ". . . the depositions of the two women are unbelievable; it is nearly impossible to believe that they are true, and I cannot." One of the women who lied was Mourot's wife. She, as Cabet believed women do, lied to protect her husband. Likewise, her woman-friend also lied for she said the weapon used by a man named Daix was a SABRE which, according to Cabet was wrong. The General was killed with a EPÉE (sword).[44] Their "lying" testimony freed Mourot. Cabet summed up his

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[40] Ibid., 3, 4.

[41] Ibid., 3-15.

[42] Shaw, Icaria, 162. Shaw characterized Mourot in 1884 as a man of "energy and practical ability." He stayed on with the group in Nauvoo that moved to Iowa and eventually went to Icaria-Speranza in California.

[43] Cabet, Le Cit. Mourot, 3-15. .

[44] Ibid., 13. A man named Daix was convicted. The other woman was femme Pichenot who gave Daix some soup and wine. Daix told her he killed the General with a sabre. Cabet consulted Léonard Gallois's history report of the Revolution about the

"most grave suspicion" by suggesting that "it is possible that Mourot ordered the murder." Then he called upon Mourot to "justify yourself."[45]

What was at stake in this pamphlet was the "well-liked" Mourot's threat to Cabet's leadership. In order to ruin Mourot's moral reputation by making him out as a traitor to the working class, it was necessary for readers to reject the testimony of self-interested women.[46] This attack was a form of revenge for the ridicule heaped on Cabet after three (unsigned) letters to the Courrier des États-Unis were published on February 6, May 4, and May 12, 1856. The letters informed the public about the Assembly opposition to Cabet's December 15 propositions. The first letter gave a head count of those for and against Cabet and the second one described the party members' characteristics:

> The situation was critical: the Colony was divided into two equal camps. The one headed by M. Cabet was composed of a large party of elderly and men with large families who took his side out of fear. The other side was composed of a large party of young, robust men, workers without charge, and independents.[47]

Only someone who was there could have known these divisions. The February 4 letter described the tumult over the nomination of a new president, Jean Baptiste Gérard on February 3.[48] When Cabet withdrew his proposal to revise the Constitution, Gérard resigned and they held another election which restored Cabet as Gérant.[49] The letters

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General's death "on page 137" and found he was killed by a epée, therefore the Pichenot woman was a liar.

[45] Ibid., 3-15. Ranciére, Nights of Labor, 394.

[46] Cabet, Guerre à mort, 53. Mourot's wife may have been insulted to learn that she (and her friend) were liars. Mourot was not only the "most hostile, and violent" toward Cabet on the night of May 12, 1856, but he was elected as one of his three "jailers" determined to guard his comings and goings thereafter.

[47] Ibid., 58.

[48] Sutton, Les Icariens, 90.

mocked him as a new Louis-Napoleon who had executed a

> coup d'État, a tragic finish: . . . after he had come so far, he was forced to move back - What will become now, in effect, of his moral influence! How can he attack his opponents? How will he be able to exclude them? What will be the effect of his threats? What is his strength?[50]

These letters brought public ridicule on Cabet and began a "guerre à mort against me."[51] In addition, every since the emigration had begun, he suspected that "the police had secret agents working among us." They must be "laughing" at the extent of our "gullibility," he wrote, intimating that Mourot was a spy. "If my suspicions are founded, it shows that the Police could hardly have made a better choice."[52] Cabet had no evidence to support his spy accusation save his conjectures surrounding the Bréa rumor.

Dredging up these charges underscores the extent of Mourot's popularity. Cabet's history of character assaults against earlier adversaries like Dézamy, had usually secured him a position in the moral high ground, but this time, he failed to win over Mourot's followers. Cabet's replay of this well-worn battle tactic was too implausible. The day before he composed this exposé, Cabet had finished the lengthy Guerre à mort document which had additional bits of slander against him. In it, he called Mourot "debauched, a sensualist with a passion for billards," and a "revolutionary" who organized "secret societies" and caused "insurrections." Furthermore, Cabet had heard reports that during the boat trip from France four years earlier, Mourot had "succombed to an adulterous

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49 Palmer, "Community at Work," 22. Shaw, Icaria, 56.

50 Cabet, Guerre à mort, 57-59.

51 Ibid., 60.

52 Cabet, Le Cit. Mourot, 3-15.

passion."[53] Mourot's apport for the trip was paid by P. . . who entrusted him with the care of Eugenie "who was being brought not for you, but for P. . ." Mourot not only lacked apport, but he did not repay the kindness of his wealthier benefactor. Cabet added that afterwards, P. . . and Eugenie returned to France to get away from him. Mourot had forced their departure, he argued. Then, Cabet retaliated in kind as he asked how dare Mourot accuse him of being the reason for a "large number" of withdrawals when he had caused P. . . and Eugenie to leave under these conditions. The moral scope of Mourot's actions was inherently un-Icarian.

But Cabet did not stop with Mourot, he pursued his battle against six other "ringleaders."[54] During the fierce arguments in their Assembly, the opposition men had called Cabet a demagogue, an ambitious despot, a dictator, a tyrant like Czar Nicholas or Charles X. They also said he was a criminal, a liar, a toad, a Papa, a mad old man, and asked him to resign.[55] After indignantly recalling these Party name-calling bouts in the February and May Assemblies, Cabet set out to expose each of the ringleaders' moral violations replete with inklings of Jesuit and police spy connections. Some women were so upset during these wild sessions that they reportedly fainted. Regardless, women provided the moral fuel Cabet used to illuminate the men's transgressions.[56]

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[53] Cabet, Guerre à mort, 53-7.

[54] Ibid., 63. They were 7 "liars" and "ringleaders." Sutton, Les Icariens, 91. Rancière, Nights of Labor, 394.

[55] Cabet, Guerre à mort, 10, 22, 25, 28, 32, 33, 37. The name-calling worsened in May.

[56] Ibid., 8. Fainting women (how many?) may have been caused by illness, but surely reflects the tense atmosphere at the long meetings.

He even attacked Jules Prudent. The Colony had few men as loyal. Prudent was a former Paris jeweler who followed Cabet to Nauvoo in 1849 and was trusted to take charge of the Colony while he was in France. However, Prudent opposed Cabet's April 1850 restitution law that deprived pioneers of reimbursements if they withdrew.[57] At the February 2 Assembly, Prudent would not vote for Cabet because "he did not represent Democracy for him." On the contrary, he said Cabet's rule "was more like absolutism."[58] And on February 3, Prudent left the Assembly in a violent state claiming that Gérard's reversal on the Presidency election was against the Constitution. Fifty-five others followed him.[59] Cabet claimed that it was not he, but Prudent, who was "in violation of the Constitution and its laws."[60]

A week later, on February 17, fifty-seven Icarians left the Colony for good, which meant that a considerable amount of restitution money had to be returned.[61] In the past two years, several large sums totaling $4,100 (20,500 francs) were sent to Iowa, depleting the cash on hand.[62] A week after the fifty-seven had announced they were leaving, Prudent

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57 Colonie Icarienne, October 4, 1854. Prudent's wife (age 41) had died in 1853 of hydropique. They had no children.

58 Cabet, Guerre à mort, 50-1.

59 Sutton, Les Icariens, 90. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 372-3. Many of the 57 who left were provisional members from the 84 who arrived November 23, 1855 (80 provisional). This exodus undoubtedly touched off the arguments about who was responsible for driving members out, Cabet or his opponents.

60 Cabet, Guerre à mort, 50.

61 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 385.

62 Cabet to Beluze, March 1, 1854 CIS SIUE. Mourot was sent to Iowa in March with $1,000 (5,000 francs) to "buy that land." This "pleased our friends" and "animated their ardor to work." Cabet to Beluze, April 4, 1854 CIS SIUE. Cabet wrote they

initiated a proposal that they set up a Commission des Comptes to investigate the Colony's financial state.[63] Three days later, the Commission was renamed the Rapport de la Commission de Surveillance et de Vérification des comptes.[64] On March 28, 1856, the Assembly appointed another six member commission headed by Katz to take over publication of the Revue Icarienne press.[65] The finance Commission asked Cabet to turn over his financial records.[66] The accounts pointed to a discrepancy of 38,123 francs ($7,625) between the funds collected and those sent to the Colony.[67] The Commission

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"dispensed $1,300" to Iowa. Colonie Icarienne, December 21, 1854. Cabet sent Mourot and Jonveaux on horseback with $1,800 (9,600 francs) to "buy the land in question" in the winter. (This figure was repeated in a letter to Beluze written on December 12, 1854.) More may have been sent during 1855, but the letter writing declined after Cabet's small stroke and I have not found records of more money being sent. When Cabet traveled to Iowa in the fall of 1855, he may have taken some funds.

63 Rapport de la Commission de surveillance et de vérification des comptes a l'Assemblee générale de la Communauté Icarienne, March12, 1856, ACIS. The committee was set up on February 23, 1856. This report was given to Cabet on April 12, 1856 and he responded with his "Protestation," April 12, 1856. Cabet, "Observations et réponses du fondateur d'Icarie," March 28, 1856. Sutton, Les Icariens, 91. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 391-4.

64 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 391.

65 Sutton, Les Icariens, 91. Palmer, "Community at Work," 211. The Assembly passed a measure on March 17, "requiring their approval of all materials printed at the Community's expense, in the Community's printshop." They set up guidelines intended to prevent Cabet from "personalizing or skewing the issues."

66 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 391, 391n1. A few days later they announced their intention of bringing his work under the control of the office in Nauvoo.

67 Ibid., 391-2, 392n1. There are 32 pages on these financial reports, charges and countercharges. Gérard, Rapport de la Commission de surveillance et de vérification des comptes, March 12, 1856. "Proposition du Ctn Mourot a l'Assemblée Générale," March 28, 1856. Cabet, "Quelques observations sur cette propositon" and Cabet, Toute la Verite May 3, 1856. ACIS.

proposed that they close the Paris office to reduce costs.[68]

After Beluze was questioned about the Paris Bureau expenditures on June 9, 1856, he sent a report on the Paris office outlays and the Cabet family upkeep. He also pointed out the "ruinous expenses" acquired by Cabet during the fourteen months when he was in England and France in 1851-52.[69] Cabet always lived very frugally himself, but would risk all to print and publicize information to promote his system. Many questions about Icarian finances remain. Did they recover part or all of the $80,000 (400,000 franc) caution money deposited for the new journal, Le Republicain when it was shut down after Louis-Napoleon's coup d'État? What legal expenses were incurred for Cabet's trial? And six months later, to hide him and then gain his release from Bicêtre prison? The Nauvoo finance Commission was understandably upset when they learned about the Colony deficit, and Beluze resented the impression that he mishandled funds, for Cabet was the one who ran up "ruinous" expenses.

Thus, in his Guerre à mort anecdotes, Cabet charged Prudent with being the head of this "secret, occult" movement to close the Paris office and tried to link him with his suspicions about Jesuit agents.[70] The consolidation of the Colony headquarters in Nauvoo

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[68] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 391-2, 392n1.

[69] Ibid., 393, 393n1. Prudhommeaux did not comment on the cautionnement fee, but offered approximate figures for Mme Cabet and Céline's upkeep at about 3,000 francs per year. Prudhommeaux had personal interviews with Beluze who produced an "original document on these accounts. Court costs, travel expenses, lodging, etc. were never added up for this period by Cabet in any of his voluminous records.

[70] Cabet, Guerre à mort, 51. This was based on a flimsy suspicion that since Prudent's August 10 (n.d) letter about others who were agents or in the pay of Jesuits, "You will not be pleased then, if I treat you as you have treated the others and myself." Revenge.

would provide direct control over future admissions at the site, but it would displace Mme Cabet, Céline, and Beluze.[71] Nonetheless, on April 22, the Assembly proposed they close the Paris office and have the accounts sent to Nauvoo. Cabet protested this in Toute le vérité (All the truth) on May 3 and presented details about his wife and daughters' years of dedicated work for the Society. Their lives were filled with anguish and their health had prevented them from taking the "perilous voyage" to the Colony. It would be a monstrous "ingratitude" to end the "parallel services" in Paris. Favard proposed a pension for them. Cabet asserted that they would rather "starve or beg than have to receive a widow's mite."[72]

Madame Cabet had access to some of these disturbing exchanges which passed through the Paris office. On March 10, 1856, Cabet sent her a "21 to 40 page account" that was "to be printed" and very likely held some clues to their problems.[73] Two weeks later (~ March 29, 1856), in an unusual act of independence and desperation, she and Céline wrote a letter to Pierre Roiné in the Colony seeking information about her husband.[74] Mme Cabet began by reminding the Roinés that

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[71] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 393. They would be in "misery." Mourot, "Proposition du ctn Mourot a l'Assemblée générale," March 28, 1856. ACIS. Sutton, Les Icariens, 91. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 392, 392n1.

[72] Toute le vérité, May 3, 1856 ACIS, 24. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 427-9, 427n1-3. On June 9, 1865, after the Assembly voted to close the office, Cabet's faithful sent a collective letter to the Paris bureau. After his death, a pension of 2000 francs per year was formally drawn up for his widow and daughter. 3,600 francs per year was also designated to run the office.

[73] Cabet to Madame C. Favard, March 10, 1856 CIS SIUE folder 3. Exactly what was in the 21 to 40 pages Cabet sent to be printed remains unclear, for there were a number of addresses by Cabet that year.

[74] The Roiné family had entered the Colony in November 1854 with their six children

> . . . infamy and ingratitude are at their highest point. Here is the reward for fifty years of devotion to the cause of the people. Here is also why my poor husband has abandoned us and deprived himself of our care, [and] our caresses which would be so precious at his age.
>
> What we are told daily is true. My poor ladies, your husband and father is wrong to sacrifice himself and you for the People, they don't deserve the trouble. They are tyrants and ungrateful. One day Mr. Cabet will recognize the sad truth which appears to him and of which we are also victims.[75]

The Nauvoo crisis weighed heavily on Mme Cabet and Céline. They rationalized this appalling situation with meaningful religious phrases. The ungrateful dissidents were "Judas." Their evil should have been "cut off at the roots" for now, it "is a lot more serious." However, Mme Cabet had the wrong impression that the Roinés and her husband's faction were the majority, and she urged them to "declare the expulsion of those who hamper your action." Her Paris informants were monitoring the Assembly debates and she "feared that the concession that you just made for your elections will give a new strength to your enemies and will increase their nucleus."

Like the feminst women of her generation, Mme Cabet displayed her internalized belief in the Saint-Simonians' 'difference' definition of woman. She viewed herself as having a greater capacity for loving and healing functions. She pleaded with the Roines to be kind enough to

> encourage Mr. Cabet to come back near us. Enough sacrifices and humiliations, they have him draining the cup to the dregs. At least may he come to finish his days near us who will try through our love, if not to make him forget all the suffering they imposed on him, at least to pour balm on his moral wounds, so painful for him.

They wanted Cabet to end his work in Nauvoo and return to them. After expressing their

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(in the group of 51 headed by Mercadier.)

[75] Céline and Mme Cabet to M.R. Roiné, March 29, 1856 Konesmann file, CIS. My use of this letter was from the translation by Robert P. Sutton, October 11, 1988.

emotional trauma, they inserted key sentences about their personal plight in the last lines of their letter to the Roinés: "we entrust ourselves to your hearts, those of honest men, in order to relieve our sorrows which are crushing us . . . Give us some news about all your family and the condition of my husband's health and at what point is his position."[76] The Cabet women's news sources were unpleasant and contradictory at the end of March 1856. What were they to think about the Colony problems which had not been resolved for months?

The final break came at the end of Assembly discussions on May 12 and May 13. Cabet refused to allow them to close the Paris Bureau. He would "raise heaven and earth" to save Icaria and call upon the Illinois tribunnal to intervene in a dissolution if necessary. The opposition asked Cabet to resign. Bitter exchanges followed and Katz denounced him as a "thief, a crook" for keeping $1,600 (8,000 francs) that they had located in his office which should have been "sent to New Orleans to pay for the travel expenses of the last departure." (57 who quit on February 17).[77] Cabet said the money was given to him by Icarians who changed their mind about entering the Community and wanted him to keep it as "proof of their confidence."[78] The meeting adjourned at 5:30 AM. When they reconvened the next day, they voted to close the Paris Bureau. Cabet called this an "attempted coup d'État."[79] The May Assembly sessions were the "revolutionary" juncture.

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[76] Ibid.

[77] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 396-7.

[78] Ibid., 397, 397n1. No further details about this money appear in Prudhommeaux's account. Those who found this money were very likely indignant about Cabet's money-handling finesse.

[79] Palmer, "Community at Work," 212-3.

The Colony no longer had a Constitution, order, nor laws. There was no further need to "pronounce the dissolution. It had already been done," Cabet wrote. Since they were "in complete Revolution" the two parties each "had returned to their natural rights."[80]

It was just after this revolutionary state was declared that Cabet wrote his June exposé of the Party ring-leaders. After accusing Prudent of heading the faction that wanted to close the Paris office, he turned on Favard. "What a difficult man to know!" he complained. Favard was the brother of Cabet's deceased son-in-law and he was in the second advance guard in 1848. Nonetheless, Favard had charged Cabet with absolutism and demagogy adding "exaggeration after exaggeration" in their recent Assembly sessions. Like Prudent, Cabet accused Favard of forcing hundreds of Icarians to quit the Colony for he wanted to rule the workers with an "iron rod" and created labor difficulties.[81] Cabet went on to list the many times Favard had supported him in the past and "professed his unalterable attachment for him." But Favard had agreed with Prudent and opposed the return of the Presidency to Cabet on February 3. Two weeks later, on February 24, Favard told Cabet that he "was not necessary for the Colony and he could go."[82] (Cabet had threatened to leave in February if his reforms were not met.) At the meeting on May 12, Favard ridiculed him by calling him "Papa" and asked him to resign. Not only that, but

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[80] Cabet, Guerre à mort, 65.

[81] Ibid., 51. This remark points out the difficulty "directors" had managing their workshops. Cabet to Beluze, April 4, 1854. "Bouvier, a cobbler, and Fourmier, a mechanic, were leaving because of the quarrels and jealousies in the workshops." Puilhoux and "some members are going to leave" if we cannot "resolve the problems and resolve the material pleasures. They want to be freer, to live better, and be better directed."

[82] Cabet, Guerre à mort, 51-2.

Favard wanted to replace Cabet with the "ferocious Mourot, Montaldo, and Katz team."[83]

Then, Cabet proceeded to accuse Favard of having "criminal relations with a married woman." After he heard about this, Cabet had confronted Favard who "responded, on his honor, that the rumors were false and calumnious and that he was innocent." Cabet inferred that his denial was a lie because of his ongoing "pitiless chastisement" of a jealous rival.[84] Next on the list was Favard's "rival," Busque, who was sent to Iowa.[85] He was also accused of "being the cause for withdrawals." Busque had constantly voted with the opposition and wanted Cabet to resign.[86] His role as the "rival" of Favard in the criminal relations with a woman, however, situated him in the column with the other 'immoral' ringleaders.

After this exposé, Cabet focused on the "adulterous passion" stories about Mourot that had "brought scandal and trouble" into the Colony. In addition, Mourot had been a prominent spokesman in the Assembly right to privacy debates and protested against Cabet's reading of "secret letters."[87] After a listing of Mourot's vile traits (repeated in the separate pamphlet),[88] Cabet attacked Gérard. Along with Marchand, he had taken

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[83] Ibid., 52.

[84] Ibid., 52. Busque was that "rival." He and Favard held the posts as Directors of Clothing.

[85] Rancière, Nights of Labor, 394. Busque had once been an editor of Le Travail in Lyons.

[86] Cabet, Guerre à mort, 53. Cabet declined to "repeat the surname given to him."

[87] Ibid., 57.

[88] Ibid., 57-60. Cabet printed quotes from these three letters trying to force his point about the unknown author who could have been any one of the men at the Assemblies. Even if the opposition found Cabet's arguments plausible, did they care if Mourot wrote

the "initiative in the war against his proposition and supplanted him on February 2 . . . In concert with Mourot, you asked for the suppression of the Paris Bureau," Cabet charged. You "accused me of calommnies in Nos 5 to 10 of the Revue Icarienne . . . repeated the coup d'État charges . . . and became an accomplice in all the infamies against me."[89] Gérard had also committed a 'moral' offense. He wrote a "passionate letter" to a young girl. The girl gave her mother the letter and she asked Cabet to apply his "severity" and "reproaches against Gérard." After quoting some favorable remarks about himself that he found in one of Gérard's letters, Cabet asked, "How could you today be so cavalier and ungrateful towards me?"[90] Gérard had betrayed Cabet, and so he exposed his "passionate letter."

Then he turned on Marchand, who was an "equally" outrageous ringleader. Alexis A. Marchand, one of the first Advance-Guardsman, had "nearly wept" with affection for Cabet in the past, he recalled. But now, "You are too insignificant for me to spend much time complaining about. You and your long poil dans la main! (lazy dog)."[91] Earlier in this account, Cabet had drawn attention to the fact that Marchand "was admitted without

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them? Did they know who wrote them, or lend support to the writing of the letters? They violated Colony laws (Articles 166-67-68) about slander. In a state of "revolution," the Constitution would be invalid.

89 Ibid., 60.

90 Ibid., 60-1. Gérard was "cavalier" because he resigned the Presidency in favor of Cabet.

91 Ibid., 61. "Insignificant" was insulting. The Marchand brothers had supported Cabet since the early 1840s. Louis Marchand died of cholera in 1849. Alexis Marchand married Laurenée Martin on June 12, 1850. She died of cholera in 1852 along with their infant daughter. (Marchand married Marie-Virginia Descombes in 1853.)

complete apport. It was paid for by billets non rembourses (non reimbursed notes [in 1848])."[92] The sum of Marchand's 'moral' violations included "ungratefulness" and "laziness."

The final man Cabet aimed his 'moral' pen at was Montaldo, who abused his confidence as the director-general of education. He was a married man with a family, and like Gérard, Montaldo had "shared his passion for a young girl placed under his surveillance" which caused the family "to worry about their future."[93] Montaldo was from Barcelona and had been propagating Cabet's doctrines since before 1848.[94]

The cases Cabet built against these seven ringleaders were based on sources that he had accumulated with his spy network. When his publication came out at the end of June, it was too late to repair the damages.[95] Cabet was already petitioning the American Courts to begin "the dissolution of our Society."[96] The majority stood firm against him and

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92 Cabet, Guerre à mort, 22. It was Cabet's generosity toward Marchand that was offended. "c'est abominable. Do I not have the right to be indignant, and irritated?" Once again, Cabet had exposed his attitude toward the 'poor' working classes who were expected to be grateful, deferential, and loyal to their benefactors.

93 Ibid., 61.

94 "Mariages en Icarie" Bourg extract, January 7, 1850, CIS SIUE. Secretary Bourg reported the marriage of Montaldo to Celina Pigny and raved about him as a man from Barcelona who was a courageous revolutionary and propagated the Icarian doctrine in the journal Fraternidad, where he was one of the founding editors. He was a "noble of Spain, a man of the sword and pen." Rancière, Nights of Labor, 394.

95 Sutton, Les Icariens, 93, 100. Sutton recounted images after they split into two camps where the majority "each evening" posted all the charges that appeared from the printshop that day on the refectory door. Parts of the Guerre à mort, document (being quoted) may have been the source of some of their "bursts of laughter." Sutton did not elaborate on the mutiple charges in Guerre à mort to the extent that this study has nor did he point out the 'immoral' basis of Cabet's attacks and accurately concluding that women were "politically second-class citizens."

either refused to acknowledge his evidence against the ringleaders' immoral conduct, or found it irrelevant. Shortly after Cabet completed Guerre à mort, he wrote his daughter Céline that he "was very satisfied with the spirit of those who say they are my friends."[97] On June 23 he again told her that "All is going well. I remain healthy."[98] These pleasantries belie Cabet's vengeful spirit and the hostile split in the Colony. Cabet was not trying to unify the membership in 1856, except under his untenable conditions. Above all, he wanted to be rid of the opposition men who were not leaving. At the start of these troubles, he had written Beluze that if his reform conditions were not met, "he would prefer to dissolve, liquidate, and reconstitute a new society with my faithful."[99] The Party men, "Favard, Marchand, etc., are blind, stubborn, vain, and inexcusable fools in my eyes."[100]

The events in Icaria during the first half of 1856, therefore, were the deliberate acting out of Cabet's late 1855 decision to reconstitute a "new society with my faithful." He had done this in New Orleans in 1849 and in Nauvoo in January 1851. Each time, Cabet indicted women in his list of causes for the separations. In 1856, women were again part of the battle scene. Cabet appropriated them as guilty mates for the seven vicious

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96 Cabet, Guerre à mort, 62.

97 Cabet to Céline, June 20, 1856 CIS SIUE. He mentioned that he had written Beluze and sent some pages to compose.

98 Cabet to Céline, June 23, 1856 CIS SIUE.

99 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 376-7. Found in a letter of Cabet to Beluze, December 31, 1855.

100 Ibid.

"ringleaders." Sexual innuendos were central to his whole attack. The gendered nature of their character violations offended his puritanical expectations. The perfectly moral community that Cabet projected in the Voyage was not being realized. To remedy this situation, he hoped to show that he must have his original Icar-like authority restored. However, the cadre of "faithful" men, Prudent, Favard, Marchand, and Montaldo who were his allies in earlier wars, had changed sides. They were prepared for his manuevers and refused to surrender.

Cabet had summed up his 72 page Guerre à mort, by stating that there would be no reconciliation. "The common life between us is henceforth impossible and a separation is essential . . . you have deceived me and violated the engagements that you took towards me before the departure in 1848, and before my return in 1852. After all that has passed, I have no more esteem, no more confidence, nor affection for you. Because you have conducted a Guerre à mort . . . I cannot stay one second longer with you!"[101] Furthermore, Cabet reflected, "I would not have left France if you had not taken that engagement towards me . . . When you make light of this commitment, then in my eyes, you have no integrity or honor and as a consequence, I cannot stay with you."[102] The minority wanted a "separation" he wrote, "even if they must sacrifice all and lose everything." But Cabet wrote that he did not think a separation process was necessary, however, "the Minority" who were with him did. They were "more resolved than I." Therefore, "since we cannot be in accord," they had sought "the advice of lawyers" and anticipated that the American

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101 Cabet, Guerre à mort, 63.

102 Ibid.

Court will "certainly pronounce a separation or a dissolution."[103]

They were "in complete Revolution" after May 12 when the two parties each "had returned to their natural rights."[104] With this argument firmly in place, Cabet used his legal expertise to claim that there "was no more majority" only two particular Assemblies with "equal rights and with two majorities." With a clever stroke of his political pen, Cabet was able to take back a majority voice for his party. However, they would have no more General Assemblies, "no elections in August, September, or February" and the Paris Bureau was not going to be closed.[105] On July 14, Cabet announced that he was the only one who had the right to make contracts or dispose of Colony assets.[106] He wrote to assure the French Icarians that they were reorganizing. After having endured a "trial by fire," they were "regenerated." The "bad humeurs in their body" were purged and they

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[103] Cabet, Guerre à mort, 64-5. The "Act of Incorporation" had been approved February 13, 1851. This one page document listed "Etienne Cabet, J. Pendant (sic Prudent), P.J. Tavard, (sic Favard), Andre Thebant, (sic Thibaut), Alfred Pigunard, (sic Piquenard), and Jean J. Witzig, and their assistants and their associates and successors, be and hereby constituted a body politic and corporate, by the name and style of the "Icarian Community." There were 7 articles about the capital stock of "$100,000 with the privilege of increasing the same to $500,000," elections decided by a "vote" cast "in person," the "business" of the Company "being manufacturing, milling, all kinds of mechanical business and agriculture." The Company was to have 6 directors, elected annually, one of whom shall be president whose management will be "subject to the by-laws to be adopted." The by-laws would concern the business and internal policy. All this could be repealed "whenever the public good shall require." According to this document, Cabet's powers were as elected president, a position that was subject to "by-laws." Therefore, he could not have all the authority he wanted without violating not only this document, but the constitution.

[104] Cabet, Guerre à mort, 65.

[105] Ibid., 66-7.

[106] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 405n4.

were "happier than before."[107] In the future they would use the lessons they had learned and "avoid the stumbling blocks."[108]

The Guerre à mort was signed by 73 members of Cabet's minority party - 52 men and 21 women. Thirteen of these women were "definitely" admitted and eight were "provisional" arrivals.[109] Thus, it appears that only thirteen long-term women were willing to sign, a small percentage of the 500 Icarians. The number of Cabet's 'faithful' women increased to 47 when he left in October. Aside from the 'provisional' women, some Cabetist' women, clearly, did not sign the June Guerre document. They may have been elderly, reticient, or, away in Iowa.[110]

Prudhommeaux and Sutton have sketched the likely membership of the two Parties. This difficult project involves tracing the shifting loyalties of several of Cabet's staunchest early followers. Sutton determined that the oppositional "Majority were the elite men of Icaria, present and past members of the Gérance and the workshop foremen." Behind them was "a large group of unskilled workers, the lowest rung of the community, those given the least desirable living quarters and assigned the most menial tasks."[111]

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107 Cabet, Guerre à mort, 68.

108 Ibid.

109 Ibid., 71. The figure of 21 women was not the final accounting for some were in Iowa and others apparently did not sign. 45 men and 7 young people did. Sutton, Les Icariens, 98. There were 179 members with Cabet on Novermber 6, 1856 (78 men, 46 women, 7 teenagers, and 47 children).

110 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 413. The final count for Cabet was 75 men, 47 women and 50 children.

111 Sutton, Les Icariens, 89.

Sutton did not elaborate on the wives in this element. However, in another portion of the Majority, he did include women with the men. According to him, this group was

> composed of men who were subservient to authority, willing to please and accomodate. Their wives, though, were domineering women, stingy on one hand yet driven by what one man called coquettishness. Never pleased, they were always critical of others and, moreover, bored. They hated Cabet by now because, by sheer business incompetency, he had almost ruined the community and, they said, all but destroyed their lives.[112]

This generalization requires a closer examination. A typology which reduces a group of Majority women to personalities labeled 'domineering,' 'coquettish,' 'critical,' and 'bored,' can be constructed only if one applies the narrow estimate offered by Bourg in 1850.[113] Bourg's remarks on the "daughters of Eve" have already been examined in this study. It is unlikely that Bourg's fixed opinion at that time suits the overall disposition of the many women who were part of the majority opposition in 1856. Admittedly, men like Bourg and Cabet disliked women with such characteristics, and they would surely be harmful to the cause.

Another view of the Party make-up was offered by a contemporary newspaper editor named Naville in October 1856. He observed that Cabet's opponents were young, "robust workers" without "charges," which projects a Majority portrait composed largely of bachelors (wives, children, and elderly were 'charges').[114] Cabet's group, on the other

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[112] Ibid. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 339. Holynski reported that Cabet spoke of "ennuis (boredom)" on the part of many women that he had to expel "with their accomplices." The Colony did not have recreational stimuli comparable to that of Paris or the Voyage although their Sunday entertainments were heralded as enjoyable. Of itself, boredom was not necessarily a category sufficient to situate the bulk of women for or against Cabet (he expelled the 'bored' ones with their "accomplices").

[113] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 379n1.

[114] Sutton, Les Icariens, 168n 8. Editor Naville views in Colonie Icarienne, October 1856.

hand, had many "old people" and "men with large families who out of fear stayed by his side."[115] Two of the large families who went with Cabet were the Roiné family with six children who arrived in late 1854 and the Jalegeas family with five children, one of whom was a deaf-mute needing constant care.[116]

The supporters of Cabet, according to Sutton, labeled themselves, "solid citizens." He included both "men and women" who

> were satisfied with the community life in general and with their work assignments in particular. They valued security, law and order, and hard work. Most were skilled artisans - tailors, shoemakers, printers, carpenters - proud of their occupations and status. They were dedicated homebodies glad that their work kept them close to their families. They felt appreciated. They followed the rules. Icaria had given a lot to them and they were determined, under Cabet's leadership, to keep it.[117]

The claim that Cabetist women and men were "dedicated homebodies" and that their "work kept them close to their families" does not conform to Icaria's 'non-family' dimension. Cabetists, however did follow the rules, but the opposition was not simply unlawful. A study of the voters' age and occupations has very few identifiable voting

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[115] Ibid. In October 1856, the exodus to St. Louis had begun and Naville's views were gathered from first-hand observations.

[116] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 289, 421n1. The Roines were confidents of Mme Cabet and her letter to them was noted in this chapter. They paid more than the required apport - objects "valued at 500 francs" - in the Colonie Icarienne, November 29, 1854. Both the Roinés and Jalegeas families left for St. Louis with Cabet. Jalegeas left the group after Cabet died (between November 1856 and March 1857 when the membership was reduced by twelve - four died and Lemoine was excluded by those who took over, because he refused to put his tools at the disposition of the new community). Colonie Icarienne, October 18, 1854. They tried without success to have an institution in Illinois care for the Jalegeas deaf-mute child.

[117] Sutton, Les Icariens, 89. The evidence for this image was a statement in the Revue Icarienne, October 1856 claiming the colony was divided into two camps, "almost equal in number." Cabet's had "old people," men with "large families" who out of fear stayed with Cabet."

patterns. There was only a small difference in age between the men who voted either way, although there were more opposition men in their thirties. There were more tailors (6) voting for Cabet, who would be 'nearby,' but not so the cooks (4) who were voting against him. They were 'nearby' in the refectory kitchen. (Probably explained by the cook's resistance to Cabet's frugal budgets and effort to reduce sugar, etc.)[118]

Adding to these perplexing descriptions were different categories cited by Prudhommeaux. In assessing Cabet's adherents, he used Olinet's reflections on an "aristocracy" of workers composed of heads of the workshops (who could be women), gérants, and bureaucrats. The "proletariat" below them were dependable, less well-lodged, and followed the "protocol" demanded of their "low places." A "center" was made up of those with a "tranquil nature" who were not entirely satisfied, but "humble before authority" and who looked towards a "better future - like good bourgeois."[119] These

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[118] Palmer, "The Community at Work," 260-63. Palmer listed the "for" and "against" votes in May 1856 next to the men with their occupations and birthdates (some dates missing). Those "for" Cabet had 4 'aged' men: 67, 54, 53, and 51, whereas, those "against" Cabet had 2 'aged' men: 60, 51. Cabet had 3 men in their 20s, and those "against" had 2. 12 men were in their 40s in those "against;" and 10 in those "for." (Not important.) In their 30s; there were 4 "for" Cabet and 12 "against." If age can be considered a factor, then 30 year-old men were mostly in the opposition. There were overlapping occupations in both camps, although Cabet had only 1 cook and the opposition had 4 cooks, Cabet had the lone baker. Cabet had 6 tailors and the opposition had only 1. Likewise, Cabet had 3 shoemakers and the opposition 1. The mill/distillery had 4 'against' Cabet and 3 'for' Cabet. The pharmacist and nurse were with Cabet, but the opposition had 1 from the school and 1 printer (Cabet had 2 printers). There were mostly farm-type men, boatmen, harnessmakers, and woodsmen 'against' Cabet who, however, did have a man with the flatboats, piggery, harvest, and horses on his side. If there was one element gleaned from this list, it would be that those the farthest distance from Cabet's office *tended* to be against him, but even there, the divide was not clean, e.g. 4 nearby cooks, a printer and tailor voted 'against' him.

[119] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 378-9. This was taken from Olinet, Voyage d'un Autunois, 129.

distinctions, according to Olinet, were promoted by the wives of the administrators and "bourgeois" who "maintained a distance between themselves and their less-favored sisters."[120] Whether Olinet's "administration" wives and their "less-favored" sisters were for or against Cabet, however, had to do with factors beyond a worker's aristocracy.

Admittedly, efforts to situate members on opposing sides pose problems. Some of Cabet's strongest supporters in Olinet's "aristocracy" category abandoned him while others stayed. Likewise, some "proletariat" workers and wives resented him and others remained loyal. A review of his Guerre à mort shows that the strongest division lines had to do with those whom Cabet reproached for moral failings or those who objected to his flawed logic of equality and liberty. When it served his purposes, he also singled out a person's poverty prior to membership if he knew that their apport was not complete or had been donated by others (like Mourot and Marchand). They were humiliated for being poor, and Cabet shamed them for their "ingratitude." Cabet's faithful, according to Prudhommeaux, were "passively obedient" and respected the "status quo."[121] Obeying the rules was surely a prerequisite, but not the only one.

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120 Ibid.

121 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 380. Prudhommeaux added a further excerpt in the August, 1856, Courrier de États-Unis (likely supplied by the opposition) which referred to them as the "mediocre elements" of the Colony. Rancière, Nights of Labor, 395. Rancière described the "devoted" as the "administrators and "aristocrats" Raynaud, Baxter, Haymart, and Dujardin; the fine talkers like Mercadier, lawyer and Gascon; the "stool pigeons" who, like "pork-butcher Romanoff and weaver Bégou, report the refectory conversations and refrains of the opponents;" the "weak workers of the sedentary workshops (shoemakers,tailors, and joiners);" the "infirm, like tailor Wocquefen," the old men, "like Clèdes from Toulouse" and Coëffé in "charge of distribution" and the "other faithful who can no more be armed by the litany of lectures on morality and fraternity than can the opponents be disarmed by it."

For women, Cabet's strictures on the family and home life were more important than class divisions. The Icarians were experiencing a radical new family form that separated parents from their children after mothers nursed their babies for two years. All husbands and wives were segregated for most of the day.[122] Married couples and bachelors worked and ate silently with several hundred adults. Children ate with other children at schools and were given orders by elders who were not their parents. They did chores both in and outside of their school where they slept at night. Parents lived in two-room housing-complexes and were not allowed to be with their children except for a few hours on Sunday. Cabet even deemed these visits "useless." While it was possible for some to accept Cabet's future family promises, this was not the ideal of the Voyage. The use of 'dedicated homebodies' as a signifier for determining Party sides does not give due attention to the revised meaning of "home" and clearly was not what Sutton had in mind in using the term. Those who worked at a distance from Cabet's office and the dining hall sometimes complained about rations when they returned and were more able to voice complaints without being overheard.[123]

Overall, the family system Cabet introduced as "transitional" one month after arriving in Nauvoo, replete with his harrassing treatment of mothers and women in general, remained a recurring cause of disenchantment and had already led to the

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[122] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 319-20. Prudhommeaux discussed the "individual family" arrangement in Nauvoo as a temporary situation and brought into his analysis the construction of "cabins" in Iowa that were underway and would provide individual home spaces, not apartments.

[123] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 379. Those at the mills, mines, fields, distilleries, were inclined to complain about the quality of their food portions which may have led them to be more discontented over their rations than the "homebodies."

withdrawal of hundreds. Cabet knew that discontented women led their husbands out and chided men to take control over their wives. One woman reportedly threatened to divorce her husband if he didn't leave with her.[124] Some women left without their husbands. Other women were "always sick" and found fault with the climate or food to get their husbands to leave.[125] On the other hand, men could appropriate their wives' complaints to legitimate their own wish to withdraw.

In his analysis of the 526 members in July 1855, Prudhommeaux estimated that 2,000 had entered the Colony without staying.[126] These men and women made tremendous sacrifices to come to Icaria because they believed it held genuine potential for improvements in their lives. They traveled from Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, and England, although most were French and all had to learn French.[127] Their sacrifices were

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[124] Cabet to Beluze, April 19,1853. CIS SIUE folder 5. Bussac of Lyon was leaving with his wife because he did not want her to divorce him. Prevost and his wife and son left because his wife was sick and wanted a warmer climate. Mahy left to find a wife. Bertrand of Lyon left for he confused socialists with communists.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 292. Cabet to Belulze, January 10, 1854, CIS SIUE. They had 993 incrits: 931 admitted and 62 born at Nauvoo. Of the 993, there were 115 deaths, 483 who left and 393 at present. More came during the next two years. Sutton, Les Icariens, 77. In 1855, the Illinois census listed 469 Icarians in Nauvoo (184 men, 101 women, 107 children). Gontier and Gontier, Partons, 211. Vallet, Icarian Communist, 33. As a secretary, Vallet calculated that "in six years, 1,800 persons came . . . we were never more than 500 at the same time." Cretinon and Lacour, "Allons en Icarie," 174 n84, 176. On July 1, 1855 there were 526 (469 in Nauvoo and 57 in Iowa) and "more than 800" left in 6 years.

[127] Colonie Icarienne, July 19, 1854. Cabet listed 65 Germans, 6 Swiss, 3 Italians, 3 Spanish, 1 Suedois, 1 England, 1 United States, and 325 French. The newspaper was sold by agents in eight locations. Some understood French poorly. See Teakle, "History and Constitution," 276. Article 5 was written for "those who cannot speak French" and who "will be exempted from participating in the Assembly, but the Board of Managers will take the proper measures in order that they may know what has been done in the Assembly."

as great as, or even greater than those of Cabet.

Nonetheless, Cabet's shrewd assessment that women were the 'worst obstacles' to the Colony's progress certainly had some substance, although he never recognized the cause: the radical reordering of family life. Instead, he simply denigrated women's intellectual abilities, writing that "hostile" women who opposed him and left were "incapable of having any opinion" or else were under "Jesuit" influences.[128] Cabet either remained blind to the affranchissement hurdles that he placed before the citoyennes he claimed to liberate, or too fixed in his conceptions of women as 'ignorant' to soften or remove them. The reality of Cabet's 'masculine feminisme' was indeed, relative and proportional. The equality and liberation of women was more difficult to practice than to write about. Women were to find liberty in obedience to good laws made by men. Despite Cabet's acknowledgement that men in the past made unjust laws over women's lives, he refused Icariennes the right to participate in making their own and continued to use men as law-givers. The 1856 split had as much to do with women's failure to abide by the "moral" precepts and laws made by the Community as to the revolutionary rupture forced by the seven 'ring-leaders.' Surely some women influenced their 'Adams' in the opposition Party.

The course of revolutions was familiar to Cabet. Revolution, albeit the

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(March 3, 1855 - in the 33 Articles voted to replace those of January 30, 1851.) Although it is not the thematic purpose of my research, Cabet had experienced problems with different European "brothers." See Cabet, Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis, 143. The Germans "don't speak French (and are an incalculable inconvenience)." They don't have "our habits" or "our dress, our opinions," or our "principles."

[128] Cabet to Beluze, February 28, 1851 CIS SIUE. Cabet's negative views about women surfaced in this letter where he raved about the eight women who signed a protest.

microcosmic one in Icaria, was his way to change the political composition and retake the direction of the Colony. Although revolution had been a useful adjunct to regenerating a "new society" in the past when Cabet held the majority; in 1856, his 'faithful' were the minority. This time revolution did not banish his opponents. Cabet may have written his friends that he was "happier than ever," but Icaria's two parties had to co-exist in Nauvoo for the time being. Cabet proposed that the opposition take their party to Iowa, but they refused his offer and stayed on.[129] They moved the dining room tables to two sides of the hall and an "icy French politeness descended."[130] Each group, likewise claimed different territories outside the hall.[131] The Majority set up seven guards to "watch" Cabet's moves.[132] His followers were worried that he might be killed and 'faithful' women took turns watching the guards watch Cabet.[133]

While Cabet pondered the next stage of his revolution, the strains between the two camps erupted violently in early August.[134] Elections had been held on August 4 and Gérard, Lafaix, and Mourot were elected to the Gérance.[135] They withheld food allotments

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129 Toute le vérité, May 3, 1856 ACIS, 26. "I would like to propose the cession or the sale of Iowa on conditions debated between us." Aside from this, the exact terms offered were not publicized except for a few remarks in his October 'farewell' address.

130 Sutton, Les Icariens, 93. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 402-3.

131 Sutton, Les Icariens, 93.

132 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 401.

133 Sutton, Les Icariens, 94.

134 Ibid.

135 Ibid.

from Cabet's minority after they refused to obey work orders from the new Gérance.[136] "Those who don't work don't eat," the slogan went.[137] The Icarians had pledged a crop of potatoes to their "creditors" to whom they "owed 100,000 francs" and workers were needed to harvest them in the fields.[138] Men like Prudent were digging the potatoes and upset by the minorities refusal to work. Irate men, encouraged by Cabet, broke into the refectory and began throwing utensils on August 6 (and August 13th), breaking the dishes they had recently purchased.[139] Cabet laughed at the turmoil from his office window "calling upon his supporters to capture the place they were forbidden to enter." On August 7, Mourot and Gérard were attacked by Cabet's followers.[140] Mothers with their babies in their arms stood in front of the warring adversaries to stop the violence.[141] The Nauvoo sheriff was called to establish order.

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136 Ibid. They were refused food, clothing and housing.

137 Gontier and Gontier, Partons, 226. Vallet, Icarian Communist, 35. Vallet was present during this struggle. He reported that "Cabet advised his followers not to submit" to the work orders. They were giving 3 days to return to work. On the third day, the doors were closed to them for dinner. They took axes and split them open. After the fight, the minority were expelled from the hall and notice was given that women and children would be furnished food. The next day, the men brought buckets for the food and began arguing. They dumped the food on the ground, put bread at the end of long pole they had brought for that purpose, and marched around the refectory. Cabet encouraged them from his office and laughed.

138 Vallet, Icarian Communist, 34-5 n 32. Jules Prudent wrote a letter on this incident to the Chicago Tribune on September 20, 1856. Prudent and the majority were digging potatoes with a "spade in the hand and a musket at our back." (Guns must have been unlocked from the arsenal.)

139 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 403.

140 Ibid.

141 Ibid.

A group of townspeople in Nauvoo began holding "secret meetings, organizing and preparing to chase the boisterous communists as they had chased the Mormons before."[142] Because of their "intolerable" combats, the mayor asked Cabet to hurry and complete the separation.[143] On August 12, Cabet moved into a building in town, about ten minutes from the Icarian Colony.[144] In a few days the rest of his followers came and set up a "Petite Icarie." When they took their belongings into town, they carried away "all they possibly could" and met "little opposition."[145] The Colony had a valuable library and the "minority wickedly took away a few volumes of each work, tearing the engravings in order to make them worthless."[146]

Meanwhile, Cabet set about purchasing new printing equipment.[147] On August 12, he sent Citizen Heggi to St. Louis to find a location for them.[148] Vogel went to Carthage to have the Court repeal their Act of Incorporation.[149] When the violence in the Colony

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142 Vallet, Icarian Communist, 35-6, 9. This was the time Vallet "left the Colony" (August / September 1856). He stayed on in Nauvoo with his family.

143 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 404.

144 Ibid., 405.

145 Vallet, Icarian Communist, 36.

146 Ibid.

147 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 405. The majority were selling livestock, harvest items and whiskey to meet debts and living expenses.

148 Ibid, 405, 413. By the end of September, Heggi, Roine, Maritz, and Garnier were in St. Louis completing the housing and moving arrangements.

149 Sutton, Les Icariens, 95. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 405. The Carthage papers were dated for October 17, 1856, but the appeal was not actually heard until March 1857 when Cabet was dead. Vallet, Icarian Communist, 36n33. The State defeated Cabet's bill to repeal the Charter 55 to 9.

quieted down, the Nauvoo townsfolks who were holding "secret" meetings abandoned plans for their "project" to chase the Icarians out. They would soon be leaving.

When Cabet and the adults settled into town quarters, their children stayed behind in the school. On August 19, a week after they moved, the majority gérance voted to replace the teachers who were appointed by Cabet, Raynaud and Tiran, with their own appointees, Decuillé and Bergeron.[150] The new teachers arrived to take their place at the school when the children were going to sleep and frightened them. Citoyenne Raynaud, who had been the director for three years, climbed into a buggy and whipped the horse through the streets crying, "Help! Help!" The little girls were "crying and sobbing."[151] Bystanders imagined that someone was harming the children.[152] Since no record exists about whether the children were left in the boarding school after this incident or taken into town, one can speculate that the fifty youngsters of the minority remained with the new teachers until they left for St. Louis.

A month later, on September 27, the Majority prepared a formal document that expelled Cabet and his 180 supporters.[153] It began with the acknowledgement that Cabet

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150 Cabet to Beluze, November 29, 1853 CIS SIUE folder 5. "Citoyenne Raynaud is the Director of the little girls school. Her husband directs the little boys. . . I am very satisfied with these positions." Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 404. In Cabet's letters to Beluze from 1853-1856, there are many references to the Raynauds' "proces." They were a well off family attracted to the Icarian system. Cabet's letters to Beluze were sprinkled with his concern that the process of turning their properties into money was taking so long. There is a Raynaud file at CIS. Papers about deeds, sales of property, as well as later efforts to reclaim their investment, can also be located at IISG. See Rancière, Nights of Labor, 391. The Raynauds contributed 20,000 francs.

151 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 404. Sutton, Les Icariens, 95.

152 Ibid, 404, 413. No follow-up accounts reveal when the minority in town with Cabet took their children (50) from the school. They left for St. Louis in six weeks.

"by constant and perfidious maneuvers" set out "to ruin or destroy the Icarian Community." The Majority drew upon Cabet's violation of their Principles, By-laws, Bill of Incorporation, and Icarian Constitution every since the 4th of February, 1856 when he "refused to submit to the resolutions of the General Assembly whenever they were contrary to his will."[154] Cabet had "clandestinely worked out the abandonment of our crops, our cattle, our materials, and in short, of all our Colony in Iowa employing outsiders to help him in working out his destruction . . . [he] endeavored to bring forth a financial crisis in the Community and to destroy the credit of the same by endeavoring to alarm our creditors by means of circulars . . . [which] urged them to withdraw their money."[155] In addition, "said, Etienne Cabet has authorized and favored the stealing by his partisans of tools, books, musical instruments, drugs, books of account, registers, and many other objects belonging to the Icarian Community." Cabet had by his "speeches and incendiary handbills" succeeded in raising "a kind of Civil War in the Community."[156] The expulsion also included references to Cabet's cunning, hypocrisy, and perfidy to annihilate the Community and his move to town.

On October 22, 1856, Cabet composed a "Farewell of Mr. Cabet and the True Icarians To the Inhabitants of Nauvoo." He recalled their bond as "naturalized American citizens" and his sorrow at the "discord that has glided among us." He repeated his

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153 Sutton, Les Icariens, 95. Icarian Studies Newsletter, 1991, 4-5.

154 Icarian Studies Newsletter, 1991, 4.

155 Ibid.

156 Ibid..

laments about the "systematical opposition" numbering 91 to 74 who "substituted Demagogism for devotedness." The Majority violated their Constitution, Bill of Incorporation, and held elections on August 4, 1856, when they "pretended to be the Gérance of the Community." He defended the minority who "leaving work by necessity and for defending themselves" were deprived of "food, clothing, lodging, washing, fuel, even of tools and admission fees."[157] They were the victims of "abuses and excesses" and had they listened to their "sentiments of human dignity and love for Liberty," they would have "preferred war to tyranny." However, because they had the "principles of fraternity," they were induced to "resignation and a courage more difficult than violence."[158] He even "proposed to buy all the assets and to pay the debts or give the Majority the same chance; but they constantly refused all and everything, answering: All or Nothing!"[159]

Cabet overstated this proposition and exaggerated both his and the opposition's financial capabilities. No specific "buy-out" terms were recorded although Cabet would have liked some kind of a settlement which would rid him of the opposition. Regardless, Cabet was leaving

> at our own expense, which is enormous, by means of loans and fraternal aid by the Icarians of France, without asking anything, for the present, from this barbarous Majority, who, trampling under foot the principles of Humanity, and of the American laws which protect indigence and the tools of laboring men, have

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157 "Farewell of Mr. Cabet and the True Icarians to the Inhabitants of Nauvoo" Icarian Studies Newsletter, Summer, 1984, 2. It is significant that Cabet mentioned "admission fees." Did the majority hold the $1,600 or did Cabet? Some money had to be used to pay housing costs in Nauvoo and in St. Louis which suggests Cabet still had this money. The guard placed over him was to keep down his subversive scout activity with Iowans and the courts.

158 Ibid.

159 Ibid.

> exposed us to die from hunger or cold, who even refused us the tools necessary to make our life by laboring, and whom we denounce to the whole world as pitiless spoilers, among whom we obviously see the hand of several polices.[160]

After this review of victimization, Cabet ended with "gratitude" to the kind residents of Nauvoo.

From the start, Cabet's revolutionary goal had been to drive out his opposition as he had done in the past. He re-enacted subversive Carbonari 'secret' messenger tactics to try to win over some of the Iowa group. Cabet lost the Nauvoo revolution, but he was prepared to begin anew in a different State with the "faithful" who took new "engagements" on October 13, 1856. They granted Cabet a four year presidency and each member agreed not to leave the Community before the 3rd of February, 1859. They accepted all the "reforms of 1853 and 1855 (absolute powers for Cabet, complete abstinence from whiskey, tobacco, etc.)."[161]

In a couple of weeks, thirty-four Icarians headed down the river to St. Louis. A week later, ninety-five others left Nauvoo. Finally, Cabet and the remaining fifty-eight arrived at St. Louis and their new Icaria.[162] In all, 179 left with Cabet (78 men, 46 women, 7 teenagers, and 47 children), and 219 stayed with the Majority in their ransacked quarters in Nauvoo.[163]

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160 Ibid.

161 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 408-9. There were two new Constitution articles that Prudhommeaux singled out as unusual regarding the "gradual restitution of apport" for members. This would be the manner for those who entered in the future, but was not like "the thinking of the author." Prudhommeaux suggested it was because of Cabet's "haste" and desire to make his system attractive.

162 Sutton, Les Icariens, 97-8.

163 Ibid., 98.

On November 5, 1856, Cabet's faithful gathered in New Bremen, the German section of St. Louis where Heggi had rented three buildings. The next morning, Cabet suffered a serious stroke. A doctor was called. He lasted another day, dying on November 7, 1856.[164]

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Cabet's Guerre à mort was an eerily apocalyptic text. Need the war - the revolution - have happened? And what were its causes? Certainly, Cabet's attempt to regain Icar's dictatorship stands out, but he had rescinded his request for this and other changes in the Constitution on February 4th.[165] Why did the war continue? Clearly, there were other unresolved problems. The breakdown "came at the top," Palmer concluded, as Cabet became obssessed with regaining "absolute control" in the last two years.[166] But he had

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[164] Josephine Gobel, "Death of the Founder of the Icarian Society" CIS SIUE. The night before he walked the half mile to his place after eating with the group and appeared to be gay. He told several jokes to make them laugh and impressed them with his determination to "inspire" the people and defend "my reputation and that of the communicants." Partially stricken on Saturday morning about 8 o'clock, he was speaking distinctly an hour later and asked for a pen to write with. "He suggested we tell no one he was sick" and tried to joke with those around him. By noon the paralysis was complete. They told their St. Louis friends and gathered the community to discuss his burial. It took place on Sunday at 1:30 with Mercadier giving the discourse.

[165] Sutton, Les Icariens, 100-102. Sutton described elements of Cabet's dictatorial character. His "decisions had to be accepted on pain of expulsion." He "alternated between paternalism and egotistical bombast and tolerated no insubordination. His personality was shaped by contradictory impulses: humanitarianism, gentleness, and rationality warred with vindictiveness, meanness, and violent outbursts of temper." He added the debts, difficult mesh of urban-farm labor, and their "committment mechanisms" (described by Rosabeth Kanter).

[166] Palmer, "Community at Work," 201-2. Cabet's "insistance on firm control, couched in terms of guidance and paternalism" was the focus of his activity during his last two years in Nauvoo.

refused to design a fair restitution law to replace the April 1850 one for much longer, and his propaganda control and fiscal management tactics were also disputed issues. All of these were direct causes. Cabet, however, conceived this as a "moral" war that had to be fought against the purveyors of sexual license, the leaders of the opposition with their out-of-control libidos (seduced by sexy girls . . .). Still, rumors about the 'passionate' behavior of seven men in a Colony of 500, was hardly sufficient cause for a Revolution. Such gossip was undoubtedly well-known.[167] Surely, one cannot discount Cabet's statement that 90% of his troubles were caused by women - the "worst obstacles" to progress - or his lament after seven years, that "all the mothers are against me." Cabet had a subversive feminine component working against him in the "Red" Party. Would Icaria have prospered if women were more content? It is easy to argue that "if" the 'Eves' had not led so many weak-minded 'Adams' out, time and again, Icarian membership would be greater. But to satisfy the oppositional women, Cabet would have had to give power to them, something he did not do. Without a doubt, the Colony would have been happier "if" Cabet had won over the mothers who were "against" him, who talked over his every decision, and wanted to "meddle" in their children's affairs. Clearly, women wanted more imput into their Society. As Rancière pithily observed, the mothers who fostered "toilettes," "pleasures," and "secrecy" in their "little girls" on Sundays, helped "destroy the glass house of community by taking opposite roads."[168] Cabet's 'masculine feminism'

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[167] Rancière, Nights of Labor, 30-396. Rancière philosophically deconstructed many of the internal frictions that appeared between the community members, such as - the loss of fraternity, moral and materialist desires, individualists, "egotism" and the "ambiguity" of practicing the communitarian "orthodoxy."

[168] Ibid., 382-3. Rancière also examined 1850s' dissident women like Mme Chevillon who wanted full political powers "on behalf of enlightened Icarian women," the

paradigm could not conceptualize citoyennes with public powers.[169] Thus, a cabal of secret 'Mariannes' united with the "Reds" and recruited other women to oppose Cabet's system. His vision of women's affranchissement was paternal, condescending, inherently unequal, and therefore, deformed. Like their 1850 partisan sisters who fought for equal political rights, the 'Mariannes' were critical combatants in the 1856 Icarian Revolution that overthrew Cabet's rule in Nauvoo.

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trousseaus, separations of parents and children, the "disarmament" of men, collective letters, and "intellectual policing."

[169] Sutton, Les Icariens, 100. Sutton noted that Icarians, like the men of the phalanxes, "shared the same ambivalent attitudes toward women. They preached female emancipation and equality, but in the community itself, emancipation meant freedom to work at domestic chores and child rearing . . . women were politically second-class citizens."

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN
CABET LOYALISTS

"Send Mr. Cabet back to me," Mme Cabet pleaded in her letter to the Roinés in the Spring of 1856. But Cabet did not return to Paris to be comforted by the caresses his wife believed would be "so precious at his age." Instead, he stayed on in Nauvoo where he was engaged in a Guerre à mort against his opponents. When the news that her husband had died reached Mme Cabet late that Fall, her clairvoyant wish passed unnoticed.

Friends sent letters of condolence and the Icarians in France took up a collection for Cabet's widow and daughter.[1] Acquaintances, even those who did not agree with Cabet's views, like George Sand, sent money to help ease their sorrow.[2]

When Mme Cabet and Céline heard about the spartan wood coffin used for Cabet's burial, they were upset and asked the Icarians in St. Louis to change it. In accord with his family's wishes, Cabet's body was exhumed on January 22, 1857 and transferred to a more dignified metal coffin.[3] The Assembly hastened to reassure the grieving women that the conditions for their support before Cabet's death would continue. They drew up a document that listed Mme Cabet, Céline, and Beluze as Paris Bureau employees with a regular stipend.[4] Cabet's heirs were provided with a yearly 2,000 franc pension in

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1 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 451. The Collection amounted to 1,200 francs.

2 Lubin, Correspondance de George Sand Tome XIV, 274. Sand sent 40 francs.

3 Sutton, Les Icariens, 98. They "interred Cabet with the rites of the Free Mason." Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 424-425. This ghoulish task was costly. Cabet had died without leaving much available cash. A wooden coffin was very likely a standard chosen for all Colony members.

4 Nouvelle Revue Icarienne organe de la communauté etablie à St. Louis, February 1, 1857. ACIS. The Assembly signed 5 articles related to this on January 19, 1857.

exchange for signing over all the rights from his books, brochures, manuscripts, and productions to the Icarian Society. Mme Cabet and Céline sent a note of thanks to them. It was published February 1, 1857 in the Nouvelle Revue Icarienne. The "Icarians' success will soften our sorrow," they wrote, and signed themselves "your mother and your sister."[5] After the death of the father Cabet, the Icarian family acted to comfort their "mother."

Other financial and legal issues had to be negotiated by Icarians in St. Louis and Nauvoo that year. While such matters were being worked out, Beluze wrote to the St. Louis membership about several inspiring projects to honor Cabet that were initiated in France. In particular, he called their attention to proposals by an admirer named Maurice LaChâtre who wanted to "strike a medal" and "erect a statue in memory of their illustrious Père."[6] Memorials of this sort would boost the spirits of Icarians in France who, undoubtedly, were perplexed about the Nauvoo schism and concerned about the future direction of the American colony without Cabet.

LaChâtre had investigated Cabet's system and in 1852, he founded a commune at Arbanat near Bordeaux, "modeled on Icarian principles." He offered to donate 1,000 francs towards a sculpture of Cabet.[7] Beluze informed him that it would "be a great satisfaction for the family of our illustrious leader."[8] A statue, it will be recalled, was the

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5 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 427-429.

6 Beluze to Maurice LaChâtre, March 25, 1857 CIS SIUE folder 12.

7 Nouvelle Revue Icarienne, May 15, 1857. Letter to "Madame veuve Cabet" on March 10, 1857 from LaChâtre. Dict. Biog. Tome II, 404. LaChâtre was born in 1814 (25 years after Cabet). Maurice LaChâtre, Une Commune Modèle en France CIS SIUE folder 12. Commune d'Arbanats in Gironde, organized by an "Icarian communist" had nurseries, schools, hospitals, and facilities for workers. LaChâtre's publication business profits went into this community.

highest award bestowed on benefactors, inventors, and heroes in the Voyage. Just as Mme Cabet wanted her husband to have a suitable coffin, she agreed with LaChâtre that Cabet deserved a statue and awaited its creation. LaChâtre also sent Beluze a "sample of a medal" that he hoped would pleased Mme Cabet.[9] In his next letter, he wrote about his plans to have a "very beautiful public garden" in his commune that would be named, the Jardin d'Icaria (Garden of Icaria).[10]

LaChâtre's encouraging letters were forwarded to the St. Louis Icarians and they printed three of them in the Nouvelle Revue Icarienne.[11] They were exploring financial means to purchase 2,000 acres of land in the western United States for their Community and Beluze asked LaChâtre for his help in securing a 20,000 franc loan.[12] Unforseen

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[8] Beluze to LaChâtre, March 25, 1857, CIS SIUE folder 12. He had a price estimate of 1,600 to 1,800 francs and asked LaChâtre whether the statue should be of marble or bronze.

[9] LaChâtre to Frères in Paris, May 20, 1857, CIS SIUE folder 12. It was engraved, "To each according to his abilities and from each according to his capacities." Nouvelle Revue Icarienne, May 15, 1857. In a "Letter LaChâtre to Madame veuve Cabet," March 11, 1857.They would have a hundred plaster busts produced. Thirty would be given to the family to dispose of among the "friends of our father" and "ten would be left for LaChâtre's disposition in his communes." The remaining "sixty will be distributed by a committee presided over by Beluze."

[10] Nouvelle Revue Icarienne, May 15, 1857.ACIS.

[11] Ibid. Reprints of LaChâtre's three letters: 1) to Cabet on January 30, 1857; 2) to Beluze on March 10, 1857; and 3) to Mme veuve Cabet on March 11, 1857, filled the entire first page and a column on the second page which ended with words on Cabet extracted from LaChâtre's, Dictionnaire universel, Tome 2.

[12] Beluze and Frères in Paris to LaChâtre (n.d.~early March) CIS SIUE folder 12. The loan request was signed by 25 Icarians. It carried glowing tributes to Cabet's work which they wanted to continue and praised LaChâtre's "adhesions to the Icarian principles of community."

events, however, stalled the execution of all these projects and very likely injured the Icarian movement in France which was already under surveillance by the new regime. Indeed, LaChâtre had just been convicted of violating press laws for printing a new edition of his uncle Eugène Sue's Mystères du Peuple. He hoped to have the judgment set aside and Beluze shared this optimistic view in their letter exchanges.[13] Beluze, therefore, was undoubtedly shaken when he received a confidental report packet sent him by a three man Icarian Commission from Bordeaux containing "positive proof" that LaChâtre had seduced a serving girl.[14] The trio had paid a visit to LaChâtre with their "proof" to learn if he wanted "to make an arrangement to repair the honor of the unhappy victim."[15] The Bordeaux investigators concluded that because of this unacceptable offense, LaChâtre was not a true Icarian. In addition, the French Court refused his appeal and he left for exile in Barcelona, Spain.

"Later," LaChâtre wrote Beluze, "we will occupy ourselves with a bust of our

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[13] Dict. Biog. Tome III, 422. Mystères du Peuple had themes of Icarian communism. Le Populaire, June 13, 1845. Cabet had taken up a collection for a Sue medal. Alexandrine Cousteau to Monsieur Charles from Portet, October 25, 1857, CIS SIUE folder12. This letter noted that Eugène Sue was LaChâtre's uncle. Beluze to LaChâtre, October 24, 1857 CIS SIUE folder 12.

[14] Bordeaux commission to Beluze, September 22, 1857 CIS SIUE folder 12. Dict. Biog.Tome I, 442, Tome II, 25. Citizen Lassarade was a cobbler who had Cabet's works in his house. Citizen Dayraud, a stone cutter, was affiliated with a secret society and disciple of Cabet. The third Icarian was Citizen Marcelé Charles. They included a copy of the confession written by LaChâtre's victim, a seventeen year old serving girl named Alexandrine Cousteau, who had not expected to be deceived by so "charitable" a man. CIS has 50 hand-written pages on this episode.

[15] Commission to Beluze, Nov. 16 , 1857 CIS SIUE folder 12. "Nota." The letter exchanges with Beluze on this moral issue were from September 21, 1857 to November 16th, 1857.

venerable Cabet. I expect to execute it in marble or in bronze, perhaps the same in two manners." But Beluze did not answer LaChâtre's letter for three months. During that time, his Icarian office had been raided by the police and he feared that he too, would be exiled.[16] Their search was prompted by the arrest of fourteen men associated with LaChâtre, including the Icarian trio investigating the adultry charges. They were subsequently accused of "corresponding with Beluze in Paris," of belonging to a "secret society," and circulating the "socialist writings" of LaChâtre. The police report about the hearing made references to the apport costs for emigrating to the Icarian colony in America and noted there was "no place in France" for an Icarian to practice his system."[17] LaChâtre's Arbanat commune, therefore, was either defunct or not being acknowledged as an Icarian place. Any further expansion of Icarian communes in this region was risky after the convictions of all the defendants for their role in the Icarian "secret society."[18] Moreover, the St. Louis Nouvelle Revue Icarienne was not authorized to circulate in France and their countrymen had no newspaper source for information about the Icarian

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[16] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 464n1. Beluze was condemmed to prison two times during his years of work for Icarians. His place was searched a "dozen times" and he was "denounced by eight or ten prosecutors of the provinces as the head of a vast secret society at a moment when exile was raised without judgment against 10,000 persons."

[17] Nouvelle Revue Icarienne, October 15, 1858. All 14 men were found guilty. The sentences ranged from fines to three months in prison."Persecution Icarienne," had letters about "the Icarians in Bordeaux." Dayrand wrote from prison about their "tortures" and was relieved "not to be transported like so many others." Lassarade, who received funds for the actions (newspaper) and the subscription for the veuve Cabet, received the stiffest penalty - six months in prison because his house was a "rendez-vous for the Icarian Society."

[18] I have no further information about Arbanat in France. The prosecution of these men would deter others from becoming Icarians or setting up communes like Arbanat in the Bordeaux region.

community.[19] The government's judicial attacks on socialist writings in conjunction with the arrests, fines, prison and exile sentences of Icarians, must be understood as an important contributory factor in the demise of supporters (and loans) from France after Cabet's death.[20] Nonetheless, Beluze, Mme Cabet and Céline rallied to their fragile mission and continued to help and advise Icarian departees under the threatening shadows of arrest and insecurity.

Icarian Family Modifications

The Icarians' trials caused Parisian disciples to review their financial strategies. In June 1857, they had started selling bonds with the signature of Mercadier as President of Icaria. They hoped to secure a loan of a million francs to help rebuild the Colony with the expectation that Icarian recruits would soon be able to join a prosperous and functioning community.[21] Setting up a new Icarian establishment was a challenge. Disaffected members who had withdrawn continued to circulate adverse views of life in the Colony [22]

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[19] Boris Blick and H. Roger Grant, "French Icarians in St. Louis" The Bulletin Missouri Historical Society, October 1973, 21. The write-up of this trial by the St. Louis Icarians in their paper was available for international readers. They were powerless to stop Louis Napoleon Bonaparte III from using machiavellian tactics to eliminate the followers of his old rival, Cabet.

[20] Comprehensive research on this has not been done as yet, however, the extension of the government's prohibition on socialist and communist works to the Icarians, can be observed in this example which the St. Louis Icarians published, albeit without the serving girl's seduction tale.

[21] Blick and Grant, "French Icarians in St. Louis," 16, figure 4.

[22] Ibid., 27-8. In a letter from "The widow Lebrun (or Bacon) to the Koenen family" from Nauvoo on November 18, 1858, the difficult problems in Icaria were communicated to potential Icarians overseas. The widow Lebrun told friends not to come for in the Community "no one agrees on anything. People are jealous of each other, because they are too much in contact with themselves." The weather in Nauvoo was both very cold and very hot. They could not smoke and when their two year wardrobes wore out, "it is with

Despite the confusion in their new quarters, the St. Louis members redoubled their devotion to Cabet's ideals after he died.[23] They made 'transitory' living accomodations in three separate buildings nearly a mile apart.[24] Men and women took a trolley to their jobs in the city and returned each evening to their lodgings. Workers shared their wages with everyone.[25] Some of Cabet's rules were relaxed. Silence in the workshops was deemed "more general than relative" and the use of tobacco by members was ignored, although it remained forbidden for new entrants.[26]

The housing and school arrangements for children were changed. The school age children were enrolled in the city's public schools. They were able to place Citoyenne Clèdes in a public mental asylum.[27] Each afternoon, students returned to a refectory

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great difficulty" that replacements were granted. She had gone for "five years without asking for anything." The "sun scorches the linen" here is America, and "things wear out fast." She told them, "Oh! don't come: trust a sincere friend." If her opinion was of no use and they still insisted on coming, she advised them to "bring all the household utensils you have" and "don't let yourself be stripped of what you have; hide what you have before the domiciliary search comes to take it from you." She sent greetings from their mutual friend, the Foulard's, and noted "they are, like me, not happy with the Society." Negative reports like widow Lebrun's would be shared with others in France.

[23] Des Membres de la Communauté Icariens de St Louis aux Icariens de France, d'Europe et de tous les pays, November 23, 1856 CIS SIUE folder 8. The St. Louis group announced that "Citizen Cabet, the new Christ, is dead." His death had "produced an effect on us that rendered us more united and more faithful."

[24] Nouvelle Revue Icarienne, March 13, 1857. Sutton, Les Icariens, 103-4. The largest building was designated the refectory. By the end of November 1856, they had the basic supplies for seating and eating. Meals were less communal and adjusted to school and working hours.

[25] Sutton, Les Icariens, 104. St. Louis had a population of 78,000 in 1856. Icarians went by trolley to jobs as wood workers, tailors, shoemakers, and dressmakers.

[26] Nouvelle Revue Icarienne, August 15, 1857. Sutton, Les Icariens, 106.

[27] Ibid., August 15, 1857.

building where they ate meals with older members of the Community at tables "reserved for them."[28] At night, those over six years old slept in two separate "dormitories." Unlike the stern family separations in Nauvoo, the children under six were able to sleep at night near their parents as did nine babies.[29] These child-care arrangements reflected adjustments related to their temporary quarters but could also be understood as a response to the wish of parents to keep their young children close by - which Cabet had refused. There was no apparent reason why the two to six year olds couldn't have slept in the dormitories with the older children in St. Louis other than the parents' desire to keep them by their side. This argument was born out by the fact that when they moved into more spacious quarters at Cheltenham, children under the age of six continued to sleep at their parents' places. This arrangement was made into a law, thus countermanding Cabet's 1849 system.[30] Even his loyalist followers, it seems, disagreed with him about parent/child relationships and acted to change the rules after his death. "All" the mothers were no longer "against" the Icarian leadership as they were against Cabet because of his stringent family separations.

Nonetheless, the Assembly recognized that sending the children out for a public

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[28] Nouvelle Revue Icarienne, March 13, 1857. Curiously, "two school children were pensionaires who came with us from Nauvoo and their father, after meeting and examining our situation." They were still being paid to provide education for two non-icarian children.

[29] Ibid., March 13, 1857. "Compte-rendu par la Gérance sur la Situation morale et matérielle de la Communauté pendant les mois de Novembre et Décembre 1856 et les mois de Janvier et Février 1857." There were 165 members with 43 children under age 15 and 7 young boys and girls over 15, 2 widows, 27 celibates and widowed men (29 men were naturalized US citizens). They had 2 dormitories directed by Boulanger (boys) and Chicard (girls) and a care center for children 2 to 6 supervised by citoyenne Labenne.

[30] Ibid., March 1, 1859. Law 9 restated this living arrangement of parents and small children.

education "left a lot to be desired," so they reinforced their teachings for youngsters with Sunday Icarian courses. They would add to this instruction by encouraging them to read suitable books. Their library had "some works by Cabet and others." The remainder of their former book stock was "in the hands of the Majority."[31] Printed accounts about this in the newspaper represented these educational changes as necessary because of the "spoilation" of which they were "victims."[32]

Shortly after Cabet died, the St. Louis faithful elected Benjamin Mercadier president.[33] He was a twenty-nine year old lawyer from Toulouse who had entered the colony with 43 others in November 1854.[34] When members of Mercadier's departure arrived in Nauvoo, Cabet wrote Beluze that he was "satisfied with Mercadier, Roiné,

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[31] Ibid., March 13, 1857. Vallet, Icarian Communist, 36. Sutton, Les Icariens, 110. Despite Mercadier's remarks about their few books, Vallet reported that when the minority moved, they "wickedly took a few volumes of each work, tearing the engravings in order to make them worthless." Sutton found they had "hauled over a thousand volumes from the Nauvoo library."

[32] Nouvelle Revue Icarienne, March 13, 1857. Their identity as "victims" (of the Nauvoo majority) was a common group-image in their newspaper accounts.

[33] Des Membres de la Communauté Icariens de St Louis aux Icariens de France, d'Europe et de tous les pays November 23, 1856 CIS SIUE folder 8. They were continuing a provisionary administration with the five Gérants Vogel, Roy, Heggi, Mesnier and Mercadier, to bring the last [Mercadier] to the office of president." Sutton, Les Icariens, 103.

[34] Colonie Icarienne, September 20, 1854, November 29, 1854, December 13, 1854, December 21, 1854. Forty-three names were listed as passengers leaving Le Havre in August 1854. Mercadier was a lawyer, age 26 and his wife was a florist, age 24. She "regretted" leaving at the last minute and got off the boat but her husband remained. The travel account on October 27, 1854 noted that she "recognized the enormity of her fault and repented." She would make the sea voyage to Icaria alone. The "pardon that she asked is accorded." On board ship, Roiné was selected as president and Mercadier was the secretary who kept the trip log.

Dujardin, etc.," although he commented that "Mercadier was not much help" with the legal "acts" that he was composing at that time.[35] Regardless, Mercadier remained a steadfast partisan of Cabet and supported his views during the battles in Nauvoo. Despite his youth, his close work with Cabet coupled with his lawyer's knowledge suited him to fill the President vacancy.

Several of the 179 faithful had left after Cabet died leaving 163 residents in June 1857. Among those who left were eight adult men.[36] Some were members of the Roiné family (three sons and two daughters ranging in age from 13 to 22) who had come with Mercadier in November 1854. Roiné was a 50 year old cartier (maker of playing cards) and his wife was 37. They withdrew from the Colony in September 1857. A letter from Roiné dated May 30, 1857 was reproduced in the June paper titled, "Hostilité de M. Roiné père." It recounted Roiné's abusive treatment by Mercadier, three gérants, and editor Ravat, when he asked to have his playing card-making trade tools returned (four moules (molds); 26 morsels with two heads and others with steamboats). They responded that they were either lost or left at Nauvoo. Ravat did not want to confront him because "he did not have the time." Roiné reacted with "expressions of violence, absolute, and injurious (as was his habit)." Roiné suspected that Ravat, the editor, was planning to use his missing tools to make money for the Colony by producing and selling playing cards. Ravat reportedly had brought in similar card-making tools before Roiné arrived and denied

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35 Cabet to Beluze, November 24, 1854, CIS SIUE folder 6.

36 Nouvelle Revue Icarienne, February 1, 1857, June 5, 1857. The 163 'faithful' in June were 70 men, 44 women, 7 young girls, and 42 children. (cf. November 1856 - 78 men, 46 women, 7 teens, and 47 children.) Thus, 8 adult men, 2 women, and 5 children were gone by June.

responsibility for the whereabouts of Roiné's molds. His daughter and son-in-law had already left and another Roiné couple was thinking about leaving. Editor Ravat reminded readers that the Roiné family violated their pledge to Cabet on October 13, 1856 that they would not leave before February 3, 1859. Five columns were devoted to this disturbance which noted that the "Minority were not tranquil." Roiné's missing tools were not recovered and the Roiné families who left would not receive compensation. Ravat called them "deserters."[37] Lemoine, a joiner, was also excluded from the new Society because he refused to put his tools at the disposition of the Community. Seven members of the Jalegeas family also withdrew during this transition.[38]

Because the Majority retained the printshop equipment in Nauvoo, Cabet had purchased a printing press for his Minority. He knew "the necessity of having a publication"[39]as did editor Etienne Ravat, who began their Nouvelle Revue Icarienne in January 1857. Ravat was a printer from Grenoble who left France in April 1850 and had worked closely with Cabet.[40] Ravat entered the Colony under the enhanced restitution

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[37] Nouvelle Revue Icarienne, June 5, 1857. The card-making tools appear to belong to the "Roiné père" (father) who left in September 1856. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 289, 421n1. Roiné's apport was in excess - "objects valued at 500 francs." (Very likely, the card 'molds.')

[38] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 289, 421n1. Jalegeas, was a baker with five children, one a deaf mute. He left sometime between November and March 1857. Four others died.

[39] Ibid., March 13, 1857. The printers also published an Almanach, copies of their petition to the Illinois Congress to revoke the Bill of Incorporation, lessons for their English course, reports on the workshops, and other addresses.

[40] Dict. Biog. Tome III., 284. Etienne Ravat wrote a letter on September 15, 1850 about his satisfaction with the Colony. He became a naturalized US citizen as did most Icarians.

formula and did not join the opposition who opposed the April 1850 law. The St. Louis members circulated their new paper in "England, Jersey, Germany, Italy, Africa, and Brazil."[41]

Besides their printing establishment, several other aspects of the Icarians' operation were "ameliorated" in their new location. The members' clothing items were worn out and instead of continuing to repair articles in workshops, they voted to replace them until such time as they were able to provide uniforms for everyone. During the summer of 1857, they purchased a new sewing machine "for our tailors" which speeded up their stitching capacity.[42] About twenty five men were employed in the tailors' workshop.[43] The US economy was suffering from an economic depression during 1857 and it was hard to secure well paid work to cover the group's expenses.[44] The disruptions in their living conditions caused ten more members to leave in the next few months. By August, 1857 membership was reduced to146 (43 children).[45]

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[41] Nouvelle Revue Icarienne, August 15, 1857. Blick and Grant, "French Icariens in St. Louis," 23-27. There were "about forty exchanges including 2 Italian, 3 English, 11 German and the rest French." This information was part of an article translated by Blick and Grant taken from a Revue Icarienne passage by Mercadier on February 3, 1859.

[42] Nouvelle Revue Icarienne, March 13, 1857, August 15, 1857. The clothing replacement was decided in March and the sewing machine purchased in August. Tailors, as a rule, worked apart from the seamstress women. No mention was made about sharing this valuable machine.

[43] Ibid., March 13, 1857. This figure may have changed slightly by August.

[44] Blick and Grant, "French Icarians," 23 n21. Sutton, Les Icariens, 105-7. Their "financial situation was not at all salubrious" and their first report showed that Cabet had only salvaged $526.33. By March, expenses exceeded income by $200. At the end of 1857, accounts still showed a loss of $16.97.

[45] Nouvelle Revue Icarienne, August 15, 1857. On August 1, 1857, there were 69 men, 44 women, and 43 children.

President Mercadier had numerous contacts with the Nauvoo Majority, but reconciliation between the two factions was unlikely.[46] The thrust of Mercadier's reports in the paper on the split were not directed toward reunion. The articles indicated that with the help of the courts, the St. Louis branch expected to gain the Iowa land for themselves along with property left behind in Nauvoo. Living together with the outcast Majority was not their goal.[47]An example of this attitude appeared in a report on February 1859, lamenting the slow increase in their receipts which arose "independently of the uninterrupted state of nasty business [with Nauvoo] and of our reorganization."[48]

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[46] Des Membres de la Communauté Icariens de St Louis aux Icariens de France, d'Europe et de tous les pays, November 23, 1856 CIS SIUE folder 8. The St. Louis Icarians assured them that they "had not abandoned the judiciary proceedings directed by us counter the Community of Nauvoo before the Court of Carthage and the Legislature of Illinois. On the contrary, we press it with vigor, we are not without hope for our side. In the midst of our pain and our difficulties, one consolation remains with us, that is to be finally separated from these vicious men and perjurers who want to ruin the Icarian Colony." They also related the Nauvoo efforts to "deprive 40 of them of their public rights," and to "pronounce the exclusion of the President who was elected unanimously eight times." They had "burned Citizen Cabet in effigy, in the midst of cries, laughter, outrages, and savage indignities. Men, women, young people, and Gérants assisted at that saturnalia." Sutton, Les Icariens, 106. Mercadier wrote in the summer of 1857 that "We have won out." This was "thanks to [our] activity and good organization, escaping the misery [of] the retreat from Nauvoo and the sudden death of [our] leader."

[47] Nouvelle Revue Icarienne, January 1, 1858. This issue contains a sampling of a series of dialogue-styled columns titled, "Les deux dissidents" which discussed arguments about debts and acquisitions between the two groups. The speakers commented on lawyer Morrel's activity (for the Majority), loans, treason, friends of the truth, the London International's "favor for the widow of Cabet and Favard (Céline)" and other persuasive comments about the faithful in St. Louis. Letters from Prudent and Marchand in this issue regarding the St. Louis reports about them which they claimed were "lies" and "infamy." They wrote about the "financial distress" in Nauvoo and the problems of paying the community's debts. The next issue on February 1, 1858 reported Nauvoo "hostilities" and then printed "toasts" from about 25 people at the celebration of Cabet's birth in Paris who were "excited" to go to live with their brothers and sisters in St. Louis. After this, they responded to letters from Marchand and Chevillon in the previous issue by calling them "liars." These ongoing hostile exchanges filled the paper's pages.

The St. Louis members were disappointed when the Illinois Court refused to revoke the Bill of Incorporation on March 16, 1857.[49] Mercadier's name appeared on the legal papers initiated to secure the Iowa lands in Mme Cabet's and Céline's name. Technically, Cabet's wife and daughter were the heirs to Iowa Icarian property deeds signed by Cabet as President of the Icarian Community. The American courts scheduled a hearing to decide upon the ownership. While these legal transactions were being processed, loan payments taken out by Cabet for goods in the interest of the community in Nauvoo were due and the Majority sent a letter about these bills to the Minority.[50] The legal responsibilities of the two Icarian communities were uncertain.

The St. Louis group decided to change their Constitution at the beginning of 1858. The two women who served on the revision commission, citoyenne Mercadier and citoyenne Delhuile, proposed that a woman be placed on the board of Directors General.[51] Once again, Icarian women were asking for more power in the administration of their Government.[52] Whether the citoyenne's proposal was debated, granted, or refused, was

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[48] Blick and Grant, "French Icarians," 23. This followed the large number of illnesses in 1858 and an exceptionally bad "slack season" that summer.

[49] Nouvelle Revue Icarienne, March 16, 1857.

[50] Ibid., January 15, 1858.

[51] Ibid. The appointment of Mercadier's wife was noteworthy, but it is uncertain whether their proposal was refused or granted. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 423 n1. Mercadier's wife was "directing the school for little girls and stayed there day and night." In his letter to Beluze on December 2, 1857, he noted that the group was unhappy about the difficulty they had making new school arrangements. "Miserable opposition! What a wicked thing they have done!" Mercadier's remarks characterized the minority's guiltless posture regarding their role in the Colony split.

[52] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 507n1-508. Prudhommeaux commented that "In Cheltenham, the list of functionaries periodically submitted to the elective body shows that

not acknowledged in the newspaper report nor did it appear in subsequent accounts. Since they were seeking an electoral seat which went beyond women's former "advisory" post, the silence in the press regarding their request suggests it was very likely rejected.[53] Nonetheless, 'loyalist' Icariannes wanted a political spot.

The Assembly's interest, moreover, was absorbed with a plan to purchase a place where they could resettle the members. They had located an estate for sale called Cheltenham, about six miles west of St. Louis. It had several spacious buildings on 30 acres of land.[54] They were able to come up with a $500 down payment and bought the property on February 2, 1858. It was costly, $25,000, and they had to make mortgage payments compounded at 6% interest.[55] Cheltenham had a big stone house erected in 1834 that measured 55' by 45'. There were four double sized log cabins and buildings with rooms for sixty boarders. At one time, Cheltenham was used as a medicinal mineral water

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Icariennes were part of the following commissions: food, clothing, entertainment, inquiry and conciliation, cours Icarien, legislation, schools, hygiene, and health." He also quoted from a letter that Mercadier wrote Beluze in 1861: "The citoyennes are on committees in which they discuss all that particularly concerns them." Neither Prudhommeaux nor my research efforts reveal that the Assembly granted the women's request to place a woman on the Board of Directors (gérances), although women were included in non-elective positions.

[53] Ibid., 628. Article 120 - Section 3 on "Legislative Power - General Assembly" assigned women "an advisory" role (under Cabet). Thus, "advising" about the Constitution was allowed. However, a place on the Board of Directors (Gérants) was a radical request by women.

[54] Nouvelle Revue Icarienne, January 15, 1858. Blick and Grant, "French Icarians," 5. Blick and Grant noted that they paid $8,000 down on $25,000 mortgage, a figure that disagrees with Sutton's account of $500 down (107) and likewise with Prudhommeaux's record of $500 down (441) taken from Mercadier's letter to Beluze on February 5, 1858.

[55] Ibid., February 15, 1858, August 15, 1858. Sutton, Les Icariens, 107. Mercadier had $59 in the treasury after this disbursement.

resort for paying guests.[56] Likewise, the Icarians hoped to earn money from the nearby sulphur springs and promptly placed an ad in their paper urging customers to take "sulfur baths" for 40 c. each.[57] The Community's spirits lightened as they moved into these larger structures.

A "Moral Dictatorship" or a Board of Directors

By the end of 1858, changes in the constitutional powers of the St. Louis President had become the topic of heated discussions in their Assembly. President Mercadier assumed the same authority that had belonged to Cabet. He carried on the outside correspondence, kept the records, purchased, and sold items for the Community.[58] Mercadier gave "proof of being very methodical and of an exemplary exactitude."[59] His name as president was entered on the Cheltenham mortgage. But his legal efforts to obtain the deeds to the land in Iowa had failed. The court granted the property by "default" to the Icarian Community at Nauvoo. This judgment was accorded in April 1858 when Mme Cabet and Céline, the legal title-holders, did not appear for the court hearing. By 1860, the Iowa land titles were secured by the remaining Majority Nauvoo Community who had moved there.[60]

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[56] George R. Brooks, "Some New Views of Old Cheltenham" Missouri Historical Society Bulletin v. 22 (1): October, 1965, 32-34. It was called the "Sulphur Spring Resort" and was not a very successful business venture.

[57] Nouvelle Revue Icarienne, August 15, 1858.

[58] Ibid., 16. This claim was placed in the "Report of the state of the Community from the month of August 1858 to the month of February 1859."

[59] Ibid.

[60] Paul S. Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia" The Icarians of Adams County and Colonies in Denton County, Texas, Nauvoo, Illinois, Cheltenham, Missouri, and Cloverdale,

A number of the Cheltenham members considered abolishing the office of President altogether and substituting a multiple gerance. Their leader, Vogel, reflected that the Community's "circumstances are different today" than they were when Cabet imposed his laws. On November 27, 1858, Vogel asked the Assembly, "Do we want a dictatorial power?" A number of discerning viewpoints about Cabet's power were presented to the Assembly in the following weeks.[61] One member, Dieuaide, enumerated the President's control over rules and minor law changes on December 13, and then he asked, "Is this a Democracy? No! its rather a kind of Aristocracy! . . . The Founder of Icaria drew up his Propositions as a remedy, it was an exception which would last only four years, and some people have made this exception the rule."[62] Most of the Assembly members, however, hesitated to change the law. Uttenweiller had agreed with Vogel and argued that a single person had too much responsibility and therefore there were not enough "safeguards" for

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California (Corning: Gauthier Publishing Company, 1992), 57-8. Gauthier deposited his research copies of the court documents at the ACIS office. They show that on April 3, 1858, the plaintiff, the Icarian Community v. Dennis (sic Denise) and Celine Favard (defendant) heirs at law of Etienne Cabet, had the warranty deed to the lands conveyed to them by default. The defendants failed to appear after being "legally served with notice." On October 8, 1858, the defendants appealed claiming there "was no such Corporation in existence either in Iowa or Illinois as the Icarian Community so as to entitle them to sue or hold property in their own name in the State of Iowa." In addition they pleaded that their "place of residence" was "so far from the place of this Court that it has been impossible for them to get ready to put in their answer and defense at this term of Court." The court "upon hearing defendants motion and proofs offered, over rules the same on March 30, 1859." Copies were mailed to Denise Cabet and Celine Favare (sic) and to Benjamin Mercadier who "acknowledged the receipt of same."

[61] Nouvelle Revue Icarienne, December 15, 1858. The members names and responses during the discussions were published.

[62] Blick and Grant, "French Icarians," 13. Blick and Grant recopied and translated many of the spokesmen's arguments for and against keeping the office of president.

the rest of the members. Nonetheless, Uttenweiller thought that the "moment is poorly chosen to attempt change" and they should not "jeopardize everything a second time."[63]

Salarnier defended the Presidency, claiming that Cabet "was a Dictator at the start of the undertaking, but he was like Christ, his dictatorship was moral."[64] Charles Raynaud agreed and added that their "propositions have not even the shadow of a Dictatorship: for in Icaria, where are the armies and the power of the Dictator? Here, the Dictator is the People alone."[65] Fegris argued that they did not want a dictator, only a "strong President to do good and incapable of doing harm."

On February 3, 1859, the majority voted to support rule by a President and they reenacted the engagement they had taken with Cabet on October 13, 1856. In a somber mood of reform, they pledged that from then on, there would be no more smoking or drinking at all. A week later, Vogel and five others tendered their resignations.[66] Mercadier urged these dissidents to leave "without delay." In a few days, forty-four others followed them. (They had fulfilled their pledge to Cabet not to leave before February 3, 1859, and had done so.) The faithful were glad to be rid of these "transient Icarians."[67] Nonetheless, their departure was a setback for the Community because it lost valuable workers.

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63 Ibid., 14.

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid., 15.

66 Sutton, Les Icariens, 109. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 444-5.

67 Sutton, Les Icariens, 109. Those who left took $188 in cash, $588 in IOUs and the value of $1,800 in clothing and tools.

Mothers propose to eliminate a "radical flaw"

The lively bustle of setting up workshops during 1858 provided women with an opportune moment to challenge the Assembly about Cabet's rules for nursing mothers. At a meeting on October 12, 1858, four nursing mothers proposed that the commission "in charge of production in general in the Community" change the laws regarding their workday and community space.[68] The spokeswomen stated that they were "convinced that the actual organization of nursing mothers had a radical flaw" which had to be "remedied as promptly as possible." They complained that there was no "exact control" to determine the work being done by the nursing women and "critics were circulating suspicions about them." Their job assignments were "parceled out" by other workshops and when the Assembly gave public reports on the labor production of nursing mothers, their accounts did not reflect all the work that was being done for them by nursing mothers.[69] Infant care was not scored at all it seems, and "parceled out" jobs were being counted unfairly as work done by other shops.

The four spokespersons resented being the source of a "radical flaw" (gossip) caused by critics' "suspicions" regarding the amount of work they performed in the Community. Therefore, they put together a plan for "establishing a workshop, large enough to contain furnishings and personnel needed for a half dozen nursing children. Each of the infants' cribs would be separated by a partition." They believed that a more efficient organization of their quarters would "clear up all the difficulties." Mothers could

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68 Nouvelle Revue Icarienne, November 1, 1858.

69 Ibid.

go to work at their workshop "at 9 AM and leave at 4 PM in the winter and 5 PM in the summer. The rest of their time would be employed in household chores and tending to their baby's care."[70] The women also inserted a clause which noted that "a nursing mother who has many babies cannot put in ten hours." This necessary qualification reflected the "wet-nursing" practice of breast-feeding multiple children that resulted from a new mother's low milk supply or the women's generous care for orphan babies (perhaps, children born close together). The mothers asked the Assembly men to "equip the nursing workshop with all the necessary accessories for babies, [high] chairs, carriages, rockers, etc." They would take turns each week "washing the babies' clothing, preparing the necessary [baby] foods, and amusing them" in this collective unit. The workshop needed a laundry tub installed for washing soiled diapers, clothing, and blankets. With these fixtures in place, the mothers would then be able to spend more "time at work" in this agreeable setting, when they were not nursing their babies.[71]

The language of the mother's proposal did not argue that the Assembly should count their nursing and child care as measurable "work" for their Society. Instead, they were simply asking the men to provide adequate nursery furnishings in a building to make it possible for them to spend more time "at work" which would eliminate the "radical flaw" of gossip about the amount of work they did. These mothers' remarks show that they accepted the negative value placed on infant care as non-work. Like their social peers, real "work" was regarded as an activity beyond childcare and they could do more of this for

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[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid.

the Community if they had better facilities.

The spokeswomen bargained for these aids by promising that they would be able to do more tasks, like community "mending," in their workshop.[72] They asked for four rule changes:

> 1) For six weeks after her delivery, the laundry for a nursing mother will be washed by a citoyenne each week.
> 2) A nursing mother will care for her baby at home for four months. Then she will go to the workshop. Until then, she will spend her time caring for the baby, her household, and mending.
> 3) After two years the child will enter the nursery school.
> 4) There will be no exceptions to the rule, unless they are sick.[73]

In Nauvoo, nursing mothers had been ridiculed as "little princesses," for Cabet not only exempted them from the workshops for two years, but had other women do all their laundry. Cooks had to see to it that their meals were delivered to their quarters during the nursing period. This exceptional provision by Cabet disturbed Icarians of both sexes, but especially pitted women against other women who were unaccustomed to such rarified treatment. New mothers' exemption from the workshop added an extra load to the others laundry, sewing, and food production jobs. The latter felt that a mother's daily care of a baby hardly equalled their own ten-hour work day, followed by uncounted "afterhours" household upkeep.

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[72] Ibid. Recall that they had decided to buy new clothes in St. Louis, rather than keep mending the old ones. "Mending" was a time consuming, vexatious job.

[73] Ibid., November 1, 1858, March 1, 1859. The four nursing mothers were Loiseau, Bauer, Rey, and Droussant. Their proposal for placement of two year olds did not mention whether they returned home at night, but they undoubtedly did for the law published on March 1, 1859 (Article 9) stated, "Children under six sleep with parents." Thus, the care for those over two was for working hours only, not 24 hours. Cabet's fear that children suffered from 'contamination by mothers' was not part of the writings, attitudes, and practices of the St. Louis Icarians.

The nursing women in Cheltenham were tired of the abuse leveled at them and acted to change Cabet's system. If their proposal was accepted, the laundry women would only wash a new baby's soiled clothes for six weeks, not for two years. Furthermore, they wanted the nursing mothers' workshop exemption reduced from two years to four months. In their revised model, mothers could alternate baby care with the kind of "work" that counted in public. Nonetheless, they wanted cribs, carriages, playthings, room dividers, and a laundry tub installed. These changes would upgrade their images as bona fide workers rather than 'princesses.'

While the exact number of infants being cared for in 1858 was not given, the census for 1860 showed that Cheltenham housed twenty babies aged two or younger.[74] By rearranging their space, a mother's labor would be supervised and counted as proof that mothers were workers. Cabet's rules had isolated them. Now, they could incorporate the care of babies into their daily "work." But did the Assembly act on their proposal? The "Report of the state of the Community from the month of August 1858 to the month of February 1859" did not comment on the implementation of the mothers' November 1858 request for changes. Nonetheless, it is possible that they were carried out, or still under consideration since they were published.

The 1859 Colony report stated that "it would be advisable that not another house be erected unless the site of our village is clearly fixed."[75] Buildings were still being

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[74] Icarian Studies Newsletter, Spring, 1988, 5-6. The census report on June 7, 1860 listed the names, ages, and countries of origin of the St. Louis "Cabetists."

[75] Blick and Grant, "French Icarians," 21. This may be excerpted (by me) out of context and simply be a reference to maps of their property.

arranged and it is hard to determine if the nursing mothers' quarters were being "clearly fixed" since they were not specified in the report. As yet, the report noted that they did not have a building for an infirmary although they had "finished the Doctor's house."[76] There was a pharmacy located in the large refectory and two "water closets" were installed.[77] They repaired the "kitchen oven" but were still having problems with the "composition of meals" and "the drudgeries of the kitchen."[78] The theater was "slightly enlarged" and they held numerous plays, concerts, games, choruses, recitals, and balls which included the "presence of our children."[79] At Cheltenham, children were not only an inclusive group in their festivities, but a more visible presence in the summertime when the public schools recessed. They had to settle new questions such as "the drudgery done by the pupils" outside of the school."[80] Overall, children and adults in St. Louis shared more time, work, and leisure activities together than they had in Nauvoo.

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[76] Ibid., 17-20.

[77] Ibid., 17-18. They sold medicine for a profit of $206.

[78] Ibid., 20-1. They also had a forge which along with the "tailor's, shoemaker's, cooper's shops mainly constitute our outside production." There was a long list of things that were sown with "2,000 yards of fabric" that cost $300. (They had a sewing machine.) They made 12 men's overcoats, 14 men's summer coats, 18 pairs of trousers, 7 waistcoats, 4 wool jackets, 8 wool caps, 11 felt caps, 55 men's shirts. For women: 10 women's dresses, 10 dress camisoles, 6 work camisoles, 4 cotton jackets, 7 dress aprons, 8 work aprons, 12 handkerchiefs, 2 petticoats, 6 pants, 29 pairs of stockings. Sundry items: 16 quilts, 16 pairs of bedsheets, 40 pillowslips, 8 comforters, 8 kitchen aprons, 76 pairs of shoes and 18 safety curtains. Were all these products sold? It is unclear if some were for members.

[79] Ibid., 19. They danced the quadrilles, waltzes, polkas, and the schottische." The "dancing and bearing were generally satisfactory thanks to the lessons given by our best dancers and to the public feeling which animates us."

[80] Ibid.

Unfortunately, the community was beseiged by a plague of disabling illnesses in the Spring of 1859. A "veritable epidemic" of fevers and dysentery struck entire families. The source of the "infections was the nearby River des Péres, an open sewer whose foul water and swamps were a breeding ground for flies and mosquitoes."[81] In August, twelve new members joined the Colony which increased their numbers to 127.[82] They still had bachelors and the Cabet women in Paris helped make arrangements for several single women to travel to Cheltenham. Their romantic expectations of marriage and life in the community proved unsatisfactory. Disillusioned, they returned to France where they sought out the compassionate ear of Mme Cabet. The Cheltenham Assembly decided to stem future French departures of single women who did not understand their system because of the "dissidence" caused by this group.[83] They authored a special address to "Young girls in Paris" in April 1860.[84] It began with praises for the role of a "virtuous wife" and "mother." But the writers declared, "a woman is either an angel or a demon."[85] No doubt the dissident women fell into the latter category, for they were depicted as

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[81] Sutton, Les Icariens, 111.

[82] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 449.

[83] Loiseau to Beluze, April 30, 1860 CIS SIUE. They reported problems with the trousseaus, food, and "exhorbitant" boat passage costs. The dissidents "lacked heart and perseverance." Sutton, Les Icariens, 173n40. An excerpt taken from Clédes to Monsieur, November 12, 1862, charged Beluze with financial mismanagement and not sending the money he promised. Clédes also said that Beluze failed to send over "tested Icarians devoted to the popular cause." Instead he gave them "stupid men" and "prostitutes." This was very likely a reference to the "dissident" single, young women.

[84] Charles Raynaud Aux jeunes filles de Paris April 23, 1860 CIS SIUE folder 12. Raynaud Collection.

[85] Ibid.

"revolting, ungrateful, and their actions were indelicate." The young women had not only "spent an infinite time with their toilette" but they read "novels" that inspired "bad passions." In short, they did not understand that they were coming to Cheltenham to "participate in the most advanced Democracy" and did not appreciate the Community's system. The authors also included sarcastic references to their meeting with Mme Cabet.[86]

When misunderstandings arose, these adventuresome women expected Mme Cabet and Céline to act as buffers. They felt comfortable reporting their problems to these female associates in Paris. In Cheltenham, their vociferous complaints were met by remarks from Assembly men like Raynaud who did not like having to listen to them. "But, citoyenne, let me have my turn to speak," he wrote about in his conversation with these women, who clearly were not easily subdued by the Cheltenham patriarchs.[87] In a similar fashion, Loiseau wrote to Beluze during the same month to register his complaints about the young girls. They were insubordinate, critical, and needed to understand their "duties."[88] In a later communique, Loiseau told Beluze, that "You don't know what horrible people we have endured."[89] The "horrible" folks (not necessarily just the young women) criticized the Colony, found the lodgings too uncomfortable, and their food bad. They also disliked the unhealthy conditions and fevers.[90] The circulation of these negative stories by the

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86 Ibid.

87 Ibid.

88 Loiseau to Beluze, April 30, 1860. CIS SIUE.

89 Ibid., September 9, 1860.

90 Ibid. Loiseau added that they had a Doctor Pelletier who spoke about an active substance for the treatment of their fever called "Escaline," but they had not been able to find it in St. Louis. If the "remedy" could be found in Paris, he asked to have it sent with

disenchanted recruits, reduced other potential emigrants' enthusiasm.

The Colonies robust spirits faltered. The rash of mysterious, fever-like diseases and lost days off work meant reduced cash income. Cheltenham's financial state was shaky.[91] Mercadier tried to devise ways to run the colony more profitably as their landlord pressed them for the $1,500 payment due in February 1860.[92] At their meeting in the fall of 1859, they noted that they had barely gained $60 from newspaper sales. The Assembly recommended that they discontinue the publication.[93] They also considered ending the Paris bureau but waited till the Spring of 1860 to tell Beluze.[94]

Besides their internal economic and health crises, the US Civil War broke out. In the Spring of 1861, five Icarian men signed up for the Union Army. Shortly afterwards, a company of Union troops was billeted at Cheltenham and made heavy demands on their food supplies. In June, Mercadier and twenty other men enlisted for three months.[95] Even one Icarienne joined the Army.[96] In the fall, nineteen more Icarian men enlisted.[97] The loss

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the next departure.

[91] Nouvelle Revue Icarienne, October 1, 1859. They had admitted a Doctor Mallet who spoke both French and English and would be available to help them with sickness. They had a Pharmacy and sold purgative pills, febriguge liquor," and "anti-rhumatismatique elixir" to those in the area. They also had a midwife in the society. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 454n2. In August 1860, 80 of the 130 members were sick.

[92] Sutton, Les Icarians, 111-3. Mercadier recommended they "study commerce" and use capitalist markets more effectively.

[93] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 477n1. The last issue of the paper was on March 15, 1860.

[94] Sutton, Les Icarians, 112. Loiseau to Beluze, April 30, 1860. Loiseau wrote "I think we are going too far by suppressing the Bureau."

[95] Sutton, Les Icarians, 113. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 457.

[96] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 461. Prudhommeaux did not specify whether she went

of these strong men from the Community labor force stalled their development.[98] As in all wartime emergencies, women, children, and the elderly multiplied their workloads, which included daily care for nearly twenty infants and toddlers.[99] Four families gathered up their children and left along with another single member. One disheartened couple wrote that it was not the system that was wrong, for they had enjoyed living in Cheltenham for a year and a half, but they had recently become "totally disillusioned" and upset with the Assembly problems. Because "we are too corrupt to found an Icarian Community," they made the "unhappy decision" to leave.[100]

By the fall of 1862, there were only 21 men, 29 women, and 32 children left to earn money to satisfy their creditors. Sixteen men were still away with the army.[101] Beluze had been notified about the closing of the Paris office and sent his resignation.[102]

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alone or with her husband, nor which Army job she performed. (Women in the military worked in laundry, food preparation, cleaning, sewing, and medical care.)

97 It is unclear whether the 19 in the Fall were the same men from the Spring three month sign up, or whether the 20 + 19 meant 39 men were gone altogether. Since the size of the Community had been declining, it would be quite likely that the same men re-enlisted.

98 Sutton, Les Icarians, 113. Mercadier wrote in December 1862 that the "American war hit like a low blow." Each volunteer received a "guarantee of a $414 annual pension, clothes, and 160 acres of tillable land in the west by virtue of the Homestead Act, then pending in the Congress." My opinion would hold that these rewards were not the primary incentives for joining the Army. Although the soldiers received pay, the Union cause very likely prompted them to sign up.

99 This was the figure from the 1860 census and may have changed in the interval.

100 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 458, 458n3. This letter was from L. Rambeau and his wife. They were referring to Loiseau's slandering of Mercadier after he "reproached" Loiseau bitterly which brought "discord into the Colony."

101 Sutton, Les Icarians, 114. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 461.

Mercadier's thirty-two year-old wife, who had worked day and night with the boarding school girls, died the year before. In conjunction with the criticisms of his capitalist profit producing ventures, Mercadier's raison d'être receded.[103] He left and set up his own shop in St. Louis.[104]

When the details about the closing of the Paris office and the Cheltenham mortgage forfeiture were being finalized in January 1863, the Assembly answered a request by Mme Cabet that solved a primary research puzzle. One short sentence in a letter from Raynaud to Beluze in Paris, explained why no correspondence from Mme Cabet and Céline to Cabet can be found among the Community documents.[105] After the

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[102] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 466-7. Prudhommeaux interviewed Beluze while conducting his research. He provided him with helpful records and personal observations. After resigning from the Icarian office, Beluze founded the Crédit du Travail on September 27, 1862 with 170 members and initial capital of 20,000 francs to aid worker's associations. Sutton, Les Icarians, 173n40. Beluze was succeeded as the head of the French Icarians by Charles Raynaud and he turned the Icarian documents and papers over to him. Rancière, Nights of Labor, 412-3. Rancière analyzed Beluze's ideological move toward support for the "system of worker associations" as the "need of our time." Beluze felt, "Associations will become veritable nurseries of Icarians."

[103] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 462. Mercadier's wife died in April 1861. They had no children

[104] Sutton, Les Icarians, 114. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 469n2, 457-8, 462n1, 464, 469. In 1868, Mercadier opened a "notions and fancy goods shop" in St. Louis and by 1883, A. Shaw described him as a "gentleman of wealth and influence in St. Louis." Prudhommeaux reported that two of the dissidents (Leitzellmann and Coëffe) returned to France and tried to reclaim $1,500 reimbursements from Beluze as the Icarian agent in late 1862. Beluze observed on January 6, 1863 that he had been condemmed twice to prison, had a dozen domicile visits from the police, and was denounced as the head of a secret society by eight or ten parquets in the provinces. After "all that" the Icarians [falsely] accused him of using monies for "personal economies."

[105] Except for a few notes in Charles' letters (Krolikowski, December 1847) and the one to the Roinés in March 1856, none of Mme Cabet and Céline's letters to Cabet have survived.

President read a letter from Mme Cabet to the Assembly, Raynaud wrote that they "decided that we will send all the writings (ecrits) that we have here belonging to or written by Cabet to them [Mme Cabet and Céline]."[106] Since none of these letters have been recovered, Mme Cabet and Céline may have destroyed them to safeguard their future. This void in the Cabet documents muted the voices of two important figures in the history of Icaria.

When the Paris office dissolved, the group drew up another document that returned to Mme Cabet the proceeds from Cabet's publications.[107] Beluze married Céline in 1862 and she died in 1866.[108] Mme Cabet lived for another decade, and according to a letter from Krolikowski on February 13, 1871, was actively promoting the biography of her husband at that time.[109] She died on August 26, 1877 at the age of 86.[110]

Mme Cabet, Céline, and the Icarian citoyennes of her generation faced enormous opposition to realizing Cabet's egalitarian theories regarding women. He projected a utopia where women would be given the right to choose partners in dowry-free marriages,

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[106] Raynaud to Beluze, January 23, 1863 CIS SIUE Raynaud collection.

[107] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 464n2. In 1860, their pensions were reduced to1,000 francs.

[108] Ibid. Céline died on April 15, 1866 (probably in her mid-forties since calculations suggest she was born in the 1820s). She and Beluze had no children.

[109] Krolikowski to Beluze, Feb. 13, 1871. Cabet Fonds, IISG.

[110] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 464n2. Cabet to Céline, October 15, 1855 CIS SIUE folder 7. Cabet wrote Céline about how he regretted that her poor mother was becoming deaf. "That makes me even more sorry that I am not to be at the side of you two." Nonetheless, he added that if your mother would write to my brother Louis [Cabet], he would be pleased. Hard of hearing or simply inattentive, 65 yr. old Mme Cabet lived for twenty-one years after her husband died.

participate in advanced education, and practice professional careers as physicians, professors, priestessess, and scientists. From the advantaged prism of time, the gains of the Colony women pale when judged by contemporary definitions of gender equality for women, but the record of their determined efforts in Nauvoo and Cheltenham remain. Icarian ideals, fostered by Cabet, awakened their (feminist) consciousness of women's inferior status in French society and convinced thousands that gender reforms like those he planned for Icarians, were both needed and possible. Even after the Nauvoo split, the faithful, law-observing women in Cheltenham, acted on their own to request a greater measure of political power. They circumvented Cabet's education formulas and kept their young children with them at night. Nursing mothers designed and formulated specific rules to govern child-care facilities that annulled Cabet's laws. Icariennes were not passive participants. Cabet and his patriarchal cohorts' authoritarian versions of equality for women had failed to make theory into satisfactory practice. This caused the defection of many erstwhile Colonists. Yet, scores of determined women remained to bargain for equitable work and child care schedules, despite their rejected requests for full political stature.

Several Cheltenham residents refused to abandon the fraternal rewards inherent in the Community system in 1863 when the group dissolved. They eventually went to Iowa to join the Nauvoo stalwarts who were constructing a modified version of Icaria in a pastoral setting.[111] Ten years earlier, when the Iowa site was chosen, Cabet had metaphorically referred to it as the "desert" - a place where isolation would help Icarians

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[111] Sutton, Les Icarians, 115.

practice fraternity without the dangerous corruption of individualistic outside contaminants. The new Colony was seventy miles north of the closest commercial town, St. Joseph Missouri. Far from being an arid "desert," it was situated on some of the best land in the State of Iowa.[112]

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[112] I was treated to a tour of the original site of the Iowa Colony by Mable Scheers, President of the ACIS, in December 1995. We observed the scenic landscape and nearby "Lake Icaria" where Jules Renaud and his expedition camped in 1851. In an interview that I had with Paul Gauthier, author of the book, "Quest for Utopia" The Icarians of Adams County, he too, appraised the Icarians' section of land as the "best" in Adams County (June 1996).

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

RETREAT FROM A QUERULOUS URBAN ICARIA TO A PASTORAL SETTING

When Cabet died, he left his Minority members in St. Louis and the Majority ones in Nauvoo in disarray. Both retained skewed emotions from the hostile exchanges of the previous year. Each faction calculated the ruinous effects on human relationships, housing, food, and material supplies, differently. Their economic problems were intensified by the world-wide depression of 1857. While they might have managed the after effects of the schism successfully in a booming economy, at this time, both sides lacked money and the strains caused members to leave. Local market opportunities to earn income contracted and creditors demanded payments. Even with aid from the Paris office, the St. Louis Icarians were unable to overcome budget deficits.

When the Majority in Nauvoo learned that they were cut off from Parisan financial and recruitment mechanisms, they were forced to make critical decisions about their future based on an inventory of their debt and resources. They had to be cautious, since the 'secret' group of concerned townspeople in Nauvoo were keeping an eye on them. In addition, they were vilified by the Minority in the pages of the Nouvelle Revue Icarienne and in their communications to Beluze.[1] Letters "of explanation sent by the Majority in

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[1] Des Membres de la Communauté Icariens de St Louis aux Icariens de France, d'Europe et de tous les pays November 23, 1856 CIS SIUE folder 8. The St. Louis group assured them that they "had not abandoned the judiciary proceedings directed by us against the Community of Nauvoo before the Court of Carthage and the Legislature of Illinois. On the contrary, we press it with vigor, we are not without hope for our side. In the midst of our pain and our difficulties, one consolation remains with us, that is to be finally separated from these vicious men and perjurers who want to ruin the Icarian Colony." They cited the example of one of the most hostile leaders, Montaldo, who had left and returned to individualism. "One says his mission is accomplished, and that he came to touch the price offered of a Judas of the communist cause." This document was

Nauvoo to France were returned unanswered."[2] The Majority tried to defend their viewpoint in the Revue Icarienne[3] and made an effort to maintain fraternal relations with their London affiliates. However, they refused to arbitrate the "property" dispute between the two factions.[4]

Two months after Cabet's death, resolutions about the Majority's future were being discussed in the Assembly. (Eighteen of the two hundred and thirty-nine Nauvoo members were in Iowa.) The Assembly passed "An Act Organizing the Icarian Colony in Iowa" on March 21, 1857. Copies were published in English by the Icarian Printing Establishment.

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reprinted on the front page of the first issue of their new paper on January 1,1857. Six months later, they added to this information in the Nouvelle Revue Icarienne, June 15, 1857. The article told about the "retreat of many of the heads in question, Montaldo, Katz, Mathieus, etc.: there is a division between those who remain."

[2] Shaw, Icaria, 75, 21n1, ix. Shaw was "indebted to J.B. Gérard" for some of his information. He acknowledged help from A.A. Marchand, A. Sauva, and E.Péron.

[3] Ibid., 76.

[4] Blick and Grant, "French Icarians," 7-9. The "Central Committee of The International Association of London" sent a letter to the "Members of the Icarian Community in St. Louis, (Mo)" and Mercadier replied to them on January 19, 1859. The London Group was asked to help arbitrate a "friendly arrangement" about "property" for the Nauvoo Icarians. The substance of the two letters shows that the "citizens of Nauvoo" had written to the London group and they in turn, wrote to the St. Louis Icarians. "We regret that we convey to you their [Nauvoo] resolve to turn down any friendly arrangement with you. - In your proposal, they see only a refinement of perfidious hypocrisy . . . we cannot decide your differences . . . we deplore that it is property again which is the cause that the Communists have recourse to the tribunals of Bourgeois Society . . . we are sure that in spite of the refusal of the citizens of Nauvoo to accept your proposal your zeal for the cause will not grow cold." In his letter, Mercadier thanked them for their prompt response and stated that "Our proceedings against them are the consequence of their obstinacy to keep that which we regard as our property. In a word, we continue the war, because they do not want peace. . . . they despoiled us." Mercadier concluded that since the "citizens of Nauvoo are members of your association . . . you should make them hear some fraternal and energetic words" and assured them that their "zeal will not grow colder."

This translation made the text accessible to American neighbors and courts. They recorded it in Iowa on April 20, 1857. It "voided" and "replaced" the Acts for the Iowa organization that had been recorded on June 12, 1854 and August 4, 1854 under Cabet's presidency. The new Act began by stating that "the establishment founded in Adams County, Iowa, by the Icarian Community of Nauvoo, Illinois is named and styled the Icarian Colony."[5] Article 2 read: "As soon as practicable, the seat of the Icarian Community shall be transfered to its Icarian Colony."[6] These two articles constituted the members' clear intention to move the Nauvoo establishment to Iowa where it would be termed Icarian "Colony" not "Community." Other articles listed the administrative forms of the Iowa Colony. It would have an Icarian Constitution, by-laws, and elective processes similar to those in Nauvoo.[7] In addition, Article 11 affirmed that "The sale of the real estate in the Icarian Colony can not be made but with the consent of three-fourths of the voting members, both in Illinois and in Iowa, of the Icarians."[8] The wording in this section

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[5] Charter and By-Laws of the Icarian Community (Nauvoo: Icarian Printing Establishment, May 1857). ACIS Wheeler Collection. "An Act Organizing the Icarian Colony in Iowa" was on pages 30-33. It was discussed January 24, 1857, passed March 21, 1857, and recorded by "J.H. Colvin, Recorder of Adams County Iowa on April 20, 1857 in book A on pages 69 and 70."

[6] Ibid. "An Act Organizing the Icarian Colony in Iowa" set forth the manner of electing President, Vice-President, Secretaries, Directors, etc. It was at the end of earlier "Acts." The Charter began with the "Act to Incorporate the Icarian Community" on February 1, 1851 in the Illinois Legislature, followed by the May 4, 1851 Constitution with 183 Articles. Next, "By-laws relating to the General Assembly of the Icarian Community" of April 5, 1850, and "By-laws "relating to the Admission, Withdrawal and Exclusion" on June 12, 1854. Changes were made on August 23, 1856 which provided withdrawal amounts of $20 paid to an adult (male age 21, female age 18), and $10 to a child.

[7] Ibid., 31-1. Articles 4, 5, 6, 10, and 12.

[8] Ibid., 31. Article 11.

did not allow for any real estate or voting imput by the Missouri Icarian faction.

Since Cabet had presidental powers which made it possible for him to violate correspondance privileges and withhold information from the group, the new Iowa Act moved to change this one-man control.[9] Article 17 stated that "The administrative correspondence with the Community shall be attended to by the secretary-treasurer who prepares the letters which must be submitted to the approbation of the Colonial Assembly." Hereafter, no Icarian President would be given exclusive power to propagate material without the knowledge and approval of everyone. The articles also ruled that the administration would present regular accounts of membership, work, receipts, and expenses, to the entire Assembly.

With the goal of moving to Iowa at the center of their activity, some furnishings were selected to be loaded on wagons for the six day trip to the Iowa Colony. The first load crossed the frozen Mississippi in January 1858.[10] Assets in land, buildings, and surplus fixtures were sold at auction. To faciliate legal manuevers, Prudent and Gérard temporarily resigned as members to fill trustee positions on November 6, 1857.[11] They

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[9] Sutton, Les Icariens, 119.

[10] Ibid., 117. Cabet told Céline the trip to Iowa took six days in the fall of 1855. In January, the frozen river might shorten this route, but the ice, snow, and cold were also hurdles. Ross, Child of Icaria, 113. Marie had often heard of how her mother and two brothers, then six and four, had come in a covered wagon drawn by oxen, traveling by day and setting up a tent to camp at night. Cite. Gérard and her children were with them and John Caillé drove the oxen."

[11] Shaw, Icaria, 77. Gérard and the "assignees" had the property placed in their hands for "the benefit of creditors." J.B. Gérard pamphlet, Several Truths Concerning the Last Icarian Crisis December 15, 1879, Corning, Iowa. CIS SIUE David C. Martin Collection folder 1, 2.

spent the next two years working out the debts and sale of "twenty-five places" including the school building, refectory, stables, forge, distillery, and saw mill.[12] Complete details about the Majority reorganization ceased when they stopped publishing their newspaper.

The Nauvoo auction receipts amounted to $21,000. However, the Community debts were $32,000. They were short $11,800.[13] In addition, they needed $1,000 for the legal costs to secure the Iowa land titles.[14] To satisfy the remaining creditors, they were able to get a mortgage for 3,100 acres of their Iowa land from a financier named William Shepherd.[15] The Icarians closed the Nauvoo ledger by shifting the remaining burden to the Iowa Colony. On September 8, 1860, they obtained a charter from the State of Iowa to incorporate themselves as an Agricultural Society. With their debtors paid, the last Icarians left Nauvoo.[16]

During these three years, three-fourths of the Nauvoo membership resigned. Although little is known about their motivations, surely the risks involved in resettling in Iowa coupled with economic, legal, and administrative upheavals in Nauvoo, weakened the dedication of many to the movement. Of the 239 Majority members in October 1856, 178 had left by 1860. These departing members were paid $20 per adult and $10 per child

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[12] Sutton, Les Icariens, 117, 77. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 475, 480-1, 480n1.

[13] Sutton, Les Icariens, 117. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 480-2.

[14] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 477. Prudhommeaux confessed to the lack of information on 1858-59. Sutton, Les Icariens, 116-7.

[15] Sutton, Les Icariens, 117-117n5. This auction sale was published in The Representative on August 20, 1858. Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 43-4.

[16] Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 59. The Iowa Articles of Incorporation had 19 sections. Shaw, Icaria, 77.

according to the August 1856 retreat formula. This cost the Nauvoo Community about $4,000. In 1860, 61 members signed the Iowa Articles of Incorporation. (Some signed for their underage children.)[17] The inventory that year showed that they had erected thirty log cabins in Iowa to live in. This would not have been enough housing for the 239 Majority members and very likely prompted many to resign. When the rest of the Icarians settled there in 1860, they had cleared and were cultivating 360 acres and owned 19 horses, 14 pairs of oxen, 134 sheep, 300 pigs, and 71 heads of cattle with 35 milk cows.[18]

Mortgagee William Shepherd was lenient about the payment lapses during the relocation period. He accumulated interest at10% and their debt rose to $17,561. However, in April 1863, Shepherd foreclosed.[19] The land was put on the auction block in Des Moines. Shepherd was the highest bidder at $5.25 per acre and he proceeded to arrange a "counter proposal" with the Colony. They could "buy back" their mortgage by "surrendering some 2,000 acres of land with $5,000 to be paid in part by the sale of cattle."[20] The Icarians agreed and made the first payment on the reduced mortgage in January 1866.[21]

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17 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 482. Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 62.

18 Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 59. The inventory reported the harvest of 2,500 bu. of corn, 500 bu. of oats, 400 pounds of wool and 30 tons of hay along with "bountiful" produce on the six acre garden. 100 cords of wood were cut for the winter. Jean Louvier, Iowa Finance Director, estimated the Colony's net worth at $46,115. He figured their land @ $10 acre, but with so much available, there was hardly any market. The population in Adams county was 1,500 people.

19 Ibid., 58. The interest was compounded annually at 10%. In 1862, the debt was $17,561.

20 Ibid., 60. An annual payment of $614 was spread over the next four years.

21 This unusual mortgage arrangement with Shepherd came about soon after the

Fraternity and Homesteads

During the first six years of the decade, a period marked by the Civil War and reductions in Western land values due to the Homestead Act, the Iowa membership shrunk from 61 to 35.[22] One could speculate that the hardships of pioneer agriculture caused most withdrawals, but the opportunity to acquire individual free "homesteads" in the country made leaving less calamitous.

One member who left however, gave different reasons for his departure. J.B. Gérard's account recalled that he had been an enthusiastic twenty-five year old Icarian when he crossed the ocean with the third advance-guard in 1848. He had remained with the Icarian community in "four stations."[23] Gérard had not only spent fifteen years with them but he had worked exceptionally hard to find ways to pay off creditors in Nauvoo after Cabet died. His family stayed in the Colony as he made many trips between the two places. (His resignation was a technicality.) After completing his "trust" duties in Nauvoo, Gérard was about to re-enter in 1863 when he realized that he was "not in accord" with a "prominent member" and chose to withdraw with his family.[24] As Gérard, his wife,

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1862 Homestead Act was passed. Any citizen or alien who declared his intention of becoming a citizen could claim 160 acres by living on the site for five years and paying a small registration fee. The Icarians paid $1.25 per acre earlier. As an agricultural community, not as individual heads of a family, they fell outside the legal perimeters of this land give-away. The Homestead Act, however, made it easier for those who left the Colony to set themselves up as landowners.

[22] Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 60-1. In the next 14 years they repurchased over 1,000 acres and had 2,142 acres in 1878 when the Iowa Colony was divided up by the court.

[23] Shaw, Icaria, 158-9.

[24] Gérard, Several Truths, 1, 2. Gérard was "not hostile" and the Gérard family was often "invited to the feasts" in the Colony. Shaw, Icaria, 159-60.

and their two children began the trek down the mud road to nearby Corning with their meager departure payments, he recalled that they were momentarily overcome by the "ridiculously low salary" they had for "all the years of work and hardship." Suddenly "an immense despair seized us and we wept like children," he wrote. They set up a family farm "adjacent to the Colony."[25] Gérard's story points out that all decisions to leave during the Iowa resettlement era were not prompted by hardship or fear. Gérard left because he could not resolve a disagreeable relationship with a "prominent" member. Fraternity remained a difficult principle to practice. As in Nauvoo, personality problems continued to disrupt the group's harmony during the next decade.

Although the Iowans were not called upon to quarter a company of US soldiers for an extended period during the Civil War like the Cheltenham Community, two men signed up to fight in the Union army.[26] Troops often stopped to buy meat, barley, oats, and wool supplies, which helped bring in money to meet the Colony mortgage payments.[27] Agricultural products "rose in price" during the war years.[28] Sometimes, westward

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[25] Gérard, Several Truths, December 15, 1879. Gérard was forty years old. Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 60. Gérard received $20 (adult) and $10 (child). Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 489, 489n2, 490n1. The emotional scene was recalled to Prudhommeaux by Mme Gérard. The "personality" difficulty could be related to the return of the Gauvain, Montaldo, Vallet, and Busque families. A "prominent" member, however, suggests someone on the gérance board.

[26] Sutton, Les Icariens, 119.

[27] Shaw, Icaria, 80, 83. Many "homesteaders" in the region had problems selling their "surplus" farm goods because of poor market routes. When the railroad passed nearby, the distribution improved. Sutton, Les Icariens, 119. In July 1867, they owned 1,729 acres.

[28] Péron, Brief History, 8. In his 41 page account, Péron used material from Cabet's writings, for example, the Texas men were "imprudent." The first seven pages were a pre-history up to 1876 when Péron entered the Colony.

emigrants spent the night in one of their log cabins. Compared to Nauvoo, the slim Icarian nucleus resembled an extended family in size but they carried on the communal system and regulated each members' work and social activities at weekly Assemblies.

Marchand was elected president successively during these years.[29] His wife gave birth to the first baby in the Iowa Colony on October 4, 1864. They named her Marie. She had two older brothers, Alexis who was eight, and Armel aged ten.[30] Marie had few playmates her age until the Schroeder family moved into the Colony with a four year old girl named Emma.[31] The Schroeders spoke German. Marie and Emma played together and exchanged simple words in their native languages. In a short time, they were both learning English at the District's new school.

In the early years, because there were so few children in the Colony, President Marchand was the one who supervised the children's education with classes taught in French.[32] Marie learned the "principles and ideals of Icarianism" from her father. He read aloud to his family in the evenings. Before she was nine, Marie had "read parts of the Voyage en Icarie by Etienne Cabet, La petite Fadette, by Geroge Sand, even parts of the

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[29] Sutton, Les Icariens, 120. Marchand was re-elected each year until 1876. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 491n3. Schroeder (artist-painter from Germany) was elected president that year.

[30] Ross, Child of Icaria, 7-8. Marchand was 51. Marie Marchand Ross's memoirs are a rich source of information about daily life in the Colony and I have used many selections from her account. Likewise, Elizabeth Ann Rogers drew upon Marie's descriptions in her M.A. Thesis, "The Housing and Family Life of the Icarian Colonies" University of Iowa, 1973. Rogers' also made excellent "conjectural drawings" of their housing and shops.

[31] Ibid. The Schroeder family had five children.

[32] Ibid., 31.

Misères des Enfants Trouvés by Eugène Sue."[33] When sixteen year old Hortence Montaldo entered the Colony with her family, she took over the children's classes in the old log refectory until a new school was built with funds provided by the district in 1870.[34] She had attended high school in Cincinnati, Ohio and went on to pass the teacher examination. The district paid her a salary which was turned over to the common fund.[35]

Like the other families, the Marchands lived in a rough hewn log house with a small window.[36] They had a wood stove, table, trunk, chairs, beds, drinking cups, and a tin wash basin. Unlike the apartment housing in Nauvoo, each family had a separate cabin and children lived with their parents. All ate at the dining-hall and shared the efficient organization of a single kitchen, bakery, supply store, laundry, mill, library, and pharmacy.[37] The seasonal round of agricultural chores was lightened by co-operation and teamwork, despite the material austerity that they endured during their first decade.

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[33] Ibid., 8, 23-4.

[34] Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 66. Her father was Don Ignatius Montaldo from Legrana Spain and was a friend and companion of Garibaldi and Chateaubriand. (He left the Nauvoo Majority and was the target of a "suspicious" report in the minority paper as previously noted.)

[35] Ross, Child of Icaria, 31-3. The Icarian children were the only ones attending at first. Marie and Emma Schroeder started school together, but were a year apart. (five and four). Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 66, 108-9. They used the McGuffy Electic Reader. The school continued after the Icarians disbanded in 1895 as Prescott No.8 (until 1948). It was moved to Corning in 1958 and restored by the Adams County Historical Society. Sutton, Les Icariens, 123. They began the school day with physical exercises, then, they had singing, reading, spelling, and math for the lower grades. Older students studied sciences and geography.

[36] Ross, Child of Icaria, 7-8. The window glass was bought in St. Joseph, Missouri.

[37] Ibid., 8.

As they had in Nauvoo, women worked together in a sewing workshop and a common wash house. They took turns with food preparation and cleanup assignments. In essence, they continued the gender divisions in Iowa, albeit on a reduced scale.[38] They did not have a community child-care set-up like the mothers in Nauvoo and Cheltenham who had more little ones. However, in Iowa "mothers with small children" continued to be excused from the wash house labor for an extended period.[39] They did make some minor changes. For example, mothers washed their babies clothes "at home." But, as Cabet had instructed, the nursing mothers' general "laundry was done at the common wash house" by the women.[40]

Little Marie's mother was a professional seamstress in France, and she went to sew with the other women as soon as Marie began to walk. She left her toddler in the affectionate care of 70 year-old Catherine Utin, their oldest member. The Iowa Colonists did not construct a boarding school for children over two like the one in Nauvoo, although such a facility could have been built. They clearly rejected Cabet's "transitional" education policies. At no time did their reports contain negative remarks about mothers' "meddling" in their children's care. The Iowans combined individual family homes with cooperative workplaces, dining, and camaraderie. Youngsters like Marie, her brothers, the Schroeders, and Montaldos, were spared Cabet's regimented supervision and removal from their

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[38] Ibid., 21.

[39] Ibid., 78. Ross did not give a figure, but the two year period very likely carried over.

[40] Ibid., 78. The infant's laundry would be done by hand in a wash basin (with a scrub board).

parents' nurture.[41]

The Colony members' made their final mortgage payment in 1870. President Marchand had lived with the financial responsibilities undertaken for Cabet's Icarian Communities for over twenty years. Now that they owned their land, the Assembly began making modest plans for growth and material improvements. The Civil War had ended and settlers were building homesteads on the neighboring lands. The Iowans looked forward to a time of peace, security, and prosperity at the start of the 1870s. They voted to replace their small log cabins with sturdier wood frame homes for each family. First, however, they built a 24' by 60' dining hall with a basement and second story. Better quarters would not only make their future pleasanter, but allowed for new members to enter the society.[42]

One major drawback was the water supply. They had to haul large containers of water each day from a distant well by ox cart. The Assembly decided to bore a well and had a man come with a forked stick to "witch" an underground water vein. They drilled the well on the spot where the twig bent and found water. But the well did not produce enough to supply all of the Colony needs, so they dug a cistern for use as an auxiliary storage container.[43] They pumped their laundry water from the cistern.

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[41] Ibid., 9, 25. Catherine Utin was a servant who came to the Nauvoo colony with her master and mistress who had died. Catherine knitted stockings while watching Marie. She also chased the pigs away who ran loose stirring up mud around the cabins. She died at the age of ninety. Marie's memoirs show that children had many carefree, unsupervised experiences. Marie remembered playing with young Emma Schroeder in the woods when a storm came up. She and her friend got lost as they turned back to escape the rain.

[42] Martha Browning Smith, "The Story of Icaria" Annals of Iowa 38 summer 1965, 36-65. Smith had copies of drawings of "The "old" Community - est 1857" (44) and the newer "Frame Buildings erected - Icaria 1870-71." Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 60, 63.

[43] Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 63. Jean Meindre was in charge of the water supply. Ross, Child of Icaria, 37, 43, 108. They also replaced the tables and chairs. The well water

A "fine machinist" who stayed with the Colony for a while constructed a better washing machine for the women.[44]

> It consisted of two or three large barrels, with slats inside, turning on an axis that was cat-a-corner, so when the barrels turned it would splash the clothes up and down in the hot suds. The hot water was supplied by a steam boiler nearby, and the machine ran by horse power, a horse walking around and around, hitched at the end of a pole. The horse had to be blindfolded or it would have made him dizzy. This was a great improvement on the washboard and running the lye. After this the washing could be done in less than a day and by fewer women.[45]

Before they had this labor-saving equipment, the women and girls over sixteen who did the washing followed methods used by women in France. They packed the soiled clothes in a large tank and poured hot water over them. Every few hours they drained the cooled water from a faucet at the bottom, reheated it, and poured it over the clothes again.[46] This repetitive process was turned into a "frolic" by the young girls who had boys keeping them company for a few hours in the evening while they recycled the water. In the morning, the wash women removed the clothes from the tank and laid them out on tables. After they looked over the clothes and scrubbed the difficult stains, the clothes were rinsed, blued, dried, and then returned clean to their owners. While the new machine helped with the dirt removal, labor, and water flow, the other washing chores still had to be done by hand. But

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was used for drinking. When the Colony divided into two groups, the "conservatives" had two new wells bored which had "a constant supply of the purest water," one by the refectory and another by the barn.

[44] Ross, Child of Icaria, 58, 43. "Mr. T..." was a 60 year old "wife hunter" who was honest and intelligent and a "fine machinist." He met the same fate as the first "hunter." When the cistern ran dry, Meindre had to revert to filling barrels on his ox-cart and hauling them to the laundry.

[45] Ibid., 58.

[46] Ibid., 59.

the horse-drawn washer eliminated the youth's evening water-cycle "frolics."[47]

Women in the Iowa Colony continued to do the kinds of work assigned them in Nauvoo. Cabet's Voyage visions of women as doctors and scientists was beyond the scope of their agriculture-intensive labors. Unlike Nauvoo however, gender separations were less rigid. Both sexes carried out the seasonal demands for field work and communal food preparations. For example, Marie's father and a French baker worked together baking bread.[48] They had a problem keeping the leaven from freezing in the bitter winter cold, so they wrapped it in a wool cloth and placed it in a box in their warm bed at night. The bread was so good that many years later, Marie recalled how she loved the tasty little ramponneau (breadsticks) her father baked just for her. While Cabet would have reprimanded Marchand for indulging his child with such favored treatment, the Iowa bakers ignored such narrow definitions of equality. They shared their fresh baked goods with their own offspring and indulged the rest of the Colony school children as well. When the youngsters came to help store the loaves in the cubboard after classes, the bakers treated them to a "big tartine, the whole round of the four pound loaf, spread generously with sorghum molasses." In the late afternoon, the troop of hungry, growing children thought "nothing could have tasted better or have been more satisfying to them."[49]

Most of the mealtime chores, however, were still done by women. The Iowans divided up the kitchen and dining room work into teams of girls over thirteen and older

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47 Ibid., 59. They were placed in baskets with family numbers.

48 Sutton, Les Icariens, 121. Pierre Caillé was the baker.

49 Ross, Child of Icaria, 54-5.

women.

> One woman set the table for meals and cleared the dishes after. All the dishes, except for the knives and forks, and the cups or glasses, were sent down to the [basement] kitchen on the dumb waiter where the two dishwashers took them and washed them and sent the plates back to be put away in the pantry cupboard upstairs. The other dishes were put away in the kitchen closet while the one in the dining room washed the cups and glasses and scoured the steel wooden-handled knives and forks, cleaned the tables, swept the floor and saw that the lamps were cleaned and filled when necessary.[50]

The dishwashers also had "all the big iron cooking pans and kettles to wash, some as large as a wash boiler. One washed and the other dried and put away." The women rotated their chores each week. While one team washed the breakfast dishes, the sound of a cowhorn signaled the other women "to come and help peel potatoes, etc., for dinner." They blew the horn at other times for vegetable and berry pickers. Female partners also took turns churning butter and making cheeses.

While women were largely responsible for these domestic tasks, the male craftsmen and farm workers were busy with their jobs.[51] The Colony shoemaker made pairs of wooden sabots and leather shoes for everyone.[52] Marie's father blackened and

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[50] Ibid., 97.

[51] Pearl Gordon Vestal, Hamilton, Ill., "Nauvoo Icarians Had Many Skills, Century Ago" Hawk-eye Gazette, March 20, 1956, Burlington, Iowa. Vestal's article listed 50 occupations that the Icarians practiced. She categorized some under "learned" professions like mathematics professors, architects, and chemists. Under "fine arts" she listed masters of music, sculptors, and painters. There were also blacksmiths, coopers, gardeners, masons, cartwrights, lumbermen, last-makers, cooks, ebonists, weavers, millers, potters, tapestry-makers, lithographers, braziers, clock-makers, jewelers, mechanics, tailors and shoemakers in her article. Vestal recorded the names of the men alongside their professions.

[52] Ross, Child of Icaria, 20-1. Jean Meindre made the wooden sabots which were worn outdoors. Mignot was a shoemaker and anxious to teach his trade to an apprentice. Marie's brother Alexis refused to learn such work. Michel Bromme made boots, harnesses, and leather goods. Men wore high topped boots to work.

polished their leather shoes every Sunday morning. He also made the soap, turpentine, and candle wax. The men worked at a blacksmith forge, a slaughter house, and a combined flour-saw mill.[53] Tailors made the men's clothing and seamstresses sewed the womens, childrens, and linen items in separate workshops.[54]

The Colony purchased a sewing machine in the late 1860s and Marie learned to sew on it. Her mother, however, preferred the dexterity of her hand sewing and refused to use it. At first, the sewing machine moved back and forth between the tailor's and seamstress's log workshops. But when the new dining hall was finished, they installed it on the second floor where all could take turns using it.[55] Women fashioned simple dresses from blue muslim fabric with white designs that they purchased from the Amanda Colony.[56] At one point, the young Icarian girls experimented with wearing "bloomer" outfits after hearing so much about them from Mr. Gaskin, a visitor who had lived at the Oneida Community. He described the Oneida women's "sensible dresses - long pants with short skirts" and told them about their "shingled hair." The young girls tried wearing them, but "the style did not last."[57] Gaskin did not stay very long at the Colony.[58] Before leaving,

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53 Sutton, Les Icariens, 122-3. Cotteron was the blacksmith.

54 Ross, Child of Icaria, 24. Marie's father appears to have done this for his family, not the whole Colony. Her mother sewed and knitted while her father read to them in the evening.

55 Ibid., 22. Marie noted that Gauvain traveled to Afton to buy the machine. Eugénie Bettannier learned to run it in Afton, and brought it back by train. This was about 1868.

56 Ibid., 101, 22. Marie also wrote that the women selected "their new spring dresses from the many bolts of assorted calicoes or other cotton goods." Sutton, Les Icariens, 120. The Amana Colony was 100 miles east.

57 Ross, Child of Icaria, 57.

he gave Marie and Emma their own books in English: Alice in Wonderland and The Great Rosy Diamond.[59] Neither personal gift-giving nor special food treats caused conflicts about the principles of fraternity in Iowa as they had under Cabet.

Likewise, Cabet had forbidden embroidery work, but women were allowed to practice this craft in Iowa. Citoyenne Mourot, a professional embroiderer in France, taught the girls how to embroider. They enjoying making artful cross-stitch samplers on tapestry.[60] There was always plenty of extra sewing and mending to be done. The disabled, old, and sick members' laundry and mending was "divided among the women who had small families so that each had seven people to iron, mend, and sew for."[61] The sick and elderly in "retirement" were cared for. They had their meals taken to them when they were not up to eating at the refectory.[62] Marie remembered how they delivered food to a sick man who accepted it at the door, but unknown to the others, didn't eat the prepared dishes. After several days, he died without touching the food. The Colony conducted a

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[58] La Jeune Icarie, July 15, 1878 CIS SIUE. Gaskin's name was listed in the newspaper account of those aspirants who were refused admission (to be discussed shortly). Marie did not say why the dress "style" did not last long. However, Gaskin was from the Oneida Colony where women not only wore innovative fashions, but practiced a "complex marriage" system which violated the Iowans' marriage standard.

[59] Ross, Child of Icaria, 57.

[60] Ibid., 22. They also used cross-stitch to mark everyone's clothes.

[61] Ibid., 78.

[62] Ibid. Citoyenne Caillé had "suffered every agony" in the 1848 revolution. Her husband fought in it. She had a newborn at home and was frightened. Not knowing if he was "alive or dead," she feared her place would be searched by the police for "papers that would compromise her husband." She "lost her mind." In Iowa, she had "spells" when she would "scream" and the only one who could comfort her was her husband. They had named their oldest son, "Valmore."

simple funeral for him as they did for everyone. Young children were protected from the funeral distress, they "never went to any."[63]

The Colony, however, did allow members to make outside visits to friends or relatives.[64] When Marie was four years old, she spent a month with her cousin Berthe Favard in Keokuk. Berthe was six years older.[65] The two girl's mothers were sisters.[66] Tante Clarice (Aunt Louise) bought Marie new clothes and helped her learn English.[67] Marie was ten (~1874) when her aunt, uncle, and Berthe, came to the Colony for a few days' visit.[68] When the Favards returned to their home, they took one of the Colony girls, Léonie Claudy, to stay with them while her eye was treated by a Keokuk specialist.[69] Even though the Favards were no longer Icarians, they were nearby and extended their hospitality to help one of their neighbor's children.

As Marie and her girlfriends reached adolescence, they experienced the developmental insecurity many girls undergo regarding their looks. They longed for whiter

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[63] Ibid., 79-80. They made wooden coffins and had their own cemetery.

[64] They retreated from this permissive visiting when the two "parties" were fighting within the group. To be discussed shortly.

[65] Ross, Child of Icaria, 15-7. The Favard's carpeted house was "like a palace." Marie's mother made "rag" rugs for their floors. (Very likely with crochet needles.)

[66] Gontier and Gontier, Partons, 203-4. Marie-Virginie Descombes Marchand's sister was Louise Descombes Favard. (Cabet's daugther Céline's friends.) The Favards left Nauvoo in 1856.

[67] Ross, Child of Icaria, 17, 60.

[68] Ibid., 60.

[69] Ibid., 62. When Léonie Claudy's eyes cleared up, she returned with some "new styles in dress and other things" from the Favards. (And married Eugène Bettannier.)

complexions instead of their sun-tanned skin.[70] One afternoon when the Colony kitchen was vacant, the girls slipped in, peeled, and boiled some potatoes. After mashing them and adding milk, they smeared the paste over their hands and faces. Then, they "sat in the shade for as long as they thought it ought to take to accomplish the change in their complexion, probably several hours."[71] Without being seen, they "sneaked back home" and "washed the stuff off." But to "their disappointment" there was no improvement in their skin tone. The girls did not give up, but tried other herbal remedies. They bathed their skin with "dew off vine leaves every morning in May" and tried "rubbing the skins of cucumbers and tomatoes" on themselves. All the balms were "of no use."[72]

By contrast, young girls in Nauvoo were far too closely supervised to have successfully raided the kitchen for a potato-paste facial, or spent time loafing in the shade. Even though Marie and her girlfriends were able to spend hours on a beauty mask one afternoon, they were regularly recruited for fieldwork to help with the planting, weeding, and harvesting of crops.[73] Even little children had jobs. Marie described a potato bug-picking routine that began when "the children were awakened at four o'clock." They rode to the fields in a farm wagon where

> each child, with a short stick and a tin can, took a row and carefuly looked for the hated potato bugs, knocking them into their little cans with a stick. They had to look under the leaves and pick those with nits or larva on them. It was a race . . .[and some] took two rows . . . No pests must be left behind to grow and multiply

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[70] Ibid., 57. Marie spent hours in the attic looking at the pictures in her mother's fashion magazines. She had used them for patterns when she was a dressmaker in Paris.

[71] Ibid., 81-2.

[72] Ibid., 82.

[73] Ibid., 81. Field work, Marie reasoned, had tanned their skin.

and devour the potatoes that the whole colony depended on so much.[74] These jaunts were simultaneously a source of pleasure as the young troupe enjoyed the treasures of their scenic countryside. Marie relished the "beautiful sunrises" and her crew was able to spend time picking wild flowers and berries. They explored "wonderful orioles' nests" in the "thick hedges."[75]

They also had good times at swimming parties and fishing excursions in the nearby Nodaway river.[76] Everyone celebrated the fourth of July, Christmas, and their February 3 anniversary. Friends and neighbors were invited to share their parties.[77] In July, they joined the patriotic parade in town with their decorated wagons. Afterwards, they had picnics and special treats.[78] In February, their annual banquet was followed by "theatricals and a ball" similar to those in Nauvoo.[79] But the Iowans missed the "fine orchestra." When a French musican came to the Colony, they brought out some of their "old instruments" which were "lying neglected for many years in the library."[80] He spent time putting these "old horns, clarinets, flutes, and so on, in good enough order to be used again." But before

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74 Ibid., 26-7.

75 Ibid., 28.

76 Ibid., 28-9.

77 Ibid., 44.

78 Sutton, Les Icariens, 124-5. Ross, Child of Icaria, 44, 35.

79 Ross, Child of Icaria, 44.

80 Ibid., 68-9. They moved them from the log house to the second floor of the new refectory. The Cheltenham group took some musical instruments too, but how they were divided up was not recorded. (The French musican from New York was very likely Dereure.)

he made much progress teaching musical scores to their orchestra, he decided to leave.[81] Nonetheless, they still had "a few violins" that were played for their dances.[82]

The men in Iowa also ignored Cabet's strict laws about tobacco. They were "smoking, chewing or snuffing tobacco, as had been their habit. They raised their own tobacco and cured it."[83] They hunted game in their spare time and planted grape vines to made their own wine.[84] The rigors of Colony life eased as work and living conditions improved. The Iowa Icarians had adapted their own "transitory" living styles to fit Cabet's Voyage, but progress toward the ideal was limited.

Icarian Society on Display: The 'Visitors'

In 1867, Alcander Longley, a contemporary communalist, took advantage of an opportunity to study the Icarian system first-hand and came to live at the Colony. Longley, editor of The Communist, was a provisionary member along with his family.[85] Marie's

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[81] Ibid., 68-9.

[82] Ibid., 44. Mourot and Henriette Vallet played a violin and Schroeder played a bass viol.

[83] Ibid., 75. "What strong stuff it was!" Marie recalled. One man would throw his pipe away in disgust, but then hunt it up the next day. Tobacco smoking was a difficult "habit" to quit. Sutton, Les Icariens, 123.

[84] Vallet, Icarian Communist, 41, 62. The vineyard produced "several hundred gallons of wine." Vallet left Nauvoo in 1856, but his brother Justin Vallet rejoined the Iowa Colony later and kept him informed about their troubles. Shaw, Icaria, 132, 114. Ross, Child of Icaria, 83.

[85] Guarneri, The Utopian Alternative, 77, 328, 389. Longley was a member of the North American Phalanx until it disbanded. He founded colonies in Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, and Missouri during the next fifty years. His first colony in Indiana was modeled after the phalanxes, but the Panic of 1857 discouraged supporters and they gave up in a few months. He founded a series of colonies in Missouri: Reunion (1868-70), Friendship (1872-77), Principia (1881-?), Mutual Aid (1883-87), and Altruist (1907-?). All of Longley's Colonies had common property and a common home. They were plagued by a

perception of Longley was that he "was used to nothing but writing and there was nothing but hard farm work then to do. His wife was young and delicate, and besides had two such small children that she could not take part in the usual occupations of the Icarian women. She had her meals at home and was seldom seen." The lack of a childcare arrangement isolated Mrs. Longley from the communal work done by the Colony women. Marie was a toddler at that time, and she stayed with Mrs. Longley when her mother went to do the washing with the others. Mrs. Longley treated Marie and her children to "milk and bread for a lunch between meals." This was something new to Marie who thought she "never tasted anything so delicious."[86] The Longleys left after a brief stay but returned for a second visit in 1868 when they reported that they found the Colony more prosperous.[87]

Marie's perceptions of the Longley's visit was not simply the fond memory of a three or four-year old who enjoyed a special mid-day treat, but reflected an attitude toward Longley's writing activity that was shared by the core group, that is, that he did "nothing but writing" all day, whereas, in Iowa, they had "nothing but hard farm work to do." This point of view was similar to the disagreement that the manual workers in

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lack of capital, membership problems, and disagreements about marital theories. Longley's paper lasted into the 1920s.

[86] Ross, Child of Icaria, 58. Marie's mother "was not one to ask for anything she could possibly do without when there was not enough for all." When she was small, Marie remembered that there was "very little milk and eggs to spare." (They had bargained heads of cattle for mortgage equity in 1863.) She reasoned that the Longley's also had trouble with the French language for they were American. Since Marie was only 3 in 1867, her memories were probably related more to their second visit in 1868 when she was four. Perhaps, some of her mature comments were gathered from stories repeated about the Longleys after they left.

[87] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 490n3. In 1866, there were 17 men, 9 women, and 10 children. Ross, Child of Icaria, 58.

Nauvoo had voiced about Cabet and his propaganda staff. In Iowa, however, it was the manual laborers who had the important role. Writing and propaganda were of less value in their agricultural community with its never-ending round of chores to be done.

Mrs. Longley was also critized by Marie for her failure to work outside the home. Full time care of two children did not count as real "work" for women in Iowa, nor did it in St. Louis or Nauvoo, despite efforts to have collective facilities for small children in the other Colonies. Nonetheless, Marie's mother took advantage of Mrs. Longley stay-at-home situation to add the care of Marie to that of her own two children, thus, freeing herself to participate in the 'genuine' work done by Colony women. Perhaps, Mrs. Longley recognized her non-useful status. Likewise her husband may have sensed the disdain for writers in the Iowa surroundings. They left. He was an ardent journalist who promoted communal life and went on to adapt methods, "principles and organization" which were "essentially Icarian" for use in other Colonies that he founded in the next decades.[88]

Other guests came to observe the "commune" and write reviews about their lifestyle. Information on the Iowa Icarians was registered by journalist Charles Nordhoff after his visit in 1874.[89] Another scholar, M.A. Massoulard spent time with them in 1875.

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[88] Shaw, Icaria, 178-81. Icarian principles were part of Longley's "Mutual Aid Community" founded in 1883 at Glen-Allen in Bollinger County, Missouri, a hundred miles south of St. Louis. He had used the phalanx structure at "Moore's Hill" Indiana (1857) and at the "Cooperative Association" at Black Lake, Michigan (1864). Shaw recounted a list of his other community trials.

[89] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 496-8. Nordoff visited Icaria in 1874 when there were 65 members, but found them the "least prosperous" of the communities he had visited. Nordhoff was not enthusiastic about communism

He reported that their population was sixty-seven.[90] A year later, William A. Hinds counted seventy-five members.[91] Albert Shaw published a scholarly book, Icaria, based on his study in 1883.[92] Along with these literary men, the Colony attracted an assortment of curious and itinerant visitors.[93] They came so often that one member was assigned the task of supplying housing for their guests.[94] However, the cordial outward display of hospitality was marred by an elemental suspicion of strangers harbored by the members.[95]

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[90] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 492-8. In Massoulard's break down by sex and by age, there were 9 men and 3 women over 50; 13 men and 8 women between 25 and 50. Under age 25, there were 14 males and 20 females. Only 24 men had voting rights. Massoulard had been to the Shakers before going to Icaria in 1875. Sutton, Les Icariens, 123. Massoulard was impressed with their livestock but felt they were poor farmers because they did not rotate fields or use their manure to fertilize crops. Massoulard 's hand written account of this study is stored under Prudhommeaux achat 1976 Dossier Communautés Americaines diverses 4315.3, IISG.

[91] Shaw, Icaria, 85. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 496-8. William A. Hinds counted 75 inhabitants in American Socialist, September 1876. Hinds was a member of John H. Noyes' Oneida Community. He reported that Icarians were "happy" and "contented."

[92] Shaw, Icaria, ix. Shaw's text was the product of his research for a Ph.D. thesis in history and political science directed by Richard T. Ely of John Hopkins University.

[93] Ross, Child of Icaria, 56. Marie described the range of visitors as "all kinds - cranks, students of French or students of economics, members of other communities, reporters from neighboring towns or cities, and even persons from abroad." Many of Marie's impressions reflected the 'conservative' attitudes toward (rejected) applicants during the years of dissention when she was a teen-ager.

[94] Ross, Child of Icaria, 56. Mourot was in charge of housing visitors and tried to make the "old huts" as presentable as possible. The Colony carpenters made the bedsteads.

[95] Ibid., 83-4. Marie recalled "funny" visitors like the "barefoot and bareheaded" Swedish vegetarian who "wore clothes only for decency." For two or three days, he only ate "his few grains of corn" before getting sick. Then he left. Another Professor F.... who had studied "twenty-seven different languages" could not "speak one so he could be half heard." When his letters to the Colony were read at the Assembly by President Sauva, they were "so funny they caused plenty of amusement."

For example, Marie remembered the ridicule heaped on several visitors after they left. One was a French peasant who had become a farmer in Kansas and was hoping to find a wife in Icaria. He was told to sleep in the cabin vacated by Catherine Utin who had just died. Although they told him that the cause of her death was "old age," he was afraid he might catch some disease and left the next day. Marie and the others girls "fled" from this man with his odd habits, "although it was taught in Icaria to be kind and considerate to strangers especially, they could not help having much fun and laughing about him among themelves."[96] Cabet had imagined that sheltering the Community in a "desert" setting would engender fraternity, but instead, the isolation tended to breed a collective egoism with a xenophobic core.

In the early 1870s, the Assembly voted to readmit several ex-Icarian families.[97] As usual their property entered the common fund. The Laforgue family deposited their sewing machine which gave the colony two of these devices.[98] The Arsène Sauva family who had been at Cheltenham, also re-entered. Sauva fought in the US Civil War and returned to France when it was over. In 1870, he was a soldier in the Franco-Prussian war and headed a group of Commune insurgents.[99] The Iowans' overlooked their Cabetist split in Sauva's

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[96] Ibid., 56.

[97] Ibid., 72. Marie listed them as the five families of Sauva, Péron, Laforgue, Levy, and Brossard families. (However, she had included Paris communards.)

[98] Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 68. Jacques Laforgue, 49 and his wife Marie Anne, 27 with Pauline 4, and Corilla, 8 months (Voyage heroine) entered on June 27, 1876. The sewing machine was valued at $75.

[99] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 512n2. Sauva was a delegate at the Hague Congress in 1872 and was part of the section that rejected Bakunin and his friends. In 1874, he returned to Chicago, then St.Louis, and New York, from whence he went to Iowa.

case since he joined the Cheltenham Icarians in July 1860 and was not part of the Nauvoo conflict.[100]

Besides visitors, journalists, and the returning ex-members, several other French men came to the Colony during the mid-1870s. A group of exiled Communards in New York who participated in the seventy-three day Paris Commune insurrection of 1871, were interested in the Icarians and requested information about the conditions for admission in 1876. At the same time, another Frenchman, Jules Leroux who had been exiled earlier and was living in nearby Neuchatel, Kansas, was invited to join the Colony. He was the editor of a monthly french language journal, L'Étoile du Kansas organe de la République française et universelle.[101] Jules Leroux was the younger brother of Cabet's Parisian friend, Pierre Leroux. During the 1840s, Cabet and Pierre were rival theorists who amicably disputed their respective social doctrines.[102] The Lerouxs' philosophies differed significantly from Cabet's, but both were pacifist-christians who held socialist-communist principles and wanted to improve their Society. Although he disagreed with many of Cabet's political tenets, especially his "authoritarian" rule, Jules

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[100] Sutton, Les Icariens, 114, 172n39. Sauva was a tailor from Tallard and chosen as President in 1864 just as the Cheltenham group disbanded. He was 34 at that time and about 46 when he joined the Iowans in 1876. Dict. biog., Tome III, 315.

[101] Nadine Dormoy Savage, "Jules Leroux en Icarie" The French Review, May 1976, 1032-33. Jules Leroux was exiled after the 1851 coup. He and his sons, Pierre, Paul, and Jules became naturalized US citizens in 1867. They helped with the typesetting work.

[102] L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, August 1, 1879. "Vielle histoire d'avant 48 très humble remontrance de Pierre Leroux a Etienne Cabet." In this article, Leroux reviewed the distinct differences in the cultivation of ideas by Pierre Leroux at Boussac and Cabet in Paris and the doctrinal disputes carried on in their respective papers in the 1840s. Among his apt comments was a denunciation of Cabet's authoritarian "civil Society" and his abuse of the "sentiment of persecution."

Leroux respected the "old and honorable Cabet" as a "man with good intentions."[103] When Napoleon accorded amnesty for the 1851 exiles, Pierre Leroux returned to France where he died in 1871.[104] But Jules Leroux did not go back to his native country. He explained that he had an inspirational experience in 1866 and decided to go to America. He recalled being in a low, "desperate" mood at that time. A "voice inside" compelled him to think deeply about the difficulties among the "disjointed members of humanity" who were living "under the reign of men." The distressful conditions of the "poor" in Society needed to be changed. Leroux "listened to that inner voice" which he sensed "was that of God, of the great Nature, and mine, the Man, or my conscience." From that time on, Leroux "broke with the Century" and began his "work of propaganda."[105] He "resolved to live without any salary, without any work paid for by men living in civil Societies, or by civil Societies." He would "depend solely on the charitable help or alms that they tolerated and accorded to the poor and mendiants (beggars) for the needs of their bodies."[106] Leroux began this mendiant life in 1866.[107] A year later, he and his family arrived in the US and

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[103] L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, October 10, 1880. (As noted earlier, Pierre Leroux declined Cabet's offer to join his new Paris newspaper staff in 1851 because he had "metaphysical" differences with his doctrines. Marchand very likely knew about this.)

[104] Jean-Pierre Lacassagne, Pierre Leroux et George Sand Histoire d'une amitié (d'apres une correspondance inédite 1836-1866) (Paris: Klincksieck, 1873), 84. Pierre Leroux (1797-1871).

[105] L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, April 1, 1878.

[106] Ibid., August 1, 1880. "Reflexions philosophiques sur les êtres et les chose qui m'entourent et me concernent." Leroux had been living on alms for the last 15 years.

[107] Ibid., October 1, 1879. Leroux portrayed his inner vision in another article more dramatically. "The Truth came to me, finally, and I was trembling, hesitating, and weak all over. Like Paul on the path to Damascus, in my peaceful and solitary exile track, I had a celestial vision of a World of SOCIETIES HUMAINE , the horrible condemnation and

procured Kansas Homestead lands. After five years, Leroux deeded his land to a son-in-law, bought a printing press, and began publishing "L'Étoile du Kansas"(1873).[108] The étoile (star) in the title was an analogy for the Bethlehem star that was to guide men to the "divine Infant, the King of Men"[109] Leroux's journal contained philosphical essays, political commentaries, and interesting letters from socialists and communists.

The Icarians soon learned about Leroux's journal and in the Spring of 1875, President Marchand wrote Leroux about their efforts to bring about "the realization of Icaria" in Iowa. Just like Leroux, he asserted, we Icarians have the "same aspirations and the same devotion to the cause of the Proletariat in particular and to Humanity in general." Marchand added cordially, that "If sometime, you would like to come visit us, I assure you that you will be received as a brother." Near the end of the letter he proposed that "If your work permits you to do so, write about us occasionally."[110] Marchand not only wanted to

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explanation of the holy agony of SOCIETIES CIVILE . . . I resolved to embrace the pure life of one of these worlds and to desert, to renounce the impure life of the other." (Leroux's emphasis.)

[108] Ibid., August 1, 1880. In, "Notes sur ma Vie passée, présente, future, d'Hier, d'Aujourd d'hui de Demain." Savage, "Jules Leroux en Icarie," 1025, 1032-3 I have found no commentary on his wife or children's reactions to Leroux's chosen mendicant state. Undoubtedly, the security of family lightened the need for him to make alms' requests.

[109] Ibid., April 1, 1878. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 515. Leroux's daughter Marie married Armand Dehay, a young socialist who came to the US in 1866. L'Étoile des pauvres et des souffrants (anciennement L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa) organe du Communisme Liberateur des Peuples et de l'Individu, October 24, 1883. Savage, "Leroux en Icarie," 1032-3. Jules ceded his Kansas land to his son-in-law Etienne Pépin, and used the payment to buy a printing press. See L'Étoile du Kansas, January 1, 1873; L'Étoile des Pauvres et des souffrants, January 1, 1881, and October 24, 1883.

[110] Savage, "Leroux en Icarie," 1036. A.A. Marchand's letter was in L'Étoile du Kansas on April 1, 1875. Leroux's newspapers are on microfilm at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, CA. Box 783:11. There are issues missing from March 1873 to May 1877.

invite his kindred countryman to visit them, but hoped he would insert some news about their Colony in his press.[111] The Icarians stayed in touch with Leroux and during the next year, two of his sons entered Icaria as probationary members. Paul Leroux was soon accepted for definite admission, but Pierre Leroux was not because he lacked the qualities of a laborer.[112] Although the Icarians were interested in attracting new members, the majority voters were unwilling to accept every applicant. A number of young Assembly members were upset over their rejection of Pierre Leroux. They had other differences with the elder voters. A group of youthful men wanted to bring in new industries and have career choices other than farming and a few craft trades. In particular, they wanted a vigorous program of action for the future with more freedom, tolerance, and respect for everyone. The cautious, "conservative" pioneers opposed untried ventures. The youth considered themselves "progressives" and became a distinct group with shared interests - a party. They posed a challenge to the heritage of their pastoral Colony.

"Grievances"

The progressives' efforts to influence the direction of Icaria were repeatedly dismissed by the majority voting bloc. On April 17, 1876, they prepared a list of complaints and read them before the Assembly, threatening to separate if conditions did not change.[113] Their "grievance" account began with an assessment of the current

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[111] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 574, 598.

[112] Ibid., 514-16. Savage, "Leroux en Icarie," 1029-32. It appears that Pierre Leroux had been sickly for a long time. On May 11, 1852, Jules wrote to George Sand for help with his wife and children who were left at Boussac, especially his "son Pierre, [who was] very sick." The family was finally reunited at Jersey, near Samarez where they imitated the Boussac Colony system as best as they could. Jules worked as a typographer.

[113] L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, supplement November 20, 1877. The list chosen

situation. They had "consecrated a great part of their life to supporting the work founded by Citizen Etienne Cabet and knew about the sacrifices made by millions of workers to make it a success." Lately, however, they noticed that the Community was getting farther from the "Ideal" that was "conceived by its founder in the Voyage." Therefore, they believed it was their "duty and their honor as Communists to march forward for many more years." But progress had become more difficult after the Icarians came to Iowa and "stopped the propaganda." In doing so, they had "committed an attack against Communism."[114] The majority were also guilty of refusing "under futile pretexts, the admission to the Society of honorable citizens."[115] To prove this charge, they listed specific examples like Hugo Schroeder, who was refused even though his "family was already in the Community." Wiger, a "young man recommended by the International Association of Workers" was refused "without a valid cause." After his rejection, Wiger "had killed the reputation of Icaria in the above mentioned association." The majority even refused Albrecht" who was an ex-member of the Community, for which he had made great sacrifices, and who was loved and esteemed by all. Paul [?Pierre[116]] Leroux who, by his

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here for this analysis was nearly identical to a similar one published in La Jeune Icarie on July 15, 1878 which gave the names (not initials) of the particular persons who signed the Grief (33) as well as those who were refused admission. Leroux's shorter copy had 15, not 14 Griefs. (Grief numbers 6 and 7 were combined for they both were "persecution.") The "griefs" were not published for a year and a half after they were read in April 1876. (The young Branch had no press then.)

[114] La Jeune Icarie, July 15, 1878. CIS SIUE. This was in the fourth issue of their new journal. They wanted to expose the original griefs that by that time had caused a separation. By comparison, Leroux published their points (slightly abbreviated) eight months earlier.

[115] Ibid.

[116] Ibid. It appears that this was a print error. Paul was admitted and Pierre was not.

conduct, his principles and general situation, had shown himself a dignified citizen of our society" was denied admittance. What is more, he was "married to a young woman who was born and raised by her parents who are actual members." They added that there were others like "Gaskin, Seebold, etc. etc. etc.," who were rejected. Therefore, we "believe that you not only do not want any more admissions, but you want to get rid of the young Icarians."[117]

The progressives' claimed their overall goal was to have the Community practiced "according to the writings of Citizen Étienne Cabet. To that effect, we want to separate from you. We want to do it aimably or we will have recourse to the tribunnals."[118] Their dire statement of intent was followed by fourteen specific complaints.

Grievances

1. Lack of Fraternity and tolerance which must be the base of our Society.
2. Lack of cosmopolitan ideas and lack of introduction of the ideas [and] of rights of nationalities, which is contrary to the Fraternity of men and of peoples.
3. Point of liberality in instruction, the only means of development of future generations.
4. Formation of a party of resistance in the Community.
5. Introduction of individual properties in the Community, which is contrary to the principle of equality and public well-being.
6. Systematic persecutions against all the promoters of progressive ideas which is also counter those who do not share your opinions.
7. Organized attacks against a single citizen to discourage him and indirectly to chase him from the Community.
8. Attempts to divide families.
9. Efforts to demoralize the young and continually depreciate them.

That Paul Leroux was a member was born out by his signature on both the "Act of Donation" (by members) and agreement to the the "Articles of Incorporation" in Péron's Brief History, 24, 25. See Suttton, Les Icariens, 129, and Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 514-16. Both verify that Paul was admitted and Pierre was not.

[117] Ibid., Gérard, Several truths, 21-22.

[118] La Jeune Icarie, July 15, 1878.

10. Excitations to create an antagonism of interest between the unmarried and the citizens with families.
11. Absolute lack of regard for the opinions of citoyennes.
12. Habit of ridiculing the Icarian principles.
13. Declaration made by many members that if they were younger, they would quit the Community, which proves their lack of Communist conviction.
14. Lack of liberty of discussion in the general Assembly, which keeps the truth from having its day.[119]

The progressives' ended their grievances by repeating their call for a separation if changes were not forthcoming. Twenty-two men and women signed the complaint.[120] This public presentation formalized their position in April of 1876.[121] J.B. Gérard, who had had left the Colony and lived nearby, viewed their "grievances" and the Majority's refusal to admit the people they named, as causes of the "third civil war" in Icaria.[122]

Shortly after these "grievances" were read, both Icarian parties wrote letters

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[119] Ibid. The 22 names were E. Fugier, Michel Brumme, F. Leroux, Jean Hagen, E. Mourot, A. Gauvain, J. Vallet, Auguste Gauvain, A. Marchand, C. Montaldo, L. Bettannier, Emile Fugier, Marie Mourot, T. James, Adéle Gauvain, P. James, Louise Bettannier, M. Vallet, A. Vallet, G. Montaldo, Léon Bettannier, and A. Cubels. Péron, History of Icaria, 41. By cross checking the ages in 1876 of the 22 above with the age of the "full members" in 1879 in Péron's book, the age break-down showed the majority of the 22 "progresssives" were in the early thirty range. However, the signers included men aged 42, 45, 63, 63, 64, and 76, which removed at least 25% of them from considerations of "youth." Only three signers were in their 20s. Thus, the "progressives" versus the "conservatives" appears to fit better than Shaw's "Sons versus the fathers" interpretation. The principal dissenting 'son' was Alexis Marchand whose father was a formidable adversary. In addition, some of these signers left in the next three years. Eight of the 22 - Bettanniers, Gauvains, Vallets, Montaldo - were not on the list of the 28 "full members" in 1879. The new names in 1879 were the Pérons, Dereures, and two Bronner couples. Of the 54 names, there were 28 "full members" (men and women) who had 26 children.

[120] L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, supplement November 20, 1877. Leroux's account claimed it was signed by 33 members (names not listed).

[121] Leroux signed his "contract" in August 1876 and the New Yorkers came then too, according to Fugier's letter. (This was after the April Griefs.)

[122] Gérard, Several truths, 21-2.

"pleading their cause" to the four Internationalists and their families in New York who were asking to be admitted. The majority informed them that "our enemies desire a separation, [and] they want to divide the property among themselves." They advised the New York applicants to "postpone their coming."[123] The progressive party wrote a separate letter to them. They explained the reasons for their internal dispute but did not discourage them from coming to the Colony.[124] The four New York men disregarded the conservatives advice to "postpone" their coming. When they arrived with their wives and children, they were received enthusiastically and admitted after only a fifteen day "noviciate."[125] The conservatives display of hospitality demonstrated their effort to address the progressive's admission policy grievance. The apport at this time was $100 and clothing for a year.[126] The New York Communards claimed they wanted to "revitalize" Icaria's communist system. Another fifty requests for admissions poured in during the next year and it seemed that the Colony would be expanding its size.[127]

One of the men from New York was Émile Péron, a member of the International Association of Workers who was active in the Cercle des Études sociales section in 1870. Péron, who had signed a manifesto protesting the Franco-Prussian War, brought his wife

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123 Péron, Brief History, 10. Péron wrote that when they came, they had to "throw themselves into either the right or left scale" to help decide things.

124 Ibid.

125 Péron, Brief History, 10.

126 Ross, Child of Icaria, 72. The apport was waived for former Icarian families.

127 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 504-7, 513. The five proscrits were S. Dereure, A. Tanguy, I. Lemoine, E. Brossard and his wife.

and two little girls, Blanche and Jeanne with him.[128] Along with Péron were two men who took part in the 1871 Commune, Alexis Tanguy, a forty-two year old artist, and Simon Dereure, a muscially adept shoemaker. Dereure had a lengthy record of worker and communist agitation and was jailed several times for participating in protests. He and his wife were suspected of setting fires in the 1st and 11th arrondissememts during the 1871 Commune. "Dereure's wife, a boot-stitcher, was arrested on May 24 and detained at Versailles' Satory prison." Louise Michel recalled the death and funeral of her brave friend Mme Dereure, in her memoirs: "Mme Dereure was the first to die; already ill, she could not survive the harsh ordeals to which she had to submit. In the full view of conquered Paris, the colors of the Commune followed her coffin."[129] Simon Dereure traveled on to Geneva, London, and New York.[130] Another couple, E. Brossaurd and his wife also took part in the Commune. The combined revolutionary experiences of this activist group stirred fresh analyses about the practice of communism in Iowa. The Icarians had also explored a way to renew the press "propaganda" that had been neglected since they left

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[128] Sutton, Les Icariens, 127. Dict. biog. Tome III, 129. Péron was a mechanic from Paris. Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 68. Emile Péron was 31 and Louise Genin Péron, was 22. They came on June 27, 1876. Dereure was 39. Alexis Tanguy was 43.

[129] Bullitt Lowry and Elizabeth Ellington Gunter, editors and translators, The Red Virgin: Memoirs of Louise Michel (University: University of Alabama Press, 1981), 172-73.

[130] Dict. biog. Tome II, 314-6. Louis (Simon) Dereure pronounced against Bakunin in September 1872. (The New York delegate with him was Sauva.) Péron, Brief History, 41. Dereure's wife was a 25 year-old seamstress, Léonie Bettannier, that he married after coming to Icaria. See Free Press, March 30, 1885. ACIS. A news article described Léonie Dereure as the sister of Eugene and Leon Bettannier. Her mother was a Gauvain. She was "expected to rejoin him" in Paris. Dereure left Corning in 1884 under a general amnesty grant. He was arrested when he returned, but the news had just arrived that he had been released.

Nauvoo.

On August 1, 1876, Emile Fugier wrote Jules Leroux and invited him to "come assist with us in the dream of Icaria; come and put your stone on the edifice."[131] Fugier proposed that if Leroux came to live among them, he could change the "title of his paper to the Organe de la communauté icarienne," though this could wait for a while if he wished. Fugier assured him that even after he was "definitely admitted" to Icaria, they "would not stop him from publishing signed articles. It would be good to give the Society [Icarian] a page, and by that means, increase the circulation." Fugier told him that they wanted to enlarge their Iowa community, give the children a better education, institute a Cours icarien, and become a "center for capable men to organize communist communities everywhere." The Icarians "desired to receive philosophers, savants, and professors from all the sciences in order to make Icaria a foyer (hearth) whose sparks would spread across the world."[132]

Fugier's letter was favorably acknowledged and Leroux and his wife decided to come live in the Colony. The Icarians made a special contract with him which stipulated that the Icarians would supply their needs without any labor requirement. Leroux would

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131 Étoile du Kansas et de Iowa, February 1,1880. Fugier's 1876 letter to Leroux was not published until 1880. At that time he used it to demonstrate to Péron that Leroux and Fugier had "different designs for Icaria and its inhabitants" that were "so contrary" to his. In Fugier's letter, he noted that "the admission of Paul (Leroux's son) is little more than an affair of time," which indicates that Fugier had made previous contacts with Leroux.

132 Ibid. Fugier's letter added that "four families from New York had been admitted. This proved that it would not be necessary to have the separation that they had asked for (in April), which shows that Leroux knew about the young group's effort to split the Colony (Fugier was a young Branch member). He also noted that the "old men" had "no other relations with the outside world than the Bourgeoisie journals: how were they going to be able to progress!"

retain the right to his "intellectual liberty." The Icarians had no control over his publication except that he was "to abstain from all judgments about the material and moral progress of their community," although he could discuss them "in general." In case they left, their things would be returned. Whatever they brought in would become the property of the Icarians at their death.[133] Leroux was seventy-one at the time, and he noted that he expected to "pass the rest of my life in Icaria in Iowa, if it please God."[134]

Leroux brought his printing press and resumed his Kansas journal adding "Iowa" to its masthead.[135] The Icarians welcomed this honored writer who began a series of lectures at their Cours Icarien sessions on "Socialist Religion."[136] His talks included "discussions of the works of [his brother] Pierre Leroux, definitions of the words Liberty, Equality, Fraternity; [and] studies about Communism."[137] The mid-seventies combination of new members, challenging ideas, critical communist discussions, and press accounts

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133 Ibid., Supplement, November 10, 1977. Leroux went over the "terms of my contract."

134 Ibid., August 1, 1877. Leroux published exchanges with Pelletier, his friend from his exile days who went to New York. (Leroux wrote about Pelletier's death in L'Etoile des pauvres et des souffrants, January 1, 1881.)

135 Declaration.--- suspension momentanée de L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, September 1, 1877. Leroux explained how he came "to live in Icaria" under a "contract of the past year."

136 L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, organe de la republique française et universelle, January 1, 1877, September 1, 1877, May 1, 1880. In the September 1877 issue, he wrote "thay they formed a Cours Icarien and they gave me liberty to speak." Three years after his arrival, Leroux commented that when the New Yorkers came (very near the same time), "they killed the Cours Icarien." Nothing in their "discourses" was "serious, instructive, or wise . . . it was atheism, pride, and materialism." No dates were given for the start or demise of the Cours.

137 Savage, "Leroux en Icarie," 1036.

invigorated the Icarians. The quiescent Iowa setting simmered with new plans for their future.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

EQUAL RIGHTS ". . . WITHOUT DISTINCTIONS OF SEX"

The "progressive" citoyennes who had examined the 'equality' and 'rights' inherent in Cabet's Icarian principles, protested the lack of "regard" for their "opinions" in the Iowa Colony. They registered their complaint with the others in the 1876 list of "grievances." Since their "opinions" had little effect on the current policy makers, would the newcomers, Leroux or the New York Communards, consider the views of the citoyennes more seriously?

Jules Leroux supported the principles of his brother Pierre Leroux who was known for his commitment to equality between the sexes. Cabet and Pierre Leroux were two of the early nineteenth-century christian communist philosophers.[1] Like his brother, Jules Leroux regarded himself as an "apostle" of the "Socialism of the twentieth Century," and a "propagator of the grand communist movement" which would liberate people and the individual. He was an "agent for the possible erection of Humanity-City" - a place without monopoly, inequality, or misery - the "future of true communism."[2] One can easily

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[1] L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, February 1,1880. Leroux held that the "Great Socialism" of the nineteenth century "was conducted by Lamennais who outshone Saint Simon and then attracted Pierre Leroux." In turn, these men "electrified Cabet, Louis Blanc, Villegardelle, Pecqueur, and all the others." John C. Cort, Christian Socialism: An Informal History (New York: Orbis Books, 1988), 110, 130-1. Cort noted that P. Leroux was more "attached to true Christianity than to New Christianity (Saint-Simonians)." "Faith in the coming of the kingdom on earth as it is in heaven was at the base of Leroux's faith-in-progress." Cabet, according to Cort's analysis, was "eccentric in his Christianity and in his Socialism."

[2] L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, September 1, 1877. Lacassagne, Histoire d'une amitié, 305n614. "City of man, Humanity-City is that regenerated Society, the Earth and its fruits, the Industry and its products, the Workshop and its machines, Art and Science belonging to all."

speculate that Leroux wanted to help realize this ideal in Icaria.[3] The Lerouxs had practiced their communal principles in the Boussac Commune outside Paris in the 1840s and at Samarez when they were exiled.[4] They treated women as equals. At Boussac for example, Pauline Roland directed an "egalitarian" school program and collaborated with Pierre Leroux in writing articles for the Revue sociale and L'Éclaireur.[5] On Sundays, she "preached about love, peace, and solidarity" in their gatherings.[6] And, on February 27, 1848, Pauline Roland, on the "arm of Pierre Leroux, demanded a ballot to vote" in the Boussac elections. Although her "symbolic gesture" was refused, Roland's act was backed up by Leroux.[7] Based on his past experiences in the Boussac milieu, Jules Leroux would surely be considered an ally for the Icarian citoyennes. Although his essays seldom

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[3] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 516. L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, April 1, 1878. "Sur la nethode [sic, method] qu'il me faut employer pour enseigner le communisme liberateur des peuples et de l'individu." In this article, Leroux made references to himself as an "apostle, a converter, an instructor of the Truth" whose method was "simple and prosaic." His manner was "not that of Plato, Aristotle, nor that of Cabet or Owen. Socrates was superior to them." He preferred the "socratic method" and like Saint Augustine was "searching for the city of God."

[4] Savage, "Leroux en Icarie," 1029-32. Jules and Pierre Leroux worked together from 1843 to 1852 in their Communes at Boussac and at Samarez.

[5] Groult, Pauline Roland, 164. L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, August 10, 1880. Leroux used the example of Madame Roland, Desages, and Desmoulins in an article about the press, liberty, and Jules Guesde's methods. Leroux worked with Mme Roland on the press at Boussac.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Sarane Alexandrian, Le Socialisme romantique (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1979), 393-5. Roland gave a toast at a Paris Banquet in December 1848 "for the equal and common education of children of both sexes." Arrested with Deroin for Association organization, they both served six months in prison (free July 2, 1851). Roland was arrested again in December 1851 and exiled.

addressed women as a single subject, he included them among Society's poor and oppressed who needed to be liberated.[8] In a newspaper article in 1877, Leroux addressed the issue of women's equality in a discussion about the "intellectual, moral, and physical disorders" in France today. He declared that his countrymen "know that men and women are equal" and they must either "build on that truth" or they would "sink into stupidity."[9] Equality between the sexes was one of his basic "truths." Along with his brother and Cabet, they espoused the axiom about each giving and receiving "according to their needs and abilities" which held flexible determinations. When the Iowans invited Leroux to live, lecture, and publish in Icaria, the men who were disregarding citoyennes' opinions, had unwittingly exposed themselves to his criticisms about their gender contradictions.

Leroux's newspaper also generated a circle of correspondents who were known for their supporting roles in Cabet's earlier propaganda. Charles Krolikowski, former editor of Le Populaire and biblical consultant for Vrai Christianisme, was one of them. Krolikowski was living in New York at the time and shared Leroux's interest in "Religion laique (Lay Religion)."[10] Several excerpts from Krolikowski's "evangelical doctrines" appeared in the

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[8] L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, February 1, 1880. Leroux quoted from Charles Raynaud (of Cheltenham) who wrote that "Political women are grande children who want to be men." This excerpt may have brought a reaction from readers for in the May 1, 1880 issue, another of Raynaud's aphorisms read "Not only is woman the equal of man, but sometimes she is superior."

[9] Ibid., December 1, 1877.

[10] Ibid., May 1, 1877, November 1, 1877, Supplement November 10, 1877. Krolikowski's obituary had a summary of his association with Cabet. Krolikowski had written to the Icarians from his Williamsburg, New York address at 60 Bedford Avenue, and apologized for not joining them in 1854 (lack of money). An error in the Post misguidedly called him one of the authors of the "escroquerie icarienne."

paper.[11] Another associate of Cabet's was the artist-writer Glatigny.[12] In Leroux's reply to a letter from him, he called upon Glatigny to "help" him bring about his liberating communism with his writings.[13] The social theories that inspired Cabet were important to all these men, but like the Iowa Colonists, they were troubled about how to practice a communist system which respected each member's liberty. An example of this issue surfaced in 1877 when the personal correspondence between Glatigny and Leroux brought on an angry scene in the Assembly. Glatigny had addressed a letter to Leroux at the Icaria P.O. and President Sauva took it upon himself to read it publicly to the members without informing Leroux. Following the practices established by Cabet, the President had the authority to read mail sent to members. While Leroux was a Colony resident, he had a special contract and was not a bona fide Icarian member. Consequently, he was very angry at Sauva for this violation of his individual liberty.[14]

Leroux had barely lived in Icaria for a year when incidents like this caused him to conclude that Icarian communism was an "oppressor" of the people. "Majority Icarianism" he determined, was a "miserable doctrine condemned by its own fruit." The Icarians say

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[11] Ibid., May 1, 1877, November 1, 1877. Leroux also printed a "resume of a meeting" that Krolikowski had at the house of Doctor Berrier-Fontaine.

[12] Glatigny designed and dedicated a copy of Cabet's Credo to Mme Cabet, wrote articles for his newspaper in November 1851, signed letters from the Paris supporters to Cabet, and donated bushels of grain seed for the Nauvoo Colony.

[13] L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, August 1, 1877, supplement November 20, 1877. "To my friend Glatigny" was also available in a brochure by Leroux that could be bought separately.

[14] Ibid. The outburst was the "second episode" in his "Séjour d'un an dans l'Icarie de l'Iowa" Leroux called Sauva "abbé d'Icarie" in a number of places.

that they "are for the equality of men and women!" But this was not true. "Sauva" he asked the President, "How do you arrange all that?" Clearly, Leroux was convinced that the 'equality' the Icarians spoke of was not practiced in the Colony. He also chastised the administration for insisting that the young people must "obey them." Majority rule was "ruining not only the less strong voters of Icaria, but their women, children, [and] lay-brothers. This was their convent."[15] (Leroux's allusion was to their monkish style of rules.[16]) Icaria's administration, in his opinion, suppressed member's liberty. In a long article on Parlementarisme, Leroux derided it as the most "false, beastly, immoral, cruel, and vain system that the human spirit had abetted." He recalled elements of his own experiences in France's Assembly where "imbeciles decide on Peace or War between nations!" He saw nothing good in "civil society's" parliamentary mechanisms of power, or those in Icaria.[17]

Besides Leroux's critiques, the Icarians had to deal with the New Yorkers review of them. These veteran Communards were concerned with global communist issues and the International Workingmen's Association. Both sides pointed out 'errors' in Cabet's application of communism.[18] The discussions heightened dissatisfaction among some

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[15] Ibid., Supplement November 20, 1877. Sauva had read a "fragment" from a letter of "Glatigny pere du Minesota" aloud in the Iowa Assembly.

[16] In the Voyage, a monastery model with married couples, was Cabet's ideal community.

[17] L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, September 1, 1877. This was from Leroux's Dictionnaire philosophique des erreurs populaires section titled, "Parlementarisme." His ideas were from his own "extreme case in '49, '50, and '51. I do not like to think about those years of my life."

[18] Ibid., August 1, 1880. "The Icarians continue the errors of Cabet."

Icarians, especially the younger members. They had not experienced the pain, indignities, rejections, and losses from the collapse of Icarianism at Nauvoo as the seniors had. The progressives were searching for a way to improve their Colony so it would be more like the Voyage. The majority restrained their activity with negative votes. Although the elders had been the "liberal" group in Nauvoo, now they were the "conservatives" and feared losing the years of work invested in Iowa as they had lost ground in Nauvoo. They wanted to keep the Colony together but hesitated to undertake risky enterprises.

The New York Communists understood their resistance to change.[19] But such understanding did not imply stagnation. Péron observed that "a new generation came upon the stage. Some old Icarians in whom the fire of the cause of humanity still smoldered under the ashes of years, aided by communistic visitors who were attracted to Icaria by its ancient renown, communicated to the youth of the Community the heat of their convictions and the light of their consuls."[20] In his commentary, Péron did not bother to credit the influence of the resident philosopher Leroux who was indignant when he read that the New Yorkers saw themselves as the ones who "communicated" the "light of their consuls" to the young. Leroux considered his role in Icaria as that of a serious thinker - a Socrates-like figure who stimulated ideas.[21]

Accordingly, both the New Yorkers and Leroux encouraged the Iowans to consider new ways to advance Icaria. The Majority had already responded to the

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19 Péron, Brief History, 8-9. Péron wrote about the causes of their "inaction."

20 Ibid.

21 L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, February 1, March 1, 1880.

progressives' "grievances" by bringing in a newspaper and on October 20, 1876, they set up a "Committee of Propaganda." They were also trying to solve the "instructions" complaint and commissioned a report by a "Committee on Education." When they "examined the children," they found them "very wanting of education" and recommended "that their studies should be hastened as fast as possible." President Sauva advocated taking the young men "out of work" for school, but his proposal was refused. It was harvest time and there would be no school sessions until after the "corn" was gathered[22]

The Majority were also loosening their admission policies. One could speculate that their rejection of a provisionary member like ex-Oneidan Gaskin had to do with his dispersion of ideas about 'radical' Oneida practices. Several Oneidans had spent time at Icaria, but Gaskin was the one who introduced 'bloomer' costumes and shingled hair-styles to the women. At the very least, Gaskin's notions were a threat to their preferred images of womanhood, and at the worst, endangered their marriage system. When Gaskin visited Icaria in 1876, warring factions back in the Oneida Colony were divided over the "immorality" of their complex marriage system.[23] Did Gaskin discuss this in Icaria? Some years earlier, Montaldo had raised issues about "communism in sexual relations" (e.g. community of women) which would correspond to practices in Oneida.[24] Even in their

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[22] "Minutes of procedings of Icarian Community constituted from the French language into the English" (1860-1877). 22 hand-written pages. ACIS, 8.

[23] Mark Holloway, Heavens on Earth: Utopian Communities in America 1680-1880 (New York: Dover Publication, Inc., 1966, revised edition first published in 1951), 195. Noyes "secretly left Oneida on June 23, 1876" and went to Canada. The complex marriage system was under investigation by New York authorities. In 1879, Noyes sent his revised proposition from Canada that approved of conjugal marriages and the Oneida Assembly accepted it.

[24] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 489. Prudhommeaux found an article in The Communist

rural setting, talk about a "community of women" which had hounded Cabet, continued to haunt Icarian leaders. Did Gaskin or another Oneidan, William Alfred Hinds who spent time in the Colony in September 1876, discuss Oneida's childcare and education practices with the Icarians?[25] Any of these controversial topics could account for the conservatives' reluctance to admit applicants like Gaskin.

Since one of Leroux's sons was also denied "definite" admission (both sons signed the "grievances"), they undoubtedly had the sympathy of their father who valued a more liberating communism. The 1876 newcomers helped arbitrate these internal differences with positive results. Admissions, propaganda, and education policies improved, but nothing seemed to change about the lack of "regard" for citoyennes' "opinions" or the "equality between men and women" that Sauva failed "to arrange." In reality, a negative effect resulted, according to a scenario recorded by Leroux that attacked President Sauva for his duplicity toward women.

> I say that the good little P. Sauva, so plump in his bursting waist band, so smiling, so agreeable, so loveable for the simple ones and for those that he calls, smiling cleverly: "Citoyennes!" That is also the way he sees and judges things in Icaria. Naturally, he never speaks TOWARDS them in that style. Then they are all honey, all rosy; and if they are a litttle troubled, and outwardly insistent, that is nothing, less than nothing, something that is an "embarrassment" over which he will soon triumph.[26]

(Longley's paper) in July 1868 about the "deviations by certain members, like Montaldo" to introduce "communism in the domain of sexual relations which the Maître (Cabet) in former times carefully banished." Both Montaldos signed the "griefs."

[25] Ibid., 499. William Alfred Hind's maître was J. H. Noyes from Oneida. He wrote a book called American Communities and Cooperative Colonies (Chicago: Charles H. Kere & Co., 1908) with a chapter on the Icarians (361-96). Holloway, Heavens on Earth, 193, 195-6. Oneida children were communally housed over age three. Mothers were free to visit their children at any time. They were cared for by nurses who "worked half-day shifts."

[26] L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, Supplement, November 20, 1877.

While Leroux's sarcastic anecdote captured President Sauva's sugary, appeasing style of dealing with "troubled" and "insistent" women, he did not record their requests. The "Citoyennes!" it seems, were still asking to have their "opinions" heard and Sauva's deceitful, pacifying responses towards them, galled Leroux.

During the next two years, the citoyenne's original complaint escalated to a call for voting and office-holding privileges. This political role for women went beyond Cabet's 'Ideal' in the Voyage, in his Paris Club, or in Nauvoo. Many questions surround this radical change. Did Icarian citoyennes hold such convictions prior to the 1876 'newcomers' or were they encouraged to demand greater rights by a more sympathetic audience than Sauva? If so, who added support for this move - Leroux? the New Yorkers? or their contemporary sisters in France and America? The citoyenne's grievance was number eleven in 1876 which suggests that it was not a priority, but the authors stressed the "absolute" lack of regard for their opinions, and women signed it.

The views of the progressives were being discussed by the school teacher Antoine Gauvain the year before which may be why he was replaced with a conservative teacher, Mr. Moore in December 1875.[27] Gauvain's talks had an impact on the school children, for there were only two youngsters who sided with the conservatives, Marie Marchand and George Sauva. Their fathers served terms as president during these years. Marie recalled attending the meetings held by Gauvain who spoke to students about organizing an "Autonomous Branch" with a share of the community who would "live apart and do as

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[27] Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 70-1. School teacher, Antoine Gauvain was an ex-Icarian who served in the Union army and then came back to Icaria. "Minutes of procedings of Icarian Community," 6. The "removal" of Gauvain was "asked for" on December 7, 1875. After a "long discussion" it was granted and Mr. Moore replaced him.

they please, but still belong to the old community." Marie reported that "the majority thought" the progressives wanted this 'Branch' "so they could spend and enjoy what the old majority had worked so hard to earn and save." She echoed her conservative father's opinion.[28] Marie's nineteen-year-old brother Alexis had become a "thorough Progressive." But she and her older brother Armand "were not in sympathy with the views expressed" by Gauvain or Alexis.[29] It would have been exceptionally rebellious for Marie, a twelve-year-old, to take a stand against her father.

In Marie's retrospective recollections about the issue of women's suffrage, she noted that "If the women had been voters, the minority would have had the majority, and that is the reason the majority would not give them the right to vote."[30] While this was may have been so, to accept Marie's comments that giving women the vote was simply a trick to change the minority to a majority as the only logical explanation for women's suffrage in the progressive party platform in 1878, would be to neglect other factors, especially the contemporary suffrage debates and the citoyennes position as actors in their own cause.

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[28] Ross, Child of Icaria, 85. Gauvain had meetings at his house and read from Cabet's writings showing how "badly the founder had been treated by the majority."

[29] Ibid., 86.

[30] Ibid. Lyman Tower Sargent, "The Relationship Between Political Philosophy and Political Ideology: A Study of Etienne Cabet and his Communitarian Experiment." Ph.D.dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1965, 157, 157n1. An undated document by A. Sauva claimed that "the majority was willing to accept the proposals of the minority, including suffrage for women, which would have given the minority a slightly stronger voting position. On the other hand, the minority demand that it be given one-quarter of the offices was flatly rejected." While this appears to reflect the last-minute effort in 1878 to settle out of court, it also shows this voter distribution.

Both in the US and France, women were demanding their right to vote. This could not have been missed by the Icarians or the Communards. American women had raised the level of the suffrage drive after the Government extended the vote to freed slave men. In 1872, a leader of the US movement, Susan B. Anthony, organized a group of women who voted, were arrested, and fined.[31] The exiled Communards had congregated in New York where the 1872 Equal Rights Party placed Victoria Woodhull's name on their ticket as a candidate for US President.[32] Woodhull was also the head of Section 12 of the International Workingmen's Association.[33] US women voted in Wyoming in 1869 and Utah in 1870.[34] In France, the Association pour le Droit des Femmes worked to keep the issue of women's suffrage alive after the Commune defeat in 1871. Jenny d'Héricourt, Cabet's feminist-journalist who advocated women's votes in 1848, gave a speech at their Banquet on February 2, 1873 titled, "Woman the voter and soldier."[35] How much news about this suffrage activity reached the Iowa citoyennes cannot be determined prior to 1876 since they had no press. However, the New York Communards had first-hand exposure to the activity of 'equal' women in 1871 and the Lerouxs aided Roland in her attempt to vote in Boussac. The logic of women's suffrage was an undeniable part of

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31 Nancy Woloch, Women and the American Experience 2nd edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1994), 322.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid., 315,

34 Ibid., 334. Female suffrage in Utah was revoked in 1887, but reinstated in 1890.

35 Moses, French Feminism in the 19th Century, 195. Moses analyzed the reaction to women's participation in the Commune where 1,051 women were arrested.

American and French discourse and surely entered the Iowa discussions.[36] Icarian citoyennes also had a record of political advocacy in two earlier Colonies. While they had not succeeded in getting suffrage, their requests were witnessed by elders like Marchand. By 1878, some combination of these heterogeneous movements propelled the progressive agenda beyond requesting 'regard' for citoyenne's 'opinions' to constituting them full political equals.[37]

Regardless of the degree of Marie's youthful understanding of these issues, she had quit going to school and was isolated from peer discussions. She claimed not to have minded missing her classes too much because "she wasn't happy in school with all the disputes going on."[38] Marie's self-imposed retreat was bolstered by her father's need to use her as a type-setter for Mr. Dye who helped set up the conservative newspaper. Dye had come to Icaria in 1876 after spending time with the Shakers, the Oneidans, and the Amanites. He left after a few weeks and returned the following year when he was admitted as a "tolerated member." After surveying both party sides, Dye chose the conservatives because he was a Union soldier and did not believe in separating the Colony.[39]

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[36] La Jeune Icarie. Organe du communisme progressif, December 31, 1880 CIS SIUE. This newspaper of the progressive branch was edited by Péron and began on May 1, 1878. In this issue, an article on "La femme et polygamie" while mainly discussing the "multiple questions" about Mormon women, reported on women's suffrage in Utah and Montana.

[37] My two year time frame was based on a lack of evidence that women in Iowa were asking for the vote prior to this, however, such activity could have been part of the 'absolute' disregard for their 'opinions' April 1876 grief, but missing because of the few records between 1857-1876.

[38] Ross, Child of Icaria, 93.

[39] Ibid. Dye was introduced to Marie on her twelfth birthday in 1876 and he gave her a half dollar as a gift. She did not want to take it, but he urged her to use it to get her

At first, Dye published the paper in Corning, but he didn't know French and the galleys needed lots of corrections which meant repeated trips to town.[40] After a few months, Marie's father bought the type characters so they could print the paper at home. Dye "rigged" up the "old lithographic press" they had in Nauvoo, and taught Marie to set type and make corrections. After he left, Marie carried on the printing of the Revue Icarienne by herself.[41] During the period of Colony turmoil which divided her brothers' family loyalties, Marie's mother became ill and nearly died. Therefore, along with her press work, Marie had to take over her mother's household responsibilities. Getting the paper out was "simply voluntary and extra work did not exempt" Marie from "regular chores" in the Colony.[42] As her mother recuperated, she did what she could to relieve Marie from her round of community duties and "give her more time to work on the paper."[43] Clearly, Marie's rights - to education, to a reasonable share of community labor, and to a choice of leisure activities - were compromised by the prolonged 'war-emergency' conditions. Icarian community life was not a 'liberating' environment for her in these years.

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picture taken and give him one. She did. Dye was a friend of Mr. Gaskin (of Oneida) and left soon afterwards.

[40] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 560. 'Conservatives' Revue Icarienne began in November 1878.

[41] Ross, Child of Icaria, 94-5. Shaw, Icaria, 122. Shaw wrote that the press was "brought from France by the early colonists." Thus, it appears they took it from Nauvoo and never used it.

[42] Ross, Child of Icaria, 95. Marie turned 13, and was expected to work as an adult woman.

[43] Ibid., 97-8. As many as 800 copies were folded, wrapped and addressed to be sent to "Socialist or Radical papers from France, Italy, and Belgium."

Despite the short "lull in the struggle" between the parties in late 1876, disagreements hardened. Leroux had turned against the conservatives, especially Sauva, but he was unwilling to lend full support to either the progressives or the Communards' projects.[44] And, he had not given up his propaganda aims. At the same time, New Yorkers were criticizing several unequal practices in Icaria in accord with grievance number 5 about "individual properties in Icaria."[45] The pioneers, it seems, had set out petit jardins (little gardens)[46] near each log-house. They regarded them as uncommunist. The garden products were personal rewards and therefore, too "individualistic." Flowers, apple trees, grape-vines, tobacco plants, and bunches of garlic, were prized objects of each gardener.[47] It was the "principle of the thing," Péron declared at their Assembly and made a motion that all garden produce should be harvested for the entire Colony. The vineyard sales in 1877 would thereby include the sale of grapes from the petit jardins. Conservatives, who were accustomed to making their own private wine from their grapes, opposed this.[48]

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[44] L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, October 1, 1879. Leroux wrote about the discord as three parties 1) the old; 2) the young; and 3) the New Yorkers.

[45] Grief number 5: "Introduction of individual properties in the Community, which is contrary to the principle of equality and public well-being."

[46] Sutton, Les Icariens, 129. Some were "large plots of land, some about a half acre."

[47] Shaw, Icaria, 100-1.

[48] Sutton, Les Icariens, 129. Péron wrote about this in September 1877. Shaw, Icaria, 102. Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 85. When the trustees inventoried the goods for the division of the Colony in 1878, they heard about "a great deal of goods and products hidden in caves and granaries of the ex-majority" and asked them to put these things in their hands. They refused at first and then, threatened by the sheriff, turned them over. Eight wagon loads were filled with goods. They brought up 270 gallons of wine from three caves made from grapes raised in the "petit jardins." A great deal more wine was found in a search of three or four homes. After nine days of debate before a judge, the wine and other products were returned to the owners, a decision that favored the

They had modified Cabet's strict distribution calculus, and now the progressives and New Yorkers wanted them to go back to being more communistic - Cabetist - and put their garden products into the general storehouse.

Amidst the garden controversy, Leroux published a philosophical critique of Cabet's "doctrinal sketches" from the Voyage during the summer of 1877. According to him, Cabet's practices "oppressed the individual" and made the concept of liberty inferior to equality. In an argument presented to his "friend Pelletier,"[49] Leroux denounced Cabet as a "dictator" who tried to make "his principle of authority synonymous with the principle of equality."[50] Such authority was used in his "novel and in our American desert where he wanted to proclaim a personal dictatorship."[51] In a special issue two weeks after this assessment, Leroux contended that, "Cabétisme et le Babouvisme du Communisme" are not the same things. "Cabetisme is an erroneous formula of Communism, in which the word Fraternity is an equally erroneous formula of human Society manifested in civil Society."[52] Briefly stated, Leroux was arguing that Cabet was wrong to place equality over liberty. His dictatorship and Fraternity were two errors in Icarian communism.

The conservatives objected to this negative portrayal of Cabet and to Leroux's

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conservatives. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 549n1. Three men had made the wine, a few bottles each season, for 8 or 9 years. [Report in La Jeune Icarie, October 22, 1878.]

49 L'Étoile des pauvres et des souffrants, January 1, 1881. Pelletier had been in exile with him.

50 L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, August 1, 1877.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid., Supplement August 20, 1877. "Leçon d'histoire, de litterature et de philosophie ou de communisme."

arguments. The next week, President Sauva made a resolution to the Assembly that they "invite the citizen Jules Leroux to insert in his next number of the L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa and at the head of the first column: that the Icarian Community has no part or responsibility for the article entitled: "Du mouvement communiste le seul qui soit liberateur des peuples et de l'individu!" or any others. The Assembly will not accept any of the explanations given by citizen Jules Leroux in the meeting of August 18."[53] The Icarians' "propaganda" project had turned against them.

Leroux replied that L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa was his "exclusive" organ. "Why are you persecuting me?" he asked Sauva. "My contract with the Icarians, clear as day, states that the ideas and the principles that I expose in my journal are not at all your principles and your ideas." Then he declared "war" against Sauva. "We are rivals, we are enemies," he wrote. To mark the level of opposition that existed between them, Leroux equated Sauva with the "Devil" who was a "little companion of war and discord." Sauva's axiom "the end justifies the means" was a "farce," he added.[54] Along with their struggles to amend the "grievances," the conservatives were now challenged to an ideological "war" with Leroux over Cabet's theories on liberty and equality.

Ten days after this quarrel with Sauva, Leroux stopped publishing his paper and moved out of the Colony quarters. He resettled three miles away in Corning with his wife and press.[55] Did the citoyennes lose an ally? Were the conservatives to be spared Leroux's

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53 Ibid.

54 Ibid. The resolutions were "extorted" at a "surprise parlementarism."

55 Declaration.---suspension momentanee de Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, September 1, 1877.

hypercritical editorials? Not quite, for two months later, Leroux resumed his publication from this location.[56] The reasons for "suspending" the paper, he reported, "no longer existed." He had not violated his "contract" with Icaria which permitted him the "liberty" to think, to speak, and to live. Despite his mendicant status, Leroux vowed that he would "never sell his liberty for a plate of lentils."[57]

The hope that the two parties would reconcile their differences dimmed.[58] Two weeks after Leroux moved out, the young Branch presented their impression of the unstable situation in a "Proposition to the General Assembly Concerning the Formation of a Branch of the Icarian Community - Preamble or Exposition of Motives" (September 19, 1877).[59] According to them, partisan dissonance at Assemblies had erupted into the "most violent passions" where "outrageous epithets are poured in torrent[s] on anyone who indulge[d] himself the expression of a thought inspired by his convictions and love of the Community principles."[60] Their membership had lost all semblance of "dignity" and "parliamentary government."[61] The "least reform, the least amelioration can not be presented without the author being treated [as an] enemy of our institutions and falling

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[56] L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, November 1, 1877. Future correspondence was to be mailed to him at the P.O. at Corning not at Icaria.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Shaw, Icaria, 102. Shaw added that Péron had become the "fluent spokesman of the progressives." Sauva held that position for the conservatives.

[59] Sargent diss., "The Relationship," Appendix VIII (Original orthography maintained), 202-210.

[60] Ibid., 202.

[61] Ibid., 203.

under [the] anger of those whom his proposition incommode[d]."[62] Consequently, "assemblies are no more possible ammoung [sic] us" and we must have a "remedy fixed to the evil." When there is "no harmony nor organization" then "production suffers." But our "disorders have not less serious sequels outside."[63] They wanted change in order to place Icaria in its "true way." Then the "social revolution can claim all our attention" and our "entire devotion." Furthermore, there were two "opposite principles" in Icaria. "Communism" was not understood in the "same way by all the members of the Assembly." One sees "the grandeur of Icaria in its extension and its normal development" everywhere and to its labors for "the cause of the people." The others "aspire to contract Icaria on itself" and to get rid of its progressive movement by "making restictive laws for it. They wish to make for it a vestment too narrow to breathe."[64] The "numerically strong" party "wish to stand Icaria by itself from the militant socialism and let subsist of the work of Cabet only a society of farmers citizen (bourgeois) living by the exclusive exploitation of a Domaine belonging to the cause of the revolution."[65] The 'Proposition' also questioned the children's education and insisted that Icaria must be gotten "out of a deadly war" that it has suffered for years. Therefore, they were asking their "adversary" to delegate a Commission on the "particulars" for an "autonomous Branche of the Icarian Community."[66] The 'Proposition' was discussed at the next session where the progressives

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62 Ibid.

63 Ibid., 204.

64 Ibid., 206-7.

65 Ibid., 207.

66 Ibid., 209-10. The September 26, 1877 proposition was signed by E. Péron, E.

proposed dividing up all the Colony land so that every man, woman, and child received ten acres for each side. The remaining property would be "held in common" for use or allotted to new members. It was defeated 19 to 13.[67]

Undeterred, the progressives presented two more documents to the Assembly the next week, a Social Program and a Reciprocal Engagement.[68] The Program declared that "true Icarians" should dedicate themselves to the cause of the people not their individual interests. It had a strong position on women's equal rights:

> . . . . What we want for ourselves, is the fundamental principle of communism, *Equality*, which receives the entire establishment of the word and the thing with its consequences which are *Fraternity* and *Liberty*. Where is the fraternity or liberty in a community where a fraction (men) impose laws and wills on another fraction (women)? None; there is inequality, and no fraternity or liberty.
>
> What we want for ourselves, is that all individuals, adult men and adult women, without distinction of sex, are *equal in rights and duties*.[69]

Along with the emphasis on equality, the Program stipulated that education should be based on "scientific and communist instruction" which is free of the "spirit of selfishness and individualism."[70] As for their Admission principles, they recognized that "we alone do

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Mourat, A. Tunguz, Alexis Marchand. J. Laforgne, J. Vallet, Hagen, M. Brumme, E. Furgier, L. Doreme, P. James, A. Gauvain, P. Leroux and discussed on September 26, 1877 [original spelling preserved].

[67] Shaw, Icaria, 104-5. Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 71. The September 26, 1877 proposal was defeated by the conservatives: A.A. Marchand, Armel Marchand, Hippolite Claudy, Jules Gentry, Joseph Meindre, Arsene Sauva, Eugene Bettannier, Leon Bettannier, Pierre Caille, Joseph Mignot, Leoncio Cubells, Jules Maillon, Charles Levy, V.I. Lemoine, Jacques Cotteron, William Moore, George Rouser and George Montaldo.

[68] Sutton, Les Icariens, 130. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 521-3. La Jeune Icarie, May 1, 1878. The women's rights' issue appeared at the opening of this document.

[69] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 521. Parentheses and italics were used to highlight their points.

[70] Ibid., 521-2.

not have the right to live comfortably under the sun which is the property of all." They have a "duty to admit among us all candidates who fill the required conditions of a communist, as long as our means permit and it does not endanger the community."[71] They pledged to circulate propaganda among the "suffering and oppressed "and "prove the morality of practicing communism." To do this, they would set up "centers of communism, [where] with the aid of our counsels and our money" they would give "moral and material support to all in the resistance and action against capital."[72] They would use their intelligence regarding forms of production that were not only agricultural but industrial. "Common houses" would take the place of "particular houses" which were the source of inequality and individualism. A common unitary house would have the "economic heat and lighting advantages for the well-being of all. They would have common lectures, conferences, distractions, and amusements."[73] The Program ended with an admission that

> we are not infallible, we are all subject to human error. We want to follow the law of progress. We know that we don't have the right to impose our laws and wills on future generations. We consider the common property of goods for all as a natural law. We leave to those who follow us the right to administer it in the fullness of their knowledge and their will according to numerous forms of progress in all its manifestations.[74]

Along with the Social Program, the progressives drafted a brief Reciprocal Engagement which stated that they would "continue the real Icaria after the pseudo-community had

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71 Ibid., 522.

72 Ibid.

73 Ibid.

74 Ibid.

been dissolved."[75] The "Icarian social capital " was not "the property of some men" but the patrimony of all Humanity."[76] Despite several points of doctrinal synthesis, neither Leroux nor Cabet would have offered the unqualified "moral and material support" to those involved in "resistance and actions against capital" specified in this text, especially if the activity carried the potential for violence. Both preferred persuasive logic to force. This militant stance very likely reflected the influence of the New York communards.

Two Socialist scholars, Donald Drew Egbert and Stow Persons, who studied the Icarian Colony during this period, reported that the conservative members had experienced a "struggle for survival" for over a decade to pay their debts and maintain food and shelter. This had caused them to "turn their backs on the world" at a time when "Marxism had stirred" elsewhere in Icaria. For a time, it looked as if Icaria "would become one of the centers of the First International in the United States."[77] Based on the progressives' fall 1877 proposals, this interpretation aptly captured elements of the progressives' merger of the two Icarian positions.

In a little over a year, the progressives' motivations and their plan of action had moved beyond generational quarrels and internal representations to foster larger action in

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[75] Sutton, Les Icariens, 130.

[76] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 523.

[77] Sargent diss., "The Relationship," 158-9. Sargent took this view from Donald Drew Egbert and Stow Person (eds.), Socialism in American Life (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), 190. Sargent concluded that "revolutionary Marxism" versus the "conservatism of the elders" was "at the root of the Corning split." Although, agreeing in part with Sargent, I hold that by placing the citoyenne's demand to be political equals in this paradigm, the perimeters expand beyond either system, producing a new Icarian synthesis. (Marxism, in this period, did not want to mix women's suffrage issues with the workers revolution which would make all equal.)

the world outside Icaria. Likewise, the Program authors expanded their concern about women's 'opinions' into a political role equivalent to that of men. Their text repeatedly demanded equality - in the treatment of women - in admissions - in education - in common housing - in recreational facilities - and, in the 'patrimony' of property - which belonged to all. The matters accented in the Program were unequal in the present 'pseudo-Icaria' which was therefore, not a 'true' communism.

Not unexpectedly, the conservatives "refused to accept the plan of a peaceful separation." At this juncture, the spokesman for the progressives, Péron, announced that the two groups "of the Icarian family can no longer live together." Therefore, their side would "no longer care for the community livestock, farm work, or take part in communal life."[78] Consequently, on October 6, 1877, the parties dissolved themselves into two "autonomous branches" and set up commissions from both sides to work out separate sites.[79] As in Nauvoo, they ate meals apart in the refectory and extended the division to farm labors."[80]

After a month of this segregated posturing, the progressives introduced another separation plan to the Assembly which called for distributing equal portions of land to both sides.[81] The conservatives were indignant. "The young fellows want their part! Their

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78 Sutton, Les Icariens, 130, 176n40.

79 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 524. Commission members were Dereure, Fugier, and Gauvain for the minority and L Bettannier, E. Bettannier, and A.A. Marchand for the majority. Sutton, Les Icariens, 130.

80 Sutton, Les Icariens, 131.

81 Ibid. This was on November 24, 1877.

part! But what is their part? What have they done for Icaria? What value is there in a stay of two years for Paul Leroux, of eighteen months for Laforgue and Péron; of twelve months only for Dereure and Tanguy . . . . during their presence in Icaria, have they been able to add to its patrimony?"[82] Their response demonstrated that Cabet's Icarian principles of fraternity and equality had been reduced to patrimony and seniority. Understandably, the livelihood and security of the conservatives' aging lifespan was at stake. Nonetheless, Icaria's original raison d'etre had faded from their official discourse.

A nearby newsman heard rumors about the separation and went out to the Colony to investigate the latest developments. Reporter Theodore Gorham from the Corning Union spoke with several members. His subsequent news article, "Troubles in Icaria," was printed on November 22, 1877, and was largely a review of Icaria's past. Gorham concluded that the current "troubles" stemmed from the opposition to improvements by the old folks who had become a "bugbear and eyesore" to the "impatient" young members. All had gone well in the Colony, he was told, as long as they carried out their "controversy in a parliamentary manner." However, the "young party declared war" shortly after their October 26, 1877 proposition was voted down.[83] Gorham observed that "the saddest feature of the affair is the breach this revolution has made in the private relation. For in some cases the members of families are divided in their politics; father against son, sister against brother, and husband against wife."[84]

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82 Ibid. Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 72.

83 "Troubles in Icaria" Corning (Iowa) Union, November 22, 1877, Icarian Studies Newsletter Summer, 1984, 4.

84 Ibid., 5.

Gorham's remarks about the 'sad' family divisions reflected his knowledge of the Marchand son's defection, but the appearance in his comments of a "breach" between husband and wife, added a new dimension to the "troubled" scene. Gorham's report showed that independent minded citoyennes opposed their husbands. There are few details available about this, but one piece of evidence reveals that Léoncio Cubells had a "disagreement with his wife in 1879 after seeing her abandon the elder Branch and rally to the cause of young Icaria." He left in 1883.[85] Another "scission" between a husband and wife was produced in the Bettannier family and Léon Bettannier left in July 1881.[86] Citoyennes sometimes held different political views than their husbands, a problem Cabet had tried to prevent by requiring husbands to guarantee their wives' Icarian beliefs.

The "Troubles" that Gorham identified worsened even as he was writing his report. On November 29, 1877, Sauva signed a "Proposition to safeguard the patrimony of Icarie" which was approved by the majority. It determined that since September 27 when "certain members of the colony have come to open rebellion" which disorganized labor and checked "production," it was necessary to take "some measure to protect the Icarian patrimony" against the "duration and consequence of this rebellion." Therefore, Icaria's "duty in the interest of its own conservation" was to "abstain of all expense, of which indispensability will not be acknowledged by the Assembly General. Sugar, Coffee, Rice, dessert of all sort, Clothing, and generally all that is necessary, but that can be suppressed without exposing the public health will be done."[87]

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[85] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 597, 597n1. This news appeared in a listing of those who left the elder Branch during the 1880s.

[86] Ibid.

The conservative majority executed this austerity order shortly after Gorham's assessment of Icaria's "Troubles" was published. When the progressives read Gorham's piece, they objected to its biased content and wrote to the editor claiming it was a "misrepresentation from beginning to end." Their reply was printed in the Corning Union on December 13, 1877. "Gorham," they contended, "was but the mouthpiece through which some unworthy fellow blew those falsehoods."[88] They refuted his simplified "young" and "old" division, citing names of older members within their party. They informed the editor that, although a minority, they were legitimate "stockholders" in the Colony property.[89] They added that in the two weeks since Sauva's "patrimony safeguard" plan was instituted, they were being refused "sugar, tea, coffee, matches, yarn and all kind of sewing articles."[90] Locks were put on supply cabinets by the conservatives. But, "knowing our right to be clad and fed in our community home . . . they were opened. We helped ourselves to what we had earned by our labor, which was necessary for the subsistence of our families." They did not "carry away those pad-locks, for we found out that the patent

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[87] Sargent diss., "The Relationship," 156, Appendix VII, 200. [Original spelling, grammar, and punctuation maintained by Sargent. I have corrected mispelled words [not grammar] to avoid the excessive use of "sic."] This was justified because they had suffered a "material los to the Community, that can up to date bee aprose to $500." An examination of the Appendix II list of Presidents in Iowa from 1860 to 1878 showed that Marchand was President six times. Schroeder was president in 1870-71; Marchand in 1872-73; Gauvain in 1874; Marchand in 1875-76; and Sauva in 1877-78 (the final years of the split).

[88] "Icaria" To the editor of the Corning Union, December 13, 1877. ACIS. Progressives, A.Gauvain, E. Fugier, Armel Marchand, and E. Péron signed the letter.

[89] Ibid. A reference to their shares of stock in Icaria which were not against "laws of the State." They noted that if they were wrong they would "be in jail or in some way punished."

[90] Ibid. Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 72.

mechanism was not good." Since this happened, the "majority has gone still further in its starvation or depriving policy." The Assembly refused "winter clothing" and the "necessary implements to nurse a new born child" for a "lady brancher" as well as clothes for a pregnant woman's "coming child." After perceiving the "horridness of their action" towards us, the letter writers observed, the conservatives refused a demand from their own side in order to look impartial. The progressives knew that by "having control of our money, they [conservatives] can provide themselves whatever they please."[91] The majority continued to use their veto power in the Assemblies, refusing appropriations for other clothing items, coffee, a saw, hatchet, medicine, postage stamps, a stove, and "leaves to visit" outside the Colony.[92] Dissatisfaction increased over the distribution of community goods which left all adult women and the minority group of male voters powerless.[93]

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[91] "Icaria" To the editor of the Corning Union, December 13, 1877. ACIS.

[92] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 524. "Minutes of procedings of Icarian Community," 13-15.

[93] "Minutes of procedings of Icarian Community," 16-22. June 24, 1876. The youthful members had problems that were at times exaggerated, but adults were not without fault. A glance at one such incident reveals the absurd level of scrutiny that followed two young men's pause to eat some strawberries in the Colony patch. Two schoolboys, August Gauvain and Alexander (?), were returning from their work in the fields, stopped, tied up their horses, and began eating strawberries in the patch. Mr. Moore [conservative teacher] saw them there and told them not to eat the berries. When they continued, Moore drew a knife, and threatened to "slit their stomach" if they touched another berry. The boys reported that Moore prepared to "thrash us" after a show of fists. The Assembly heard testimonies about the behavior of the boys and Mr. Moore, and considered punishments for the boys. Montaldo defended the boy's appetite, stating that "not enough of them (berries) were given at meal time, and they were still hungry." Marchand and Sauva "found extenuating circumstances in favor of Mr. Moore." Cotteron said the affair "was not worth consideration." Misbehavior by young boys and adults was raised to the level of community [Assembly] disputes which took up hours of time (and six pages of writing).

These unfraternal authoritarian exercises by the conservatives were described by Péron in a concise manner in his Brief History of Icaria as "several unconstitutional acts of authority" which were "imprudently committed" during this time.[94] Comedy would be a better word to portray the buffoonery that characterized the scenes in the Colony in late 1877 and 1878. The Icarians' puerile acts of 'war' resembled the spiteful antics of a village charivari.

Details of this deplorable situation were subsequently reported to communists in New York by Dereure, Tanguy, Laforgue, and Péron. Fifty-four members of the group based in New York signed a response addressed to "Aux membres de la Communauté Icarienne" on December 31, 1877. Icaria's "internal quarrels," in their judgment, were not a war between the young and old, but a war between "individualism" and "communism." They reminded the members that Icarian property was the work of all the living and deceased and the "depot (warehouse, money)" belonged to all members. They recommended that those "who were not pleased could retire." In addition, they warned that "those who had put on a communist mask to turn over a personal profit in the Icarian community would be banned from the communist party."[95]

The Icarian Assembly acknowledged receipt of the letter from New York communists and on January 12, 1878, the majority asked the "separatists" to "return to them" and to work to repair the "material damages" in the Colony. However, "if the

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[94] Péron, Brief History, 11.

[95] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 531-2, 531n1. This proclamation was voted on unanimously at Hunt's Hall, Houston Street, New York on December 31, 1877. The names of signers are copied in the footnote. The President was Hanser, Vice-President Mégy, and Secretary Brossard.

separatists were resolved not to continue with their elders' Icarian enterprise, the community would offer each of them, men, women, and children $100 a head."[96] After a month's study of this proposition, ballots were cast.

Four Feminists "violate and ridicule" the Constitution

The thirteen minority members presented themselves with their wives and children at the Icarian office alongside the conservatives to oversee the votes. "Soon after, they were astonished by the scandal of seeing four citoyennes belonging to the separatist party, come forward to the office to take part in the elections."[97] President Sauva stood "firm" about the male franchise and the minority left without gaining the "revendicatons féministes (feminist demands)."[98] These four Icarian citoyennes, like their American counterparts (who voted illegally in 1872) and French feminists (Roland and Deroin), exhibited their demand for equal suffrage in public. In doing so, they "shocked" the majority who claimed their constitution was "violated and ridiculed." A new vote was taken and the majority's offer of a hundred dollars a head was rejected. The factional segregation continued as each side explored other legal manuevers.[99]

In her disconcerted state during this period, young Marie recalled how she exploded one day when she saw progressives helping themselves to some fresh lettuce that the conservative women had tended in the garden. She grabbed the pail of lettuce from

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[96] Ibid., 532. This separation would cost about $8,000.

[97] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 533. The citoyennes defied Article IX of the charter which designated that voting rights were for male stockholders.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Ibid., 535-7.

them and threw it on the floor. Marie was "terribly excited, but not sorry for what happened."[100] Marie's spiteful conduct illustrated how Icarian children were caught up in their parent's quarrels. Marie's father's side had secretly sold all the sheep - more than a thousand - and the opposition took revenge by "a great killing of ducks and chickens and with them made a big kettle full of fois gras."[101] In turn, her father's party ruined the progressives' kettle of food by maliciously putting sand in the pot.[102] These vindictive acts had to end, and the Colony's separation conflict was turned over to the Iowa State Courts.

On August 2, 1878, three days before the scheduled Court trial, the two sides held a last minute session to resolve their problems on their own. Two delegates from each side went over nine issues. The first one was to "accord the right of suffrage to women" which confirmed the significance that the four women's recent assertion of their right to vote had on the group.[103] The majority, represented by A. Marchand and J. Gentry, responded that they "did not see any inconvenience in that reform. It conformed with the progress each day towards advancing the suppression of social inequalities."[104] This surprising turn proves that voting rights for women had become acceptable to the majority party, at least for these two men. But other sensitive issues were at stake. Gauvain and A. Fugier, from the progressive party were being advised in such an aggressive manner by Péron during

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100 Ross, Child of Icaria, 89.

101 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 535. Ross, Child of Icaria, 90. 800 sheep were sold.

102 Ross, Child of Icaria, 90.

103 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 541-2.

104 Ibid. (n.b. Sauva was not one of the majority delegates.)

the talks that, according to Prudhommeaux's account, Péron had to be told his place was that of a "visitor" and not a "delegate."[105] The other eight proposals about the size of the administrative personnel, holding "immediate elections," propaganda, personal property, admissions, transitory period, patrimony, and "rehabilitating the memory of Cabet" were taken into consideration.[106] The majority drew up five modifications to these proposals. Delegates from both sides waited in vain for a reply on August 4. Without reaching an accord, the Iowa Court session began on August 5, 1878.[107] Testimonies were presented and the jury had to decide for them. After seven hours of deliberation, the verdict was handed down on August 16, 1878. They found that the "Community violated State incorporation laws." The Icarian Colony was originally chartered for agricultural purposes, but had "operated a sawmill for profit." They were guilty of raising sheep for "selling wool" and allowed two members (Schroeder and Tanguy) to sell their labor as painters to Corning families. They also "failed to charge some members the stipulated subscription mentioned in the charter."[108] The Judge declared the 1860 Icarian Colony charter "abrogated." Three American trustees were appointed to distribute all community

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105 Ibid., 541. Péron seemed to have too much influence on the progressive delegates.

106 Ibid., 542-3.

107 Ibid., 544. Sutton, Les Icariens, 131-3. Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 77-81. Shaw, Icaria, 107. They were initiated "In the current court January Term, 1878. State of Iowa Adams County: State of Iowa vs. Icarian Community." ACIS. On December 14, 1877, Emilie Fugier swore to the five pages of "foregoing information" about the Corporation's failure to supply "mutual support" for each other and see that "each shall receive according to his or her wants, board, clothing, attention in sickness, and care in infancy and age," etc. The "stockholders are at war with each other, thirty-five against forty-six."

108 Sutton, Les Icariens, 133, 177n50.

property.[109] The inventory and divisions began and final documents were signed on March 11, 1879.[110]

Property allocations were based on seniority. However, Leroux found that they were not counting the years fairly in every case. He was unable to contain his rage over the Circuit Court proceedings and the compte-rendu maneuvers and bitterly recalled his disgust in a "personal anecdote." The story began with Leroux's chance rendez-vous in Corning with three men that he termed the "obscene trinity" - Sauva, Levy, and Marchand.[111] "Little monster" Sauva thrust a copy of their new journal Revue Icarienne at him. The men explained that since they now had their own press they "had no more reason to meet with him other than at the cemetery."[112] Stunned by this affront to his stature, Leroux excoriated these "pères nourriciers (nourishing fathers)," repeatedly calling Sauva an "avortion (little runt)." He mocked them for acting like a "very saintly, holy, and ancient Trinity." Then Leroux directed his rage at their treatment of the Mourot family in the Colony property distribution. Arbitrators counted years of service in the community and included time spent in "individualism" for someone like Sauva who returned to France

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109 Ibid., 133. Paul S. Gauthier, "Adams County, Iowa: Past, Present and Future," Assimilation of Icarians into American Life Proceedings of the 1988 Cours Icarien Symposium, (Sunnyvale: Optima Print & Copy Center, 1994), 6, 8-9. The trustees were W.C. Chubb, F.D.C. Shaw, and Leon Humbert. Le Populaire, February 7, 1851. The Humbert father (widower) and seven children, age 5 to 18 had entered the colony in Nauvoo and left March 14, 1851 without asking for definite membership.

110 Sutton, Les Icariens, 135-6.

111 Étoile du Kansas et de Iowa, May 1, 1879. "Leave me recount the following anecdote, which was a personal one of mine, but will not fail to be interesting to you at the same time."

112 Ibid.

and came back. However, when they came to the land portion for the widow Mourot (now, Madame Cubels), they used a skewed accounting system. Leroux defended Mourot for his role as a "socialist insurgent of '48" and "adversary of all despotism like that of père Cabet and the Icarian community." The arbitrators had renounced the Colony share for her two children (Louise Mourot Bettannier and Eugène Mourot).[113] "Were they proud of this?" Leroux asked, determined to challenge their injustice toward a widow and her children. He "turned his back" on the trio in disgust. "I'm going to plant my cabbages," he muttered at the end of his tale.[114]

"All traces of my contract with the 13 and with the 19 . . . in the general Assembly of the Icarian Community are erased," Leroux wrote after the trial. "Whose fault is it? Not either of the branches who talk among themselves about allowing me an indemnity for rupturing my contract." Regardless, he was "not going to leave, nor my wife, nor my press." Defiantly, he charged the Icarians to "consider how to define me: as a parasite, a foreign body, or a fungus." He did not have the same interests they had, "Behind you are Cabet and his errors! I have the Truth and its benefits. We are neighbors, nothing but neighbors!"[115]

More deeply than ever, Leroux experienced the pangs of his "mendicant" turned pariah identity.[116] Spurred by the Icarian's apostasy, he refocused his energies toward

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113 Ibid.

114 Ibid.

115 Ibid., April 1, 1879.

116 Ibid., December 1, 1880. Leroux , born a "proletaire" and a "paria," would die the same.

launching a small but exemplary Humanity-City. In the same issue that carried details about his defunct contract, he called for helpers to begin the practice of his philosophy. Adherents of Humanity-City must be convinced "that there is nothing more beautiful, good, honorable, healthy, and glorious for them than to consecrate their bodies and minds to its possible erection. It will be very easy here in America."[117] With this in mind, Leroux explained that he had spent the last two weeks "exposing the idea of a Loan or voluntary Public Subscription (collection) to some of my most intimate and close friends." With some capital, they could purchase a "few acres" where they "could live and associate. They would start with two modestly equipped industries - Printers and Farmers" who would "sow the grain for the future Humanity-City." It would be a "magical exhibition of a humane Society without poor, without rich, without tyrants."[118] Leroux promised to publish responses. "My friends and readers in America," he declared, "here is the actual and precise point of my life and my work. You know it is one and the same thing."[119]

Much like Cabet's 1847 announcement that he was going to America, Leroux had set forth a simple plan for creating Humanity-City with a little land, money, printing press, and several farmers. In effect, Leroux was proposing a rival community that might attract Icarians. Friends like Emile Bée in San Francisco sent him donations with supportive commentaries that he printed in the issues that followed. In New York, money was collected by his circulation agents, Charles Pelletier and Charles Raynaud (ex-Icarian).

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[117] Ibid., April 1, 1879.

[118] Ibid. Leroux claimed that in 1871 he began his Humanity-City propaganda in his paper.

[119] Ibid.

Supporters in San-Francisco were able to contact J.B. Lafaix, Paul Deniau, and Gustave Provost. Those in Geneva Switzerland could communicate with H. Darier.[120] Along with propaganda for his own project, Leroux's paper continued its critiques of the Icarians.

As each branch set up their respective habitats, the progressives re-named themselves "Jeune Icarie (Young Icaria)" and the conservatives called themselves "Nouvelle Icarie (New Icaria)." The elder branch chose this name because they moved to a new area and left the original site to the young Branch that had to pay a $1,500 extra fee to cover the cost of moving several buildings for them.[121] The locale where the Nouvelle Icarie members placed their buildings was called the village of "Icara."[122] In Cabet's Voyage, "Icara" was the name of its "magnificent" capital city, which undoubtedly inspired the elder's cognomen and lent it a special distinction.[123]

The Young Icarians drew up a constitution on May 1, 1879. It had a special

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120 Ibid., December 1, 1879. Pelletier sent $20, Deniau, $4, Bée, $2, and Provost $1 to add to the total of $114 the month before. Leroux had a few more donations but no large ones that year.

121 Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 86-7. Gauthier found that for over a year, the two groups made dual use of the existing facilities. Eight houses were moved and a new dining hall was built.

122 Étoile du Kansas et de Iowa, June 1, 1879. Leroux noted the name "Icara" to state that "the Étoile was not attached to either Icarie nor to Icara, but to itself and Humanity-City." Anthony Prevos, "A History of the French in Iowa," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1981, 284n101. Prevos found that Icara first appeared on the masthead of the Revue Icarienne on February 1881. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 594, 597. "In the spring of 1882, the Icariens had a reunion in their aimable village of Icara." Also, "Claudine Deffauday, elderly and impotent, entered into Icara in December 1881, only to die a few months later."

123 Voyage, 20-28, 40-50. The "magnificent" plan of the capital city "Icara" was described at length in these pages. ("Icarie" was the spelling for the "country.")

section on equal rights which stated: "Let us relieve woman, that victim of barbarous customs, by making accessible to her everything that we wish for ourselves." Accordingly, "**all adult Icarians, without distinctions of sex,** have the same part in the government, the same right in the making and execution of laws. **All are alike electors and eligible to any office.**"[124] Icarian citoyennes had become full members, just like the citizens (at the age of twenty).[125] After thirty years of multifarious exercises by Icarian women to gain the right to determine the laws they lived under, they were now formally constituted political equals "without distinctions of sex."

A Swiss newspaper congratulated the young Branch for "extending the right of suffrage to women." This was "a measure of strict justice that for many years we reclaimed in vain for the Majority were hostile," they explained in their new paper, La Jeune Icarie.[126] The Progressives made an arrangment with Leroux to put out a paper for them each month on his printing equipment.[127] They drew up a Constitution, Articles of Incorporation, Regulations of the General Assembly, and Laws for Admission,

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[124] Péron, Brief History, 17, 19. My emphasis.

[125] Ibid., 28. Article 1 of "Regulations of the General Assembly."

[126] La Jeune Icarie, July 15, 1878. CIS SIUE. The statement that they had vainly sought this "for many years" suggests female suffrage was part of discussions for some time. The paper began May 1, 1878. They were "not writers, much less journalists. They were workers, artisans, etc." and not men of letters or "savants." Contrary to many reform journals, their paper would not have an excess of doctrinal material. They likened the situation of Icaria in July 1856 to theirs today, for, like Cabet, they wanted a separation. (They were informed in Leroux's paper on June 15, 1878 that their "pretension" about Cabet did not "balance" with the "facts of Cabet's life.")

[127] Ibid., December 31, 1880. Leroux's presses put out his paper on the first of every month and the young Branch's two weeks later.

Withdrawal and Expulsion.[128] On April 28, 1879, the members signed an "Act of Donation" giving "forever to the cause of Communism the entire property which had been given to it by the arbitrators."[129] Not everyone agreed to sign this. Mme Montaldo refused and took her son with her out of the Colony to live with her married daughter Hortense, who had been their first school teacher.[130] Two New York communards, Dereure and Tanguy left during this period.[131] Tanguy did not sign the "Donation" but Dereure and his wife did.[132]

Leroux scoffed at the "Act of Donation" which he warned "risked the death of Icaria. It is a ridiculous fetish, made spontaneously, without precedent."[133] He compared it to the "main-morte (dead-hand) of the Jesuit and Catholic religious congregations" which

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[128] Péron, Brief History, 24-40. [In french, Précis histoire du Icarie.] Accolades from those who received copies were in La Jeune Icarie, Aug-Sept., 1880. On the other hand, Jules Leroux, criticized Péron' s Brief History in L'Etoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, October 1, 1880. There was "nothing profound, any appreciation or little philosophy, and interpreted facts contained in it." According to Leroux, Péron's purpose was to "sanctify, to legitmize the means that you used to arrive at, not the pacification of the group but the separation into two groups."

[129] Péron, Brief History, 24. Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 97.The document listed the amounts of each signer which totaled $14,839.93. Six men had figures over $1,000. Some like Alexis Marchand, E.Péron, L. Dereure, H.Vallet, I. and M. Laforgue, C. and E. Gauvain, and P. Leroux had barely $100 to donate.

[130] La Jeune Icarie, April 15, 1879, Sepember 12, 1879. Mme Montaldo was called a "deserter." She did not remit her property to the Colony, but retained a title to 60 acres (42 woods). Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 92. When Antoine Gauvain's family left in December 1879, the Colony had to pay out a $2,700 severance allowance in installments.

[131] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 524. Several other families left during this transitional period.

[132] Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 97.

[133] Étoile du Kansas et de Iowa, August 1, 1880.

replaced Cabet's "common good" repository.[134] The Young Icarians, however, considered it a "perpetual fund" that would be used to help everyone.[135]

The Young branch were going to exercise the "sovereignty of the people" - a form of direct democracy - in a General Assembly held once a month, not every week.[136] Each time they met, they elected a president and vice-president to preside over that session. They also elected a Secretary and Assistant Secretary for six months "but not twice in succession." There were special commissions for agriculture, industry, and the like.[137] The most significant posts in their new political system were held by four elected Executive trustees.[138] The election of women to this board certified the citoyennes authentic public roles.

"Executive Trustee" Women & Feminist Portrayals

La Jeune Icarie carried reports on the elections of Louise (Mourot) Bettannier and Marie Ponté to "Executive trustee" offices in 1879 and 1880.[139] In addition, Louise

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134 Ibid.

135 La Jeune Icarie, May 15, 1879. Corning Notary, Mme Fanny Maley, set up the Donation.

136 Since I have seen no direct evidence to the contrary, Péron, spokesman for the progressives, was the most likely sponsor of the 'direct democracy' ideal in their Constitution.

137 Péron, Brief History, 14-23. The entire Constitution had 71 articles as compared to Cabet's 183 articles in 1851.

138 Ibid., 28, 21. Article 4 and 7. Constitution, Article 34 and 42. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 574n 2. Prudhommeaux charted the elected delegates from 1879 to November 1880.

139 La Jeune Icarie, November 24, 1879, November 1880. Citoyenne Louise Bettanier was elected to the Secretariat in 1879 (Paul Leroux to Agriculture; S. Dereure to Industry; E. Fugier to Commerce). In 1880, Marie Ponté was elected to the Secretariat

Bettannier gave a speech on "The courage and selflessness of Louise Michel who was exiled to New-Caledonia, the consequences of her devotion to the cause of the weak and the oppressed," at a February banquet in 1880.[140] Louise Michel was a heroine of the 1871 Paris Commune.[141] Both pacifists - Cabet and Leroux - would have hesitated to sanction the celebration of Michel, a woman who was involved in bloody street battles, but Communards like Dereure, whose wife was a friend of Michel, understood her courageous deeds.[142] La Jeune Icarie also published a series of articles on "Property" written by feminist-author André Léo.[143] She and Michel had worked together in the 1871 Commune distributing food and setting up workshops for women.[144] They engaged in the barricade

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(Michel - Agriculture; Claude Bronner to Industry).

[140] Ibid., March 29, 1880. There were three toasts -Bettannier, H. Pédoussant, and Thierry gave them (no topic given.) Pédoussant, provisonally admitted, was an "ex-member of the administration of the journal Le Prolétaire in Paris." He donated a hundred works to their Library.

[141] Moses, French Feminism in the 19th Century, 191-5. Louise Michel participated in Commune activities at "a level exceptional for a woman." She was a "combatant in the 61st battalion" and with a "famous group of 120 women held off the Versaillais troops for four hours at the Place Blanche." Michel was sent to the penal island of New Caledonia. See Lowry and Gunter, The Red Virgin: Memoirs of Louise Michel.

[142] Paul Avrich, Anarchist Portraits (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 234. Even as hope of winning disappeared, Michel along with Elizabeth Dmitrieff continued "carrying supplies, caring for the wounded, and taking up arms behind the barricades. Such acts made the Commune an inspiring if ultimately tragic affair, creating a legend both in France and abroad."

[143] La Jeune Icarie, May 15, 1878 to July 15, 1880. Besides articles on the French Commune women, Michel and Léo, on July 15, the paper reported on Vera Zassoulich of Russia who had escaped to Geneva where the "good republicans" told her to "go elsewhere." She was on her way to Paris. (Zassoulich shot the head of the Police in St. Petersburg because of his brutal treatment of prisoners. He recovered. She was tried, exonerated, and escaped before a repeal of the case.)

[144] K. Steven Vincent, Between Marxism and Anarchism: Benoît Malon and French

battles and helped with the wounded. Léo, too, was exiled.[145]

Léo was born Léodile Béra and married a disciple of Pierre Leroux, Philippe Gregoire Champseix in 1851. Champseix had worked on journals with the Leroux brothers at Boussac and Limoges. He and Léodile went into exile in Lausanne and Geneva where he continued working for Leroux's journal, L'Esperance.[146] They had twin sons named André and Léo. Léodile combined their names for her pseudonym. After her husband died in 1863, she became very active in socialist and feminist circles. Her writings favored workers' associations, anti-authoritarian democracy, and peasants.[147] She was a charter member of the Sociéte de la revendication des droits de la femme founded in 1868, the same year she met Benoît Malon whom she married in 1873.[148] The New York

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Reformist Socialism (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 26. As a leader of the mutual aid society, La Solidarité, Léo with the aid of Malon drew up a list of the needy in the 17th arrondissement, and began distributing daily allowances. They set up a municipal cooperative restaurant, La Marmite and a workshop to make uniforms that employed 500 women.

[145] Moses, French Feminism in the 19th Century, 192. André Léo wrote a news article urging women to help with the wounded and food supplies in 1871. 500 women showed up, but were "rebuffed" by the male leaders until Louise Michel intervened and won their posts. In exile, Léo wrote material for the newspaper, La Sociale. See Lowry and Gunther, The Red Virgin, 57. André Léo, Adèle Esquiros, and Louise Michel carried a protest signed by thousands to General Trochu to change the death sentences of their friends. Michel and Léo were leading a group of volunteers to go to Strasbourg, when they were arrested near the Hôtel de Ville along with an old woman with a kerosene can. They testified in her behalf and the old woman was released.

[146] Vincent, Between Marxism, 41. The journals were Revue sociale and Eclaireur in Boussac and Le Peuple in Limoges.

[147] Ibid., 42. André Léo's particular concerns were women and peasants. In 1870, she tried to start a journal for peasants, L'Agriculteur with Paul Lacombe, J. Toussaint, and Elisée Reclus.

[148] Ibid., 44. After a five-year consensual union, Malon and Léo married in 1873 but separated in 1878. Léo (b.1826) attributed it to their fifteen year age difference (Malon

communards and Leroux were familiar with these writers. Leroux not only published Léo's writings but sections about Cabet and the Icarians from Malon's Histoire du socialisme (1878). Although Leroux's impressions of Malon's works were generally favorable, he critiqued certain aspects of his reports and printed Malon's replies.[149] One of Malon's studies on the socialists, Exposé des écoles socialistes Française, [suivi d'un aperçu sur le Collectivisme International], displayed his interest and knowledge of women who were in the Paris phase of the Icarian movement. (Perhaps, prompted by Léo and her work for the Sociéte de la revendication des droits de la femme.) Malon observed how Cabet's "adepts" enthusiastically called him their père, and noted that "few men have been more loved. One remembers the deputations of women everywhere who had confidence in the office of the Populaire and in Cabet, chef of French communism. Women brought him immense bouquets, protestations (expressions) of affection, respect and devotion." Cabet received their "testimonies with sympathy." Women saw him as one who had the "greatest devotion to the cause of the people."[150]

Readers of Leroux and the young Branch's two papers and the authors they cited

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b.1841).

[149] Étoile du Kansas et de Iowa, June 1,1879 (Malon biography), June 15, 1879, October 1, 1879 (Letter Malon sent to Sauva w/comments by Leroux), January 1, 1880 (Leroux critized his notion of a 4th estate and his "absurd collectivism."), May 1, 1880 (Malon and Guesde). (Anarchist) Elisée Reclus was also a frequent contributer in the 1880s.

[150] B. Malon, Exposé des écoles socialistes Française, (Paris: A. Le Chevalier, 1872), 97-98. Malon's account of Cabet was only 3 and 1/2 pages long and yet, his discussion of women took up an entire paragraph. He also observed (as Prudhommeaux did likewise), that Cabet did not bring any new ideas into socialism or formulate any great communist thoughts (instead studied Moses, Esseniens, etc.). Malon passed quickly over the "discord" in the Nauvoo scission.

were being exposed to prominent male and female Socialist writers, their works, ideas, and critiques. La Jeune Icarie also carried news about their Community's bustling activity, the names of new members, and informative accounts about other American Communities.[151] They printed letters sent by sympathetic and critical readers.[152]

One such correspondent, Maurice LaChâtre, was introduced as "an old friend of Cabet's." LaChâtre, it will be recalled, was the admiring publisher who had proposed a statue, medal, and garden to honor Cabet in 1857. When he wrote to La Jeune Icarie in 1879, he had just returned to Paris after being in exile for eight years. In 1870-71, LaChâtre had collaborated with Félix Pyat on the journal Le Combat and on Le Vengeur. He was Captain of the 4th federated battalion in 1871 and signed the Droits de Paris document. He was tried and exiled in 1873. LaChâtre was the first editor to propose to Marx that they publish a French edition of Capital. He published it in 44 segments from August 1872 to May 1875.[153] LaChâtre recalled his latest experiences for the Icarians, but

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151 La Jeune Icarie, Aug-Sept, 1880, Nov 1880, had articles on the Shakers, Oneidans, and several new community groups including one in California that was to be based on the Oneidans. They also had material on the Mormons.

152 Ibid. This issue had a full page of journal and book ads for readers. Among them was Solidarite, association pour la défense des droits de la femme ed. Mme Marie Gregg, Geneva. Mme Gregg's journal had reproduced an article, "De la femme" that was in La Jeune Icarie. They advertised Alexander Longley's The Communist; The Labor Review, Detroit Michigan; and l'Emancipation organe du parti ouvrier, that listed E.Péron (editor of Icaria's paper) as one of the "principal collaborators" along with Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue, and about ten others. Benoit Malon's Histoire du Socialisme had a summary of chapters and noted Ch. XI on Cabet, Dezamy, Villegardelle, Blanqui, etc. Excerpts from Malon's works and letters published in La Jeune Icarie linked the young Branch with a global network of Communists and Socialists.

153 Dict. biog. Tome II, 404. Maitron listed LaChâtre's convictions because of his publishing.

did not mention his defunct memorial proposals for Cabet. This neglect could be attributed to his recent political alignments.[154] Although he admired Cabet who was a "pacifist," he was now "with Blanqui" and a revolutionary. La Jeune Icarie printed LaChâtre's review of books that would be of interest to readers.[155] In his paper, Leroux commented on the value of purchasing LaChâtre's library of books. Many were costly and of little use to Icarians. He also raised his personal doubt that LaChâtre was ever Cabet's friend, arguing that he was not only much younger than Cabet, but did not share his philosophies.[156]

Both Leroux and the La Jeune Icarie editors were occupied with their 'propaganda,' correspondence, news, and political articles, while the remaining men, women, and children were busy relocating buildings and setting up their Colony as determined by the courts and trustees.[157] In a few months, the young Branch's less-restrictive admission policies coupled with their renewed propaganda, resulted in a

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[154] La Jeune Icarie, November 24, 1879.

[155] Ibid., January 22, 1880. In LaChâtre's second letter, he wrote, "Your missive is adressed to a communist who has been a friend of the venerated Cabet, but who has a different sentiment." (LaChâtre's letter of inquiry to Cabet was received after his death as already noted in this study.)

[156] Étoile du Kansas et de Iowa, December 1, 1879. "Maurice LaChâtre et son Commis Voyageur." Leroux picked up on the remark in La Jeune Icarie about his friendship with Cabet which he disputed and asked for proof. He added that Eugène Sue was never a communist of the type that Cabet was. He questioned spending money to stock a library with some of the books that LaChâtre was selling. (They were very likely too revolutionary.)

[157] Sutton, Les Icariens, 134. Trustees at first gave the conservatives the half of the land which contained the village, fields, and orchards but this involved a debt of $7,888 and they rejected it. A compromise was reached whereby they moved the buildings to a new site and left the progressives to pay the $1500 moving costs as a "displacement indemnity" - debt.

doubling of their membership.[158] A clause in their admissions warned applicants, "if the practice of equality in proportion to the needs and faculties shocks your feelings: **if you cannot tolerate equality of the sexes, nor leave the control of your children to the Society . . . then do not come.**"[159] The need for such a striking deterrent in their admission policy points out they had experienced problems with some among them who could not "tolerate equality of the sexes." In addition, parents both had power in the Assembly's children policies.

According to M.E. Fugier, the "avalanche" of recruits included a wide range of socialists, visionaries, nihilists, freelovers, Shakers, libertarians, and cranks.[160] The young Icarians had to solve major housing, food, and water problems in order to accomodate them. In the midst of these logistic challenges, two young girls from one family died. Their

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158 Péron, Brief History, "Law upon admission into the Icarian Commnity," May 1, 1879, 30-34. There were 24 articles as compared to Cabet's 48. A father/husband did not need to guarantee wives, children, or their health as Cabet demanded. The young Branch did not have restrictions on aged parents or require compliant children. However, their introduction warned that they must be "convinced of the superiority of Communism." Three of the 71 Constitution articles on page 20 stated that the "Community gives an education to its children (29). It disposes of the children as it deems advisable, in their particular interest and in the general interest, wholly consecrating the part of their infancy and youth necessary to their education, and regulates everything which concerns it (30). Education is carried as high as possible under the circumstances"(31). Admissions were as "couples" and children under 14 were admitted with parents. Youths from 14 to 20 (voting age) had to pass through the "same formalities of definitive admission" as other candidates. They had to have a 2/3 vote for the privilege. An "outfit" of clothing for one year was needed and a list made of their tools, money, jewels, property, etc. No wages were paid. There was a 6 month novitiate. Five voters and a majority vote could demand a member's withdrawal. A Commission interrogated the candidate about principles and conditions and reported to the Assembly for definitive admission. Articles could be revised every 6 months.

159 Péron, Brief History, 30-34.

160 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 566, 566n3.

mother was desolate.[161] Another child died in November 1878 and the fear of a deadly diphtheria epidemic alarmed everyone.[162] Surely the citoyennes were pained by these losses and aggravated by the rush to provide food and housing for strangers. The women voted with the men for a loan of $2,000 to be used for a new building to house the 33 members admitted in the first six months of 1879.[163] Most of them came from New York and places in the US which had been following the reports about the Colony in the paper. Names of the new arrivals and requests to come appeared regularly in La Jeune Icarie. Their reception was always friendly, but the material accomodations were sparse in the rural setting. Urban amenities were virtually non-existent. Some decided to leave before their novitiate was up. Others who asked to come had to be held back because the Colony lacked housing space and suitable job placements.[164] Towards the end of 1879, there were more "resignations" than arrivals.[165]

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161 La Jeune Icarie, May 15, July 15, 1878. Pauline and Corilla Laforgue died. Only two members of the majority attended the funeral. The minority were also upset about a lack of medicine which was carried over to the July issue.

162 Ibid., November 15, 1878. Helene Bettannier died of diphtheria. The other children's deaths were very likely from the same cause. La Jeune Icarie, April-May 1880. The edition of the paper was delayed by a "sanitary crisis." They noted an "epidemic of measles" in 1880 also.

163 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 568.

164 La Jeune Icarie, September 12, 1879. "Nouvelles d'Icarie" noted "we regret that the lack of lodgings and employment payments stop us at present from accepting all these demands [for admission]." Five family names were listed that they were unable to accomodate: Grosseman, Albrecht, Lamb, Gaskin, Van Damme and Studer. Gaskin may have been the same Oneidan who left earlier. News on housing was in the next two issue as the buildings were completed.

165 Ibid., November 24, 1879. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 566-8. Prudhommeaux traced the reports regarding the short stay of several members who came and left. Some were disillusioned by rural community life, others found their mechanical skills were useless.

Young Icarians organized social activities and concerts,[166] but they were more and more pressed to find ways to raise money to meet their two loan payments. They opened a forge and a shoe repair shop in Corning which added cash income and helped reduce their debt from $7,888 to $4,000 by the end of 1880. But there were more demands on their income and by 1881, their debts were over $7,000.[167] After an exciting, rapid leap, their growth had slowed and then declined. A number of financial, individual, and environmental factors account for this change. Leroux's calamitous publications were also irritating. He was not only a pariah but an enigma and the young Branch decided to disassociate themselves from his 'propaganda.' In a strange twist of fate, this decision demarcated their future.[168]

The open-minded young Icarians were questioning whether the visionary society of the Voyage could be realized in rural Iowa. The departing newcomers' criticisms about their facilities led to serious discussions about a more urban location. Members would like greater access to trades and professional training which could conceivably bring in more income. Therefore, the men and women voted to send out a scouting team to explore alternative sites where everyones abilities could develop and Icaria could expand. New

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166 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 569. Dereure conducted their orchestra.

167 Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 85-7. The court-appointed trustees had charged $125 a day, Law firms and attorney fees were over $2,000, outstanding notes were held on the Colony, like those of Arsene Gérard who was owed $1,400 for seed, etc. The two years of internal grief resulted in $14,881 in bills which were divided between the two branches. Plus, the moving indemnity of $1,500. Sutton, Les Icariens, 135-7. Sutton noted their income included a pleasant, resourceful $50 gained from playing concerts in the Corning Gazebo.

168 Étoile du Kansas et de Iowa, December 1, 1880. Leroux said as much, "three fourths say they are Icarians" in this "little corner of Iowa" when they are really "something else. It is only a matter of time. Adieu."

ideas and the freedom to make purposeful changes in their surroundings was exciting. Perhaps, they could put together a prosperous Icarian society elsewhere.

CHAPTER TWENTY

'LIBERTARIAN' COMMUNISM

By 1880, Leroux's writings were advocating a social system with more liberty for humanity than any form of communism or socialism.[1] "I am an anarchiste," he wrote, who wants the "reign of God and his Justice on Earth, and man living according to his nature."[2] Leroux conflated political terms with impunity and acknowledged it. "Yes, I am a Socialist. Yes, I am an anarchiste in the grander sense, the religious sense, philosophical sense, a savant of these words, I who have stoically deserted the civil Societies."[3] In essence, Leroux's philosophy had moved towards anarchism, a stage other agitators were taking in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The Paris Commune episode had provided "a strong impetus to anarchist movements throughout the European continent."[4] Many of the names that appear in Leroux's paper were those of anarchist ideologues and associates. His philosophies went beyond the Icarian-communist expectations and challenged both Branches' premises. While he made no attempt to conceal his disdain for

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[1] L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, December 1, 1880. Like Fourier and other writers, Leroux listed stages of society. Primitive society was the "reign of children." Civil society was the "reign of adolescents" which was to disappear and be résorbé (dissolve and be assimilated) by the "reign of men" in human and tertiary Societies.

[2] Ibid., November 1, 1880.

[3] Ibid. This was part of a response to Elisée Reclus. Reclus was "not a socialist nor an anarchist," Leroux concluded, but recent studies suggest otherwise. See Avrich, Anarchist Portraits, 233. Bakunin anarchists Elisée Reclus and his brother Elie were in the 1871 Commune.

[4] Avrich, Anarchist Portraits, 229-46. Avrich discussed how the 1871 Paris Commune eperience made anarchists out of men on the European continent like Peter Kropotkin and Errico Malatesta. Leroux and the names of leading figures in his newspaper confirm this effect.

President Sauva and the legislative maneuvers of the elder Branch, Leroux had displayed more sympathy for the young Icarians' struggles. Nonetheless, he did not hesitate to voice his disapproval of matters like their Act of Donation which "risked the death of Icaria."[5] But his adverse editorial commentaries ultimately exceeded the limits of their tolerance. Leroux had maligned aspects of the International Workingmen's movement which offended the New Yorkers in the young Branch who did not want readers to confuse Leroux's viewpoints with those that they held. Leroux disliked Blanqui whom he characterized as a follower of "Babouvist theses." He argued that Karl Marx was a "decadent German philosopher," remarking, it was "astonishing that Jules Guesde cites Marx rather than Pierre Leroux, Saint-Simon, and Lamennais."[6] These political analyses were more than mildly disconcerting. Consequently, in the April-May 1880 issue of La Jeune Icarie, the progressives took a stand to protect themselves from his pejorative opinions. They announced that the "Icarian Community has unanimously decided to disavow L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa publicly and to condemn the unjustifiable attacks and insinuations which are directed against many of its members," thus, apparently bidding farewell to their putative resident philosopher.[7]

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5 L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, August 1, 1880.

6 Ibid., July 1, 1880. The work issue was typical of Leroux's ongoing criticism of the violence present in the workingmen's movement. He composed a negative appraisal of Guesde and M.M.A. Talandier's "famous contradictory Conference which had taken place in Paris." Leroux sympathized with the poverty of the workers who were "innocent victims" of strikes and lost income. He deplored the toll of suffering that resulted from bloody uprisings. Leroux's critiques were not limited to France or local issues, he followed problems in Russia, Turkey, and the Far East and circulated separate pamphlets about the latest world developments for readers.

7 La Jeune Icarie, April-May 1880. Savage, "Jules Leroux en Icarie," 1037.

Leroux's family reacted to the Community's attack on their father. His daughter Marie and son-in- law, Armand Dehay and their four children had recently entered Young Icaria (November 1879).[8] A month after the disavowal of their father, the Dehay family announced their withdrawal. They politely stated that they enjoyed their stay, the social life, and equality of people in the Colony, but were going to either California or Texas where they could "export products more easily." The "climate" and "topography" would be better in these places than in Iowa. Dehay's wife Marie was "always ill" and he hoped her health would improve in a milder climate.[9] Other members of the Leroux family were torn between affection for their father and acceptance of the hostility towards his ideas. When the Dehays arrived in St. Helena, California, they were able to stay with Armand's brother Theodore Dehay. Six months later, in December 1880, Leroux's son Paul and his wife, Françoise (Fugier) announced that they were going to join the Dehays. They had

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[8] L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, November 24, 1879. They arrived on November 17, 1879 but had requested admission to come in the issue of May 1, 1879. See Lorraine Stephens Berry, "A Granddaughter Reminisces on the Role the Dehay and Leroux Families Played in the Icaria-Speranza Utopian Colony," in Icaria-Speranza: Final Utopian Experiement of Icarians in America proceedings of the 1989 Cours Icarien Symposium (Sunnyvale: Optima Print & Copy Center, 1995), 9-10. Armand Dehay was born in Arras, France in 1842 and learned the barber trade by the age of 14. He spent 4 yrs in Paris and joined the Army in 1864. He traveled to London for two years and at the age of 26 came to the US where he lived with the Quakers in Pennyslvania. Next, he went to Washington and worked at the National Hotel as a barber. Then he went to Chicago and Topeka, Kansas where he made friends with Jules Leroux. At the age of 29, Dehay married his daughter Marie age 18, and bought Jules' homestead. Jules' obituary confirmed the transfer of the Kansas homestead to a "son-in-law." His son noted that in Kansas, his father had his "first attack of apoplexie (stroke). He could hardly write and following that sickness, the nearly octogenarian elderly man confined his thoughts directly to his caracteres (print type) with a remarkable energy and verve."

[9] La Jeune Icarie, June 1880. Another man was leaving, James Thierry. He had fixed the "laundry" and they thanked him." Prevos, "A History of the French in Iowa" diss., 260. Prevos found that Thierry also built a new sawmill, wine press, and installed the first telephone in Iowa.

lived with the Icarians for four years. According to the Colony regulations, when a "provisional" member withdrew, he was able to "take all the money, deeds, jewelry, credits, tools, and other things that he may have deposited." If he were a "full member" then it was up to the General Assembly to consider the "time spent in the Community," the "services rendered, the value of his deposit, the condition of his family, his personal resources, and allow to him, under the title of gift, such sum of money or such property as the financial condition and interest of the Community" shall "permit it to give."[10] The Dehays "never applied for full membership" and were entitled to have all they brought in returned.[11] Paul Leroux's family would receive some "gift" reimbursements to help them get to California. Several other families had left in the past year and the young Branch had to rebate large sums in a short period making it difficult to meet loan payments.[12] Financial stress was only one part of the demoralization for those remaining in the young Branch in the early 1880s. A vital key to understanding their demise and the community that arose in California lies in assessing the impact of Leroux's libertarian communism on some of its members.

Immediately after the young Branch disavowed Leroux, he challenged them to defend their ideology. "New Yorkers" he wrote, "enlighten us. . . . you have paper and ink, help us know your Truth counter mine. Establish it in a visible manner." Explain your

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[10] Péron, Brief History of Icaria, 37-8.

[11] Robert P. Sutton, "Cabetian Orthodoxy Asserted: Past Practices and Voyage en Icarie in Icaria-Speranza" in Icaria-Speranza, 33. Sutton had no figures on their reimbursements.

[12] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 567-8. The Gauvain family left in December 1879. It was a financial "disaster" because they owed them $2,700.

"glorious designs," he insisted. Do it in such a way that the Icarians can "easily understand" what you mean.[13] In this manner, the adversaries could engage in a "polemic" carried on in a "frank, open, and amicable" way.[14] For the rest of the year, Leroux carried out a vigorous intellectual campaign to win the young Branch and its New York leaders over to his libertarian-communism. Overall, it can be determined that Leroux's debates with Péron elevated their mutual respect for each others ideas. But that was not enough. Leroux pressed Péron to convert to his point of view in an essay written in October 1880. He urged Péron "to quit, forget your designs and your politics of New York." He ought to be able to recognize that the Icarians' system of "laws and constitution were a reproduction of that heresy of Socialism . . . Rousseau's social Contract." Furthermore, he cajoled, "It is deplorable and exorbitant that a man of your calibre and your abilities" does not understand the "real nature of that Contract." Then he admonished Péron to take a stand against the "restoration of a mode of life" like the one implied by such a Contract.[15] Péron, he observed, was younger and more able to take up this "holy and saintly duty."[16]

Another mutual understanding imbedded in these dialogues was that Iowa's "current Icarian communism" was so occupied with large-scale agriculture they had no time for other things. The young Branches' administrative system had "no future. It was oppressive, tyrannical and cruel" to anyone who wanted "to change or modify some

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13 L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, May 1, 1880.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid., October 1, 1880. "Du contrat en general et des contrats d'Icarie en particulier. IV. A Emile Péron."

16 Ibid. Péron was 51 and Leroux was 80.

point." Cabet's proposed "dictatorship of a republic" had no future either, according to Leroux. "As always, my case is to convert you with reason, evidence, common sense or logic. To prepare you. I give you a week to meditate and to think."[17] While awaiting Péron's decision, Leroux restated his ideal, a Society "without the governed, without governments, without rich, and without poor."[18]

Whether Péron or the other young Icarians agreed with all of Leroux's libertarian philosophy or not, it did have an effect on their thoughts and actions. Leroux forced them to examine their community practices in light of their future goals. Given the current Iowa setting, soil, and acreage, they wondered if it was at all possible to reduce the length of their agricultural work hours in order to allow time for intellectual enrichments. Was it possible to change either their environment or labor schedules? Leroux's probing discourses added to the level of discord caused by the recent turnover of newcomers and costly rebates. The modest returns from agriculture and Corning shops was barely enough to maintain them. Setting up new industries required large capital outlays that were beyond their means. Exhausting daily farm work reminded them that they had little time or energy left to expand their intellectual horizons.

Albert Shaw, who examined the young Branch's situation when he visited in 1883, noted that "there was no 'crisis' nor even much unfriendliness" during this period.[19] The

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[17] Ibid. Sutton, Les Icariens, 177n7. The time frame is perplexing. Péron and Mourot did go to Florida sometime during the 1880s looking for a new site. Sutton found a newspaper prospectus for Communiste-Libertaire Organe de la communauté Icarienne, Succédant à La Jeune Icarie stored at the Archief Cabet, IISG dated 1880.

[18] Ibid., November 1, 1880.

[19] Shaw, Icaria, 115, 134, 99, 163-5, 168-9. He spent "several days" with the 34 elder Icarian Branch in the Spring and Fall of 1883. This may explain his lacunae about

Icarians informed Shaw that it was "unprofitable" for them to "take up new industrial enterprises" and they were able to "merely" provide for their own needs with "small shops" on their land.[20] But they were trying to change their economic conditions. By 1883, the young Branch had given up cultivating corn and cereals on a large scale, and their "land was seeded to grass" for livestock. It was "more profitable and less toilsome" than plowing, sowing, and reaping.[21] Shaw observed that a "community like theirs" based on "Icarian or similar principles" needed a "certain amount of leisure for mental improvement."[22] The young Branch had begun to look forward to "a removal at some time to a warmer climate, where horticulture, a business so congenial to the Frenchman, might take the place of heavy farming."[23]

Shaw's 1883 research had picked up the basis of the young Branch's discontent that was evident three years earlier in Leroux's articles. However, Shaw did not allude to Leroux's ideological debates surrounding this development. Even when they gained their 'autonomous' Branch and suffrage for women, the progressives' educational growth had

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Leroux as well as his pleasant description of President Sauva as a "peace-maker" especially in light of his harsh "patrimony" preservation policies. Shaw acknowledged a "bitter quarrel" between Sauva and Péron without noting Leroux, adding that Sauva "does his own thinking" and was a "fine example of the faculty of altruism as discovered by A. Comte, for he can suffer, work, and live for others." Shaw noted the "Leroux family's arrival in 1877" (incorrect for they came earlier).

[20] Ibid., 134.

[21] Ibid., 135, 133.

[22] Ibid.,135. It "must provide something besides bread and butter."

[23] Ibid., 135. Shaw added that "heavy farming" seldom "suits the Gallic temperament."

scarcely materialized.[24] Although Leroux expressed his empathy for their concerns, his counsels did little to alleviate their discontent. He wanted to establish a Humanity-City in America and the Iowa location was inhospitable.

> I am quitting the Icaria of the Icarians and New-Yorkers of Iowa to bring about in California, the solid foundation, under the name of Humanity-City, of one new Icaria, of one new Society. Between the Icaria of Cabet and of ours, between our humane City - Humanity-City - and the civil City of Cabet - Icaria, - there are no resemblances. . . .The morals, the ideas, the science, the Ideal of Cabet's Icaria is not the Ideal, the science, the ideas, the morals of our Humanity-City. . . . Humanity-city will be one humane society or it will not be. Never will it be a civil communauté - Convent more or less pure - more or less pornocratique (influenced by courtesans in government)[25] in its morals - or a military communauté, semi-convent, semi-barracks, - with morals more dissolute than those of the Hungarian soldiers, Carmelite religious orders, and Capuchins. The word communauté will stay with the murky Icaria which lies between the the New-Yorkers and the Icarians of Iowa. We others take for ourselves the HUMANE SOCIETY, without obscene morals or unhealthy, pornocratiques distortions.
>
> Then, readers and friends, our first number - that of January 1881 - will come to you from California . . . in February or March or later. Count on me as I count on God, the Life.[26]

The departure of Leroux and his relatives for California marked the end of La Jeune Icarie paper. The young Branch professed their determination to continue with propaganda, but their present "financial situation" did not permit them to buy a printing press. They were

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[24] Ibid., 132. According to Shaw, Péron made La Jeune Icarie a "bright and able paper," found some "time for scientific experiments," taught the "inter-communal school," and "connected the school house and his own cottage" with a telephone that was the "first one used in the State."

[25] Leroux's puzzling word pornocratique means "influence of courtesans in government." This had connotations regarding excess luxury and courtesan-styled Queens like Marie-Antoinette and was not necessarily, (but could be) related to Icarian women voting. I have not seen evidence to support either meaning and it was very likely a generalization.

[26] L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa, December 1, 1880. "Pour cause de demenagement." The allusions to "obscene morals" very likely reflected conversations with Oneidans or Shakers.

resolved to "take measures to acquire one."[27] Detailed reports about their activity were silenced for a time.

Leroux did have a measure of success with his effort to "convert" Péron for the latter started a paper called La Communiste-Libertaire Organe de la Communauté Icarienne, Succédant à La Jeune Icarie. The title testified to his adoption of Leroux's concept of a liberating communism. Péron's prospectus explained the name change as necessary to "sum up our socialist aspirations."[28] However, the publication of La Communiste-Libertaire was "suspended for two or three months" when Péron and Eugène Mourot went to Florida to find a better location for their Community in this "garden of the United States."[29] The Young Icarians were looking at other States in their quest for a

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[27] La Jeune Icarie, December 31, 1880.

[28] Sutton, Les Icariens, 177n7. Sutton stated that Péron changed the title of La Jeune Icarie in 1880 to Communiste-Libertaire Organe de la communauté Icarienne, Succédant à La Jeune Icarie. Nontheless, the last issue of La Jeune Icarie was printed as such on December 31, 1880 with the same masthead. It is confusing, but my best calculations suggest they Péron prepared a prospectus for the new paper about October 15, 1880 and probably on Leroux's press.

[29] L'Étoile des pauvres et des souffrants (anciennement l'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa) Organe du Communisme Libérateur des Peuples et de l'Individu, August 1, 1881: this number appears today November 10, 1881 Microfilm, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California. Leroux took this Florida information from the Correspondance Américaine of October 15 captioned "l'exode Icarien." The journalist hoped they would find "a stable and permanent establishment under the beautiful Florida sun" for their Icarian Community on the other side of the United States. Leroux's comment indicate his awareness of their search and location in Florida. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 571n1, 573, 580, 582. Two families went to Florida, Péron and Fugier. Prudhommeaux stated in two places that Péron and his friends published the Communisme Libértaire during the second half of 1881. Paul Kagan, New World Utopias: A Photographic History of the Search for Community (New York, Penguin Books, 1975), 44. Kagan confirmed this date with a photograph of issue number 1 on July 1881 which stated that its office was located in Corning, Iowa. The movements of Péron and Fugier in 1880, 1881, and 1882 are hard to trace, but by 1883, they were in California arranging to merge with the Californians.

better location.[30] Were women hoping to shorten their work hours to have more time for intellectual pursuits? Since there is no evidence to the contrary, very likely the "prospect" committee that went to Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Texas, and to the "fruit-land in Sonoma County" was composed of men. But citoyennes were able to discuss and vote for this search, even if they stayed behind to await news. The Iowans' associates sent back enthusiastic reports about California and "invited" them to join the group there.[31]

While the Iowa scouts were exploring sites in early 1881, Jules Leroux had settled temporarily in Saint Helena, California. He resumed his newspaper under a new masthead, L'Étoile des pauvres et des souffrants (anciennement l'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa) Organe du Communisme Libérateur des Peuples et de l'Individu (Star of the poor and suffering).[32] Leroux's family and California friends found an estate for sale near Cloverdale, about seventy miles north of San Francisco. On August 1, 1881, Leroux announced that he had moved there with "some friends, some parents, who have worked out the ideas of the emancipation of the Century for a long time and consulted me about

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[30] Robert P. Sutton, "Cabetian Orthodoxy Asserted: Past Practices and Voyage en Icarie in Icaria-Speranza" in Icaria-Speranza: Final Utopian Experiment of Icarians in America Proceedings of the 1989 Cours Icarien Symposium National Icarian Heritage Society (California: Optima Print & Copy Center, 1995), 32. "By 1880, over half the "Young Icarians" had left." Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 573-4.

[31] Shaw, Icaria, 135-6. Shaw referred to the Californians as a "group of families" and failed to specify any influence on their exodus by Leroux or provide names for them.

[32] L'Étoile des pauvres et des souffrants, May 1, 1881: this number appears today August 10, 1881. Jules Leroux devoted several columns of his paper to descriptions of the "rich sunshine in California" the mountains, cliffs, and Pacific ocean. His praise for California was qualified by the recent spoilation of the natural countryside, the Indians, and "their successors, the poor, the workers of all races and all countries." Leroux had not failed to notice the oppression of Indians and spoilation of "all races" going on. The US government was preparing the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 that forbid immigration of Chinese laborers for ten years.

life in a group on land which will be their own."[33] It looked like Leroux was finally going to guide the establishment of Humanity-City.

Two months later, the local Cloverdale paper reported that "the fine place known as the Bluxome ranch was sold to a firm in San Francisco called A. Dehay & Co. This ranch embraces 885 acres of the best kind of land for vineyard and orchard. The price paid by the purchasers was $15,000. It is their intention to put all the available land out in grapes immediately."[34] The Dehays contributed $4,000 and the Leroux families $1,000 toward this acreage in Sonoma County.[35] The ranch was part of the Bluxome-Truett tract dating back to the 1850s.[36] In the 1874 census, "Bluxomeville" had 1000 acres with 200 in woods and 800 in "meadow, pasture, and orchard vineyards." Buildings and fences were valued at $12,000. The owners hired laborers year round to tend the livestock and planted

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[33] L'Étoile des pauvres et des souffrants, August 1, 1881: appearing today November 10, 1881. Although Leroux's remarks were vague, they indicate his counseling role. More pointedly he lamented that he was having little success in obtaining his "legitimate indemnity" to contribute to the ranch 'Humanity-City.' "Is it there that I will die?" he asked. "What will be, will be."

[34] Cloverdale Reveille, September 24, 1881. Microfilm Cloverdale Public Library, Cloverdale, California (hereafter cited as Reveille). The Reveille paper began in 1879. Tom Sweeney, "Icaria Speranza was experiment in humanity" The Press Democrat, Santa Rosa, California, September 14, 1976, 13.

[35] Gauthier "Quest for Utopia," 92.

[36] Marcelle M. Baxter, "Icaria-Speranza: A Utopian Experiment in Sonoma County" The Journal of the Sonoma County Historical Society, August 1989, 8-12, 15. My thanks to Marcelle Baxter for pointing out her research article at the July 16-19, 1993 gathering of the Icarian Society in Healdsburg, CA. She drove me and my Icarian escort, Lillian M. Snyder Ph.D. to the place where the Colony was situated. The current owner of the property, Kernit Rankin, gave us a walking tour of the site which included a cool visit to the stone/cave wine cellar. The clear waters of a Russian river creek named "Icaria" flowed across the grounds where we relaxed in the shade with our host's family. It was a fine place for Leroux to spend his final years.

barley, corn, wheat, and potato crops. Icarians, of course hoped to have their own Colony labor supply.

The ranch had 150 bearing apple trees and 50 bearing peach trees.[37] A railroad line in Cloverdale established the town as a "busy trade center with stage coaches departing daily." This would help move their produce to markets. Cloverdale was an urban center with five hotels. Bluxome had a large "handsome cottage"[38] which became the Lerouxs, Dehay, Bée, and Provost families' communal residence.[39] They built a saw-mill and a one-room school house for the children in the fall of 1881.[40]

Leroux expected this prosperous haven in a warm climate to become Humanity-City. In his paper on August 1, 1881, he addressed Provost regarding their philosophical agreement on the need for a "humane city" - Humanity-City - that they could have by "buying that property in common."[41] But common ownership posed legal

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[37] Ibid., 11-12.

[38] Ibid., 10-12. The San Francisco and Northern Pacific RR line came to Cloverdale in 1872. Bluxome/Truett land was formerly the Rancho Rincon de Musalacon under Mexican rule. The owners in 1881 when the Icarians acquired 885 acres were Isaac and Gertrude Bluxome Jr.

[39] Varene Anderson, "Shadows on the Land: Sonoma County's Nineteenth Century Utopian Colonies" M.A. thesis in History: Sonoma State University, 1992, 54. Anderson located this description in the Sonoma Democrat, (Santa Rosa), March 20, 1886. I am indebted to her for sending me a copy of her research.

[40] Ibid., 54. The school building was donated to the Icaria School District when the group dissolved as reported in the Sonoma Democrat October 30, 1886.There were already 46 acres of zinfandel vines there and they planned to increase this and add to their fruit orchards.

[41] L'Étoile des pauvres et des souffrants, August 1, 1881: appearing today November 10, 1881. This issue was devoted to this concept with Leroux's general reflections about civil societies versus humane societies. Cabet's "deserted Icaria today" was used as an example of a wrong path.

problems.

The local Cloverdale news editor kept readers posted about the activities of the new ranch owners. In January 1882, he "learned that one of the proprietors of the Bluxome ranch is a French Editor, and he has on the ranch a complete printing office, from which he issues a literary monthly. We have not as yet seen his paper, but should be pleased to make his acquaintance."[42] Four months later, the editor made a "run down below town" where he "made the acquaintance of the French editor, the elderly Mr. Laroux [sic] who is engaged in publishing a literary monthly, a political-socialist-organ . . . the editor is very old and has France's history minutely stored away in his venerable head."[43]

Although he enjoyed visits with the neighborly editor, Leroux was soon disturbed by plans about their common property which were interrupted by the arrival of the "Péronists of Iowa." They wanted to "annex" the two groups. Leroux speculated that they could collaborate and call their humane society - Humanity-City.[44] However, he explained to Provost that to espouse the "failed" false heresy of Cabet's communism was wrong.

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[42] Reveille, January 3, 1882.

[43] Ibid., May 26, 1882. The editor commented on the ranch and noted "what interested me most was the introduction to the patriarchial head of the family, M. Jules Leroux, member of the Assembly of France in the troublesome times of 1848."

[44] L'Étoile des pauvres et des souffrants, January 1, 1883. Reveille, January 7, 1882. It is possible to deduce that Péron and the Iowans arrived about January 1882 by the Reveille editor's comments that a "party of Frenchmen have been in town this past week, looking for a suitable location to set out vineyards on a large scale. Frenchmen made good citizens and we would be pleased to know that it was a settled thing that they were going to remain with us." This was followed by the news that "one of the proprietors of the Bluxome ranch was a French Editor."

Moreover, Leroux saw no "advantage in incorporating themselves under their act of incorporation."[45] In March 1883, Leroux devoted most of his paper to explaining the facts about Cabet and Icaria to an "intelligent" reader. He berated its failures, railed against the "pious Sauva" and those who want to "pass for Icarians." The Iowans, he said, claim they want a "fusion (merger)" but it was really "absorption, conquest, and acquisition which they desire and which they will do knowingly or unknowingly." They should "take care" or they would soon be in trouble for the Péronists had "dishonored their Icarians" and "they will be unfaithful to your promises, to their honor, to the Doctrine of life - Communism liberator of peoples and individuals."[46] There could be no mistaking Leroux's position. "We refuse to merge with the Icarians of Iowa, but we can treat them as men because TOLERANCE is one of our principles and we pardon their injuries."[47]

Not everyone agreed with Leroux. Running a large ranch was costly and they needed a great deal of help. When they purchased it, "9 white men and 6 China men" were at work "grubbing out trees and brush, preparing the land for cultivation."[48] Hired laborers meant wages had to be paid. Finding labor was itself a touchy problem for Cloverdale was experiencing a virulent anti-chinese drive at that time.[49] If in Iowa, 800 acres had required

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[45] Ibid., January 1, 1883. "A Gustave Provost . . . Humanity City."

[46] Ibid., March 1, 1883.

[47] Ibid. Leroux's stand against the merger occupied most of the columns in this edition.

[48] Berry, "A Grandaughter," 11. The Pacific Sentinel paper reported this on December 21, 1882. They had "peaches, French and German prunes, 100 acres of wheat, vineyards, and grazing lands." The variety of grapes included "Grey Reisling, Sauvignon Vert, Carignane, Matara, Malbec, and Zinfandel." Shaw, Icaria, 141.

[49] Reveille, April 15, 1880. The editor presented the opinion of Judge Hoffman on

so much labor they had little time for intellectual development, how could they make 885 acres in California less demanding? Vineyards and orchards were already producing saleable fruits, but they had to be cared for and harvested.[50] In order to build a flourishing communist community, much still had to be done. Thus, the "merger" proposal of the "Péronists" would bring in both workers and money.

Back in Iowa, Jules Leroux's needs were provided for by the Icarians and he had no interest in personally acquiring money. Although he led a subscription drive for Humanity-City which brought in a small sum, his mendicant state was stressful. "For everyone to live, to think, to write, each according to his need and according to his

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Chinese legislation that year and concluded, "They must go." Other reports appeared regularly as the Cloverdale press accounts shaped public opinion about the need to expel Chinese. See accounts on: Nov. 27, 1880, March 26, 1881, May 6, 1881, May 21, 1881, March 4, 1882, March 18, 1882, April 1, 1882, May 27, 1882, July 29, 1882. On April 22, 1882, the editor must have received some criticism for his harsh stance for he proposed that "those philanthropists who are constantly harping upon the law-abiding qualities of the Chinese should take a subscription to the San Francisco dailies and see how largely the Chinese number in the daily arrests by the police." The paper rarely presented opposing arguments after the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882. Negative accounts continued in April 14, 1883, Oct. 20, 1883, Nov 3, 1883, Dec. 29, 1883, Dec. 6, 1884, and March 21, 1885. On Aug. 15, 1885, the paper exhibited the signed petition "not to lease, rent, or sell to Chinamen in Cloverdale." More reports appeared on Nov. 21, 1885, Jan. 23, 1886, and on January 30,1886, the editor placed an article titled, "The Chinese Expulsion" which stated that the people "can congratulate themseves upon having rid themselves of this great drawback to the progress of Cloverdale."

[50] Shaw, Icaria, 141-2. The Pacific Sentinel account on December 21, 1882 noted 45 acres in vines, 100 acres already "sown in wheat and above the ground," 5 acres of orchards including some of the "finest peaches" and plans for French and German prunes. They proposed to have a "first-class winery and distillery" as soon as they have the production and outlay. They had plans to form a "French colony" that will be "duly incorporated" with "some 25 families." The journalist described the Bluxome scenery where "Geyser peak" stands out from "the lovely vale," Mt. Helena is visible, picturesque woods, and vineyards project "an earthly Eden."

abilities, he must have money," he confessed.[51] Leroux had a $1,500 "indemnity" due him as a "victim of December 2 (1851)" and so he contacted a French lawyer in San Francisco to get it.[52] The indemnity money would not only aid their coffers, but his recommendations against the Péronist merger would merit greater consideration.

The two groups continued to hold meetings with "sentimental phrases and jokes" and discussed how they would build their "homesteads rapidly, solidly, with taste, elegance, and comfort." They talked about workshops, machinery, caves, granaries, various refectories, etc.[53] Despite Leroux's warnings, the two sides went ahead with their plans. He lamented that they were taking "their money, their capital, and Icarian patrimony" and placing it with "our star that was founded so calmly by us in Iowa."[54] But he knew that "building is expensive" and "our good neighboring visitors from New York and elsewhere have propositions to join with us right away."[55] Their coup was "too powerful."[56] By September 1883, merger details were being arranged and Leroux admitted his defeat. "I am out of time; I give in to these outrages! . . . It is finished, my children, I

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51 L'Étoile des pauvres et des souffrants, January 1, 1881.

52 Ibid. This initiative was in the first issue. Leroux's progress, or non-progress (he had to send proof of his 'existence') followed in nearly every issue. He wrote "A.M. Constans, Minister of the Interior in France" and printed his letter to him. Leroux recalled his term as "Representative of the people in the legislative Assembly of 1849" and the unjust appearance of his name on the government's "proscription list." He, his wife, seven children, and their families were forced to become "vagabonds."

53 Ibid., September 1, 1883.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

am forced to stop. There is nothing for me to do here."[57]

Leroux was in poor health and unable to complete the September edition of his paper. His son Pierre filled two of its pages with writings taken from his uncle Pierre Leroux. When the next issue appeared, he announced his father's death. Pierre reported that when he went into his father's workroom, the type-set characters of his "final, sublime effort" read "My last visit to the printshop of Humanity-City."[58] Eight days later, he died of érysipèle, a "streptococcal infection."[59] He was buried on the grounds.[60] The October issue would be their last number.

> For the time being, we are obliged to take leave of you, not to rest, but to tend to the organization close to Cloverdale, of an association of families grouped around communist principles.
>
> The material difficulties are too considerable and our resources too little to permit us to bring out the propagation of the principles and our attempt to put them in practice.
>
> When the difficulties are surmounted, we will propagate the principles and continue according to our capacities the work of Jules and Pierre Leroux.
>
> We hope that we will succeed with our task in a manner that will dignify the memory of these two great philosophers, and follow the propaganda work of Communism liberator of Peoples and the Individual.[61]

This announcement did not include any mention of Cabet's doctrines (or Icaria). Soon

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[57] Ibid., October 24, 1883.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid. Leroux's "infectious sickness" was diagnosed by a doctor as érysipèle due to a streptocoque and characterized by inflammed red plaque on the skin, especially the face. He died October 15, 1883.

[60] Ibid. Pierre wrote, "We believe, with Jules and Pierre Leroux, in the immortality of the soul and the renaissance of humanity. For us, his death is just a rest between our successive existences. . . . We hope our father will reappear and find we have left this sad period of decadence and transformation that we are now crossing which will mark the end of paganism."

[61] Ibid.

after Leroux's death however, the legal details of the merger were drawn up.

They called themselves the "Icaria-Speranza Commune."[62] A "Certificate of Co-partnership" was signed before a Notary a year later (October 15, 1884). The nature of their partnership was to be "Agriculture, Horticulture, Mechanical Arts, Milling, Manufacturing, and Commerce in all their various branches. Also the building and establishing of Schools, Colleges, Villages, Colonies, and the developing of Science and Fine Arts." Their purpose was "to establish for humanity, as an example, and in devotion to its welfare, a system of society capable of rendering it happy, and to prove to our fellowmen that community based on solidarity is realizable and possible."[63] The list of members contained seven male and female Lerouxs from Cloverdale, two couples from San Francisco, and twelve men and women from Iowa (Jules Leroux's wife's name was not on the list). Leroux's liberating ideals were an important part of the new group.

Other young Branch members went to Icaria-Speranza in 1883. Like the men, women signed the Co-Partnership.[64] They hoped to build a thriving Colony in this area

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[62] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 575n1. Berry, "A Granddaughter," 6. The name was formed after a review, Espérance (Hope), that was published by Pierre Leroux (and Jules) at Samarez in 1858.

[63] Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 95. Reveille, October 25, 1884. The official Co-partnership document was in the newspaper and re-printed by Gauthier. It had a type-written list of 23 names (several misspelled and without accents): Pierre Leroux, Josephine Leroux, Amile Zurcher, Gabrielle Zurcher, Paul Leroux, Francaise Leroux, Armand Dehay, all of Cloverdale, Cal., Gurtane Provost, Irma Provost, Emile Bee, Caroline Bee, all of San Francisco, Cal., Emile Pernon, Emile Fugier, Eugene Mourot, Michel Branner, Louise Mourot, Veranique Branner, Louise Peron, Marie Mourot, Therese James, Alex Marchand, Emelie Fugier, Michel Burmme, all of Adams County, Iowa.

[64] Arden A. Cambre, "The Icarian Trail" Reflections of Icaria, 1991, 6. They climbed on board the "Chicago, Burlington and Pacific [train] in Corning, connect[ed] with the Union Pacific in Omaha, and finally the Western Pacific in Ogden, Utah, continuing on to

where other communal groups were prospering.[65] Little was left of Cabet's governing rules. In particular, Icaria-Speranza women had full political equality which provided them with greater freedom to regulate their daily lives. Although there is no evidence to support any sweeping changes in the gendered division of labor, both sexes had imput about their daily work arrangements. Economic needs worried women just as it did the men and their lives were circumscribed by decisions they agreed upon regarding commercial ventures.

Péron regarded the "general partnership" in California as a "pacific revolution in Icaria" where each was able to "rely upon everybody's sense of duty and responsibility to keep our machine a-going morally and materially." He boasted they had taken their "first leap in the brilliant avenue which leads to social anarchy - understood in its good sense - or to the very attractive doctrine of 'Do as you please,' so cleverly and humanely expounded by our immortal French philosopher, Rabelais."[66] If one extends Péron's

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San Francisco. From there it was a short trip up the Sonoma Valley to Cloverdale. See Barbara Dorr Mullen, Sonoma County Crossroads, (California: CM Publications, 1974). The railroad reached Cloverdale in 1872, the same year the town was incorporated. Stage coaches took travelers farther north. The Russian river bordered the town which was surrounded by hills and created the "thermal belt" necessary for growing citrus fruits. Wild grapes were native to the region, but small and tart. The basis of the wine-making industry were cuttings from Europe and the east.

[65] Barbara Graham Barker, "Nostalgia For Heaven" The Journal of The Sonoma County Historical Society no. 2 1982, 2-9. Barker studied groups that formed in the Santa Rosa area from 1875-1895. Besides Icaria-Speranza, there was Fountaingrove (with a Familistrie), Italian Swiss Colony, and Altruria. Fountaingrove was influenced by Fourier and Emanuel Swedenborg. The Icarian site was located within a close proximity of these three communities where its communal ethos would not appear exceptional. Sutton, "Cabetian Orthodoxy," 35. They wanted to have a successful vineyard in California and took concord vines from Iowa with them.

[66] Shaw, Icaria, 151. These quotes were from Péron's letter to Shaw. (n.d. 1883-4) Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 579-580. Prudhommeaux translated Péron's letter from Shaw's book.

remarks to reflect other members impressions of "social anarchy," it appears that the Icaria-Speranzans were open to a variety of talents and believed in everyone's "sense of duty."

When Albert Shaw analyzed this "latest phase" of the Icarian movement for his study in 1884, he observed that, "There is no middle ground for Icaria-Speranza, it must be either a bright success or a dismal failure." Furthermore, Shaw cautioned, "Which it shall be will depend, not upon external conditions, but upon the devotion, forbearance, harmony, and what in general we may term the associative capacity of its members."[67] Regardless of Shaw's focus on a personality-based predictor of success and failure, threats from "external conditions" had already surfaced by 1884 that had little to do with "associative capacities." While personalities were important, some of the most troubling personalities in the events were not Icaria-Speranzans. First, however, it is important to investigate several impersonal conditions which impacted on the Colony's economics.

Three identifiable "external" problems affected Icaria-Speranza's enterprises. The first was the 1883-1884 economic depression which reduced market prices for agricultural produce and strained the Colony's start-up finances. The other two obstacles were environmental problems which the members expected to overcome. One involved an unusual horse disease epidemic that drove up the price of horses but increased risks for ranchers who had to keep their animals from being infected. Icaria-Speranzans undertook vital fencing precautions to safeguard their prized (expensive) stock. The other challenge was the grapevine pest phylloxera, which had decimated vineyards in Europe and subsequently, heightened economic opportunities for California wine producers.

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[67] Shaw, Icaria, 152.

Establishing a flourishing vineyard was one of the Icaria-Speranzans projects. Unfortunately, phylloxera invaded vineyards adjacent to their ranch and threatened their vines.[68]

In addition to these three major problems, a less unusual, but not rare infestation of grasshoppers invaded their plants.[69] In the unfamiliar California climate, periods of drought compounded their crop losses. I contend that the combined monetary effects of these "exterior" market elements in conjunction with stringent Iowa Court rulings over the young Branch's assets resulted in the break up of these two groups. Their dissolution had a demoralizing, tangential impact on the last Icarian Colony which ceased a decade later. Women were powerless to overcome these perplexing exterior forces regardless of their liberated and political positions. "Associative" capacities were a part of the difficulties, but not the single factor for measuring their success or failure.

The previous owners of the Bluxome ranch had "raised race horses" and the grounds contained suitable buildings and fences when Dehay & Co. and the Leroux families purchased the ranch in 1881.[70] A mile long race track at the Cloverdale end of the property had been "open to all and in use every day from sunrise to sundown."[71] Despite

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[68] Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 94. Reveille, August 7, 1886, September 4, 1886, September 11, 1886, October 23, 1886. They had trouble getting a large grape crop crushed on time because of a sudden shortage of wine presses. The DeTurk winery was not going to be in operation at first. Then it opened and there was a "blockade of wagons." Advice about picking poor grapes and spoilage followed these reports. There were significant crop losses that fall.

[69] Reveille, August 1, 1885. Grasshoppers were so thick in the area that "people were obliged to make pits and rake the deceased hoppers into them" (after the insects feasted on arsenic).

[70] Reveille, October 7, 1954.

the "agricultural (price) depression" in the early 1880s, horses that were "good full blood and heavy weight grade advanced to surprising high figures."[72] This favorable price was primarily due to a shortage of horses. In December 1880, the Cloverdale Reveille reported that 100 horses had died in San Francisco due to an epidemic of pneumonia and a week later another 100 died.[73] By July 1882, the "rise in horse flesh" prices was substantial. Those that sold for $75 six months earlier were now worth $100 to $125. In addition, "the Southern Pacific Railroad had purchased $75,000 worth in the last six months" which caused a "heavy drain on stock."[74] Ranchers with horses held a premium product.

Not only was the Bluxome property readied for horse raising, but an increased demand for them had come about just as the land changed hands in 1881. The Icaria-Speranza's horse business was tempered by a cautious concern for acquiring a safe, hardy breed. All members had to decide on horse purchases which looked like wise investments. Their decision was strengthened by the ex-Icarian Humbert neighbors in Iowa who traveled to France in 1882 and brought back Percheron horses.[75] Their son, Charles Humbert went to Cloverdale and "joined the Colony" in the fall of 1883.[76] He

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71 Baxter, "Icaria-Speranza," 11. The cost of fencing, buildings, and farm improvements by Bluxome in the 1870s was estimated at $50,000.

72 Reveille, June 25, 1887. This look backwards illustrates the high price for horses. By June 18, 1887, the paper observed a "boom in horse breeding."

73 Ibid., December 4, 1880, December 18, 1880.

74 Ibid., July 6, 1882.

75 Paul S. Gauthier, "Adams County, Iowa: Past, Present, and Future" in Assimilation of the Icarians, 8. Leon and Marie Humbert bought a farm southwest of Corning and with their son Ernest raised Pecheron horses after making their first trip to Europe in 1882.

76 Baxter, "Icaria-Speranza," 12. I have not encountered direct evidence that Charles

brought a "number of purebred Percheron horses which he readily sold."[77] A local reporter in Cloverdale observed that "raising horses will pay the farmers better just now than any other kind of stock."[78] But in July 1884, exceptional hazards to the business appeared. "There is an epidemic among horses in this vicinity," the paper noted. "It is some kind of a distemper . . . if your horse loses its appetite and begins to fall off in flesh, look after it at once."[79] Barely a year later, there were other reports that a "strange disease is afflicting horses near Glen Ellen, Sonoma County which proves fatal in some cases."[80] By 1886, the local horse sicknesses were described as "a mild form of epizootic," that is a disease that attacks a number of animals simultaneously.[81] Only one account in the local paper from

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Humbert "joined" the California Colony but he was loosely associated with them. Honoria Tuomey, History of Sonoma County, California, Volume II, 1926, 318-19. Tuomey's account of Charles E. Humbert did not mention the Icaria-Speranza connection. He was born in 1864 and was nineteen in the fall of 1883 when he took a "number of full-blooded Percheron horses" to Cloverdale and "found a good sale." He remained there for two and a half months, returned to Iowa and then made a "business trip to France." On his return to Cloverdale he married Ida Louise Hoadley (January 1, 1885), took her to Iowa and then to France for a four month honeymoon. In April 1886, they returned to Cloverdale and established their permanent home.

77 Baxter, "Icaria-Speranza," 12. Humbert also "imported a herd of purebred Holstein cattle in 1889." He progressed from the dry goods business to the livery and stage business and then became part owner of 700,800 acres of land. He was president of the Culver-Baer Quicksilver Mine and served in many community organizations.

78 Reveille, March 15, 1884.

79 Ibid., July 5, 1884. "Smoking with pitch tar is the best remedy," one writer found.

80 Ibid., December 26, 1885. Glen Allen was next to Cloverdale.

81 Ibid., February 27, 1886, March 6, 1886, February 26, 1887. The February 1886 issue also carried an article on the "Percheron Horse Breeders of America." M.W. Dunham of Illinois had "imported nearly 2,000 since 1872." Percherons were a "distinct breed in France." On March 6, 1886, the paper reported "a disease resembling paralysis is affecting the horses near Forrestville and a number have died from the disease."

1880 to 1887 carried the name of a horse owner who admitted to being afflicted by this "Fatal Horse Disease."[82] Buyers would avoid anyone who had sick horses and the Reveille editor protected their right to privacy.

Meanwhile, the Icaria-Speranza ranch owners were improving fences around their pastures.[83] There were no accounts of sick horses on their premises although "a runaway span of mules" belonging to them was reported.[84] On another occasion, a "horse was suddenly taken sick" in the "vicinity of the French Colony" (May 1886).[85] The driver of this rig "borrowed" a horse from them to get back to town.[86] These minor incidents point out that a potential danger existed at the "French Colony" from runaways and intrusions by sick horses that might spread contagion, but there is no hard evidence that any 'mysterious' horse diseases infected their animals.[87]

Regardless of whether they lost any horses to the disease, the Icaria-Speranzan

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[82] Ibid., February 26, 1887. A lengthy account on a "Fatal Horse Disease" was written by John Feming, a horse owner in Vallejo who "never saw anything like it." He lost 10 horses in one day. He had called in a veterinary surgeon who said they died of a "lung hemorrhage." They became short of breath "like asthma" and began to "drop dead." Three of his Norman colts between 1 and 5 years had died. It was "a heavy loss." Some of his neighbors also lost horses.

[83] Ibid., March 22, 1884. They fenced in the "road leading out west through their place and put up a gate." The gate was only to be up for a year "when the lane will be fenced up."

[84] Ibid., August 16, 1884.

[85] Ibid., May 1, 1886.

[86] Ibid., May 1, 1886. "A vehicle was sent forth to bring Henry (driver) and the sick animal back to the starting place." This comment indicates that the Icaria-Speranzans did not want a horse that might be contaminated left on their grounds.

[87] Ibid., May 1, 1886.

women had agreed with the men to spend money and time organizing the ranch and raising horses for profit in 1883-1884.[88] A prize stallion, "McMahon" was advertised for breeding purposes two years later. McMahon was

> imported from France in August 1882. He is from the best of French blood and an extra good breeder as his colts from the last two years will testify. He was brought to California in November 1883. He has won many prizes both in France and Iowa and the grand sweepstake prize at Council Bluffs, Iowa. We have purchased this fine animal knowing that California horses will be surely improved from the cross of a full blood Norman.[89] Care will be taken to avoid accidents, but [we] will not be responsible for any that may occur. Pasturage furnished at the Bluxome Ranch for $2 a month. Paul Leroux manager.[90]

The ad shows they had been breeding "colts for the last two years" and were planning to expand their operations. Cursory research related to the profitability of this equine venture suggests that it was neither a loss nor a generator of much income for the Icaria-Speranzans for the first few years. The initial start-up costs for a superior breed of horses combined with travel expenses to France, however, were considerable budget outlays.

Another source of cash was the income earned by Armand Dehay (Marie Leroux's husband) as a barber in Cloverdale. It was an intermittent wage and how he divided it is unclear. In 1882, Dehay bought out a barber's business and house in town.[91] The local paper reported that Dehay was a good barber and "a very affable talking gentleman" who

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88 Reveille, January 19, 1884, February 16, 1884.

89 Ibid., January 19, 1884, February 22, 1884.

90 Ibid., March 13, 1886. This ad appeared many times.

91 Ibid., February 25, 1882. "Christensen, the barber, has sold out his business and residence to a Mr. Dehay, one of the proprietors of the Bluxome ranch . . . we wish him success." Berry, "A granddaugher," 13. The barber business produced approximately $75 a month.

made many friends with his trade at the United States hotel.[92] Dehay also set out "quite a nursery" of vines rooted "in the garden surrounding his residence."[93] Two years later, in the Spring of 1884, Dehay sold his house in town and moved out to the ranch.[94] Until then, Dehay's barbering income was very likely needed for payments on his house in town, his shop, and the upkeep of his family. How much was applied to the ranch debt or what became of the proceeds from the sale of the barber business and house are unknown. However, at the end of June 1884, Dehay once again had "taken charge of his barber shop." Whether he and his family moved back to town or lived at the ranch were not mentioned.[95] Dehay signed the co-partnership paper later that year (October 1884).

The Icaria-Speranza group had other income from fruit sales. Apples from the Bluxome ranch in 1883 were "plentiful and cheap," selling for one and a half cent a pound. They also had "very fine pears" that season. But drought and disease affected yields in 1886, a bad year for fruit crops.[96] Grapes from their vineyards were expected to be a very substantial income-producer. But it takes several years for new cuttings to mature and there were disease risks. In the Spring of 1882, the Reveille carried a lengthy report about

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92 Ibid., February 25, 1882, March 4, 1882. A. Dehay took charge of the US Hotel barber shop last Wednesday. "He is a first class barber and we recommend him to the good folks of Cloverdale, and hope they treat him as kindly as they did his predecessor."

93 Ibid., March 24, 1883, August 18, 1883.

94 Ibid., March 1, 1884, March 15, 1884. The barber shop was leased to Mr. Woodward of Healdsburg and the house was sold to Mr. Hiatt.

95 Ibid., June 28, 1884, January 24, 1885, March 28, 1885.

96 Ibid., July 22, 1882, September 6, 1883, September 8, 1883, May 22, 1886. In 1886, the peach crop was ruined and trees perished in many areas.

the phylloxera pest that had devasted "nearly a million acres" of French vineyards.[98] The paper carried news about the European and California vineyards, grape yields, wine presses, and recommendations for treating phylloxera.[99] In California, the Sonoma County, where the Icaria-Speranza ranch was located, "was hit harder than any other region in the state. Eventually almost 20,000 acres of vines had to be destroyed and replanted" between 1873 and 1890.[100]

Ed. Sparrow, the Reveille editor made annual trips to France and Italy which enabled him to provide first hand statistics on the phylloxera devastation in Europe and relate them to the grape industry in California.[101] His friendly conversations with Dehay at the barbershop and others at the 'French Colony' furnished readers with news of their affairs. Sparrow's "notary services" also set up the Icaria-Speranza co-partnership

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98 Ibid., March 18, 1882, March 25, 1882. A week later, the paper noted that Mr. Dehay and company have begun to set in vines at the Bluxome ranch.

99 Descriptions of phylloxera, recommended treatments, protective measures, and vineyard problems in the region were constantly in the headlines of the Reveille. Full details of this scourge in California are beyond the scope of this study. Lengthy accounts on phylloxera can be found in Reveille issues: Nov. 27, 1880, Dec. 18, 1880, Jan. 15, 1881, May 7, 1881, May 21, 1881, May 28, 1881, Nov. 5, 1881, Mar. 18, 1882, Apr. 8, 1882, July 13, 1882, Feb. 10, 1883, June 16, 1883, Aug. 9, 1884, July 25, 1885, and Nov. 28, 1885.

100 Millie Howie, "Phylloxera Pests devasted Sonoma County vines 120 years ago. Now the vineyards are providing a second banquet for The Bug That Loves Sonoma Cabernet" Journal of the Sonoma County Historical Society, No.2, 1993, 4-8, 7. The first phylloxera infestation was identified in California in August 1873 and five years later 400,000 vines had been destroyed. By the mid 1880s the louse had made frightening inroads in Sonoma County. Various methods were tried to combat it. Costly annual insecticides, ineptly applied, killed the vine and the lice. Flooding, sandy soil, and resistant stock trials were begun across the state.

101 Reveille, August 2, 1884. Editor Sparrow reported that he would not make his "annual tour to France and Italy this summer on account of the Cholera."

document.[102] In October 1884, Sparrow drew material from his interactions with them for an article about "The Icarian Community" in his paper. It was a "regularly organized commune." His account did not mention Cabet as he pointed out that it was "intimately associated with another of the same name in Adams County Iowa."[103] The commune held "semi-annual sessions of the General Assembly, which is composed of all members of the Community, male and female."[104]

Three weeks later, the Reveille recorded Icaria-Speranza's "first annual election for officers." Four women's names appeared on the list: Anni Zurcher, Marie Mourat, Marie Dehay, (of California) and Louise Mourat (of Iowa).[105] The editor's newspaper accounts reflected a number of progressive, liberal viewpoints. In particular, Sparrow was favorably disposed towards women's rights issues and he selected news about such activity by

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[102] Ibid., April 21, 1883, December 8, 1883. "Three co-partnerships" were being published with the Sparrow notary. This item in the spring of 1883 (before Leroux died) hinted that details about the drawing up of the document were discussed with Sparrow by Dehay or others from the group. In the December issue, the editor asked, "How many Cloverdale firms know about the law on co-partnership?" which reflects their research into legal details. (Very likely, this accounts for its publication six times - Oct. 25, Nov. 1, Nov. 15, Nov. 22, and Dec. 6, 1884.)

[103] Ibid., October 4, 1884. This article informed the townspeople about their "regularly organized commune." A copy of the "Articles of Incorporation were filed with the County Recorder on Tuesday." Two weeks later, the co-partnership appeared.

[104] Ibid. They had five committees: Works, Home, Consumption, Education, and Commerce (signed by 24 persons).

[105] Ibid., October 25, 1884. The men were: Eugene Mourat, Gustave Provost, Emile Bee, A. Dehay, Paul Leroux, Alexis Marchand, Pierre Leroux (of California), and Emile Fugier, E. Péron (of Iowa). It is interesting that they were divided by California and Iowa origins. Since Alexis Marchand was placed with the Californians, he was very likely there before Péron and Fugier arrived. (Marchand had been to Burlington, Mo. and St. Louis without the other two.) This was the same issue that began publishing the co-partnership document.

contemporary women. The Icaria-Speranzans read about women like Florence Nightingale[106] and Lucy Stone Blackwell, the first US woman physican.[107] Sparrow even printed a picture of Belva A. Lockwood, the "Woman's Rights" candidate for President in 1884, with a list of her accomplishments. She was "indubitably a clever woman," he acknowledged, but Lockwood was "perpetrating a fruitless folly as a means of adding to the 'record' of man's inhumanity to woman." However, "to say that a woman does not advance the cause of her sex's rights by making herself a laughing-stock to men and an object of wondering contempt to her sisters, would be going too far."[108] He printed other articles about women's achievements such as the rising numbers of female physicans in New York[109] and women's "remarkable place" in London University exam scores.[110] Readers would be surprised to know that a "female deputy sheriff" worked in Austin Texas, for Texas had 75,000 more men than women.[111] The Icaria-Speranza women could agree with reports that dress fashions should be as "suitable and sane" for women who worked in "dangerous places" for they had lots of hard work to do on the ranch. This fashion item was prompted by four fatal accidents due to a "superabundance" of girl's

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106 Ibid., November 19, 1881.

107 Ibid., December 17, 1881.

108 Ibid., October 4, 1884, Gerda Lerner, The Female Experience: An American Documentary (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Educational Publishing, 1977), 418-9. Lockwood also ran in 1888.

109 Reveille, March 25, 1882.

110 Ibid., February 4, 1882.

111 Ibid., October 22, 1881.

clothing. One woman's dress was caught in restaurant "machinery" and another's "long riding habit" caught in the stirrups and causing her to be dragged by a horse.[112]

Sparrow's paper also had articles about women in France which may have evolved via his neighborly visits at the French Colony or his annual trips to Paris. He wrote about Louise Michel's daring exploits in the Commune, "loading and firing" the canon "again and again." Her friends described her as a "veritable saint" and her enemies, as a "human devil." According to Sparrow, Michel was more feared by the French government "than any of the other communist leaders." He noted that Michel was forty-seven "though she looks to be older." She had "gray-streaked hair" and a "thin and haggard" appearance when "she speaks before the people." These surprising physical details suggest Sparrow may have encountered Michel during his Paris trip. He concluded that "though mistaken, she evidently believes that all that she declares is absolutely right and true . . . and is a constant source of anxiety to the rulers of the Republic."[113]

Sparrow also described the hard work of the "Seine river laundry women" in Paris who "beat their linen from boats."[114] His interest in French laundresses may have resulted from first-hand observations, but very likely reflected the current local effort to outlaw Chinese laundry businesses in Cloverdale.[115] When the Reveille was sold to George Baer in

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[112] Ibid., October 11, 1884.

[113] Ibid., February 3, 1883. The long article on Michel included her hatred for the church, the growth of her revolutionary spirt, fighting in the 1871 communal uprising, trial, and exile.

[114] Ibid., February 17, 1883. "The Laundries of the Seine."

[115] Ibid., January 30, 1886. After a number of laws passed about locating laundries outside of Cloverdale, the (new) Reveille editor, George Baer, presided over a "mass meeting" at the Library Hall which voted to give the Chinese "48 hours to leave." They

1885, the progressive tone of news about women changed. A writer in 1886 complained that women should develop work skills even though they "lacked mental and physical strength." What to do? "Throw away their corsets and put them to work. Teach them trades. . . . Make them utterly independent of the married state." This will add to their desirability and result in better marriage partners.[116] Although the Reveille carried many stories about women, the doings of Icaria-Speranza women would have to be extrapolated from the one cursory list of those who were elected officers in their General Assembly. But these women knew they were part of a bigger women's rights movement which was reflected favorably in their local press until 1886.[117] They had fought for equal rights and won.

The "Contract and Articles of Agreement of the Icaria-Speranza Commune" confirmed women's equal membership with men.[118] Each member could choose their own clothing within the framework of a budget set up to give them "liberty to select whatever object of clothing that suits him."[119] The Contract had no mention of a uniform. They were

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had to settle their bills, return the land to patrons, and dispose of what they had to sell. By Thursday evening, "not a China man was in town."

[116] Ibid., March 7, 1885, July 17, 1886, May 22, 1886.. Baer noted there was a shortage of servants and in "preference to Chinese labor," Cloverdale "grape growers have signified their willingness to employ our school girls and boys to harvest their crops." He hoped there would "not be a Chinaman in the hop fields and vineyards this season."

[117] Visits by Mrs. Humbert to Iowa and France with her husband were reported, but there is no indication that she was a member of the commune.

[118] Shaw, Icaria, 204-216. Shaw printed this in Appendix III before his book was published in 1884. Very likely, Péron sent a copy to him along with a letter excerpted on pages 150-2.

[119] Ibid., 211-12, Articles 40-1. Each adult woman (and man) would "ascertain and express in dollars what sum is necessary to purchase the clothing in the six ensuing

able to have "exclusive use and ownership" of their personal wardrobe, furniture, bedding, household implements, gifts that did not exceed $50 from non-members, and $25 gifts between members."[120] Women were paid a labor premium that was the same as men each month regardless of the type of Colony labor. There was no separation between those who worked for each other and those who produced outside income. Each was to give "his entire working time and abilities to the common use and works of the commune" and would received an extra $1 a month if he/she "had not lost more than one-half working-day" or 50 cents if he/she "lost a whole day."[121] This bonus for full-time, healthy workers did not specify the length of a work day, holidays, Sundays, categories of labor, or whether there were excused illnesses.[122] The schedule allowed for considerable flexibility for recreations and celebrations. Many things would have to be understood as part of their broad goal of proving that community based on solidarity was a viable system for "rendering" society "happy" without too many cumbersome rules.[123] In effect, with no laws against them, there was ample undefined space for rest periods during the heat of the day, or other types of spontaneous, pleasurable events. The Colony also had separate

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months" and after agreement by the general assembly was reached on such sums, a credit was established at a local store. This leeway permitted women to forecast pregnancy apparel and climate adjusted fabrics.

[120] Ibid., 206-7. Article 9. "Surplus shall be remitted to the fund."

[121] Ibid., 213, 211. Article 49, 37. No amount of hours was set for an "entire working time."

[122] Ibid., 211. Article 38. They were to have a "special by-law" to define the kinds of labor that is "to be considered common work." I have not seen this by-law, if it was produced.

[123] Ibid., 204-5. Article 1, 3.

family housing. Meals were eaten in common and two women rotated the task of cooking for the entire group each week. A head chef no longer supervised the kitchen and the women's rotating arrangement must have been acceptable to everyone.[124]

The Icaria-Speranza commune had a new school building in time for the August 1885 term.[125] The commune Contract agreed to provide each girl and boy up to age sixteen with a thorough and complete education in the English and French languages as "shall be found reasonably compatible at any time with the various works, the financial means, and the professorial opportunities of the association." Applicants had to read and speak the French language fluently.[126]

The Icaria-Speranza Contract had 62 Articles and they planned to incorporate the Iowa Act of Donation into their "General Object" under the creation of a "general fund." The sole purpose of this article was to merge the Iowa branch with its Act of Donation fund into the Icaria-Speranza Commune "general fund."[127] The Contract stipulated that if

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[124] Reveille, October 7, 1954, 75th anniversary edition. "French Founded Icaria Famous Utopian Colony" by Paul Dehay, son of A.J. Dehay written in 1944.

[125] Ibid., July 25, 1885, October 24, 1885. Dehay wrote that "in 1881, A.J. Dehay organized the Icarian District and deeded an acre of land for school purposes which was built the following year. In the meantime, the children attended school in Washington district which was their daily hike about 15 miles in all."

[126] Shaw, Icaria, 213-14. Articles 50-51. Sutton, Les Icariens, 139. Sutton determined that "Education was not as important to them as it had been in the other communities." This comparison can perhaps be drawn if one considers the initial distance to the school at first. (In Iowa, Marchand taught the children for several years until Hortense Montaldo came.) Icaria-Speranzans worked toward a district school from 1881. Education was guaranteed to the Colony children. An investigation of the "Icaria School Records" in the Sonoma County Room of the Sonoma County Library in Santa Rosa, California provides evidence that children continued their education after the Colony disbanded. Many Leroux names appear in the records as do children from the Dehay and Zurcher families, ages 6 to 16. Reveille, April 25, 1885. Dehay was a School Board Trustee.

members choose to withdraw from the Commune, they could take back possessions and earned labor credits, but if they died, everything belonged to the Commune. As before, wives had to leave if their husbands withdrew and take children under age 16.[128]

Icaria-Speranza members had "a good many more provisos for liberty" than their former constitution, according to Péron.[129] This was because they had "lost the greater part of our faith in the principles of majority rule, and adhere more every day to the higher doctrine of assent by all to any act affecting common interest."[130] Péron noted that members rejected "primitive notions of leadership, temporal or spiritual, have no use for Presidents, high-titled officials, etc."[131]

As the Icaria-Speranza Colony began with as much liberty as members could agree upon, the young Branch members in Iowa had to go to California or withdraw. In early 1884, legal moves to dissolve themselves in Iowa and merge members and funds with the Californians were undertaken.[132] Funds were low for the Iowans had only paid $100 on the $1,500 (moving) indemnity to the "New Icaria" group. The elder branch took them to court.[133] The Adams County Circuit Court named four trustees to oversee the sale of 800

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127 There is no date on Shaw's copy of these articles in his book published in 1884.

128 Shaw, Icaria, 214-15.Articles 53-61. "Withdrawals" and "Expulsions."

129 Ibid., 151.

130 Ibid., 151, 146. Most voting was by 9/10. Some article changes required a unanimous vote and others 3/4. Committees decided routine things and elections for office on the first ballot required 3/4; on the 2nd ballot a simple majority; and the 3rd ballot, the person with the highest number (plurality) of votes. Elections were held once a year.

131 Ibid., 151. This was Péron's assessment in his letter to Shaw.

132 Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 94.

acres of land, livestock, and machinery.[134]

"Young Icaria had ceased to exist," according to an account in the Adams County Free Press on March 15, 1884.[135] It would be replaced by a "society ruled by a new contract and new rules."[136] The "managers" of the "new society" were Fugier and Péron.[137] They soon sold 160 acres of cultivated land and the bulk of the livestock, machinery, and fixtures.[138] In April 1884, Péron left for France to "buy Normandy race horses and Percheron horses whose sale would augment the finances of Icaria and create breeding stock for California."[139] He was purchasing them for the "community" and expected "to be gone for several months."[140] Péron's relatives in France helped him "buy at a great advantage."[141] When he returned, he began breeding stock for California and the

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133 Ibid., 95.

134 Ibid., 94. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 582.

135 Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 94. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 582.

136 Ibid.

137 Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 94. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 582. Prudhommeaux quoted the elder Branch's Revue Icarienne, February 1884 issue which stated that Péron and Fugier "n'avaient pas mis les pieds en Californie." This is puzzling for both were there in 1883 and engaged in active debates with Jules Leroux and his relatives and friends. It seems the elder Branch's information was incorrect.

138 Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 94. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 583. Prudhommeaux verified Péron had left for France, returned with the horses, "resold them and realized the best profits."

139 Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 94.

140 Ibid., 94. The Adams County Free Press, in April 1884 confirmed Péron's trip.

141 Ibid., 133.

Percheron horses produced spring and fall colts in 1885. They were advertised for sale in December 1885 along with "pedigreed Holstein calves" and "Poland-China brood-sows."[142] This enterprise realized a profit in less than two years.[143] Péron's freedom to pursue the horse raising ventures fit comfortably within the "liberating-communist" guidelines of the Icaria-Speranza Colony. Back in Cloverdale in June 1885, Dehay had sold a 27.67 acre section of land for $1,107 to bring in funds for the Colony.[144]

A few months after Péron's December 1885 ad appeared, Paul Leroux and Eugène Mourot came to Iowa.[145] They were concerned about the slow pace of the liquidation and "encountered a number of unhappy Young and ex-Young Icarians whose Act of Donation in 1879 had not been written into the "new" society rule." In addition, the "San Francisco Socialists who had loaned them money, suspected trouble and sued. . . . the suit was transferred to Adams County, where the society's tangible assets, unsold land, were located."[146] On June 9, 1886, Leroux and Mourot joined with Jerome LaForgue in signing

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[142] Ibid., 133. Péron advertised the sale of fall colts from imported Percheron horses for $12.50 and spring colts for $20.00. The ad had pedigreed Holstein bull calves for $30.00 and heifer calves for $25.00. Péron was also selling or exchanging 250 Poland-China brood sows. The Iowa pastures (and barns) may have seemed better than those in California.

[143] Ibid., 94. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 583n1. This profitable enterprise was reported by the elder Branch in their paper, La Revue Icarienne, May-June and July-August, 1886.

[144] Reveille, June 13, 1885. Whether the land sale was related to the members' liberty to carry out activity or whether it was done to raise cash for expenses cannot be determined. Nonetheless, two commerical land sale activities related to Icaria-Speranza took place in separate regions.

[145] Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 95. Reveille, April 24, 1886.

[146] Sutton, Les Icariens, 138.

another suit in the county circuit court "against the liquidators in order to bring the dissolvement action to a head."[147] Their suit was related to the Act of Donation. The economic future of Icaria-Speranza deteriorated as they settled the "external" legal suits initiated in San Francisco and Iowa.

According to Fugier, the court actions were supported by members who signed the Act of Donation and left the Colony and the 'Old Branch.'[148] Their "adversaries employed all the lawyers in the locality, and assured them a salary of one third of all they could enlevé (take away)."[149] The Court handed down its verdict on August 3, 1886. Icaria-Speranza was dissolved and a receiver was appointed "to sell the remaining real estate and reimburse the creditors."[150] After an unsuccessful plea to the Iowa Supreme Court, the court-ordered disposition was enforced. It stipulated that 1) they sell the property including the imported horses;[151] 2) Pay the current $7,000 debt and $13,000 to Act of Donation contributors;[152] 3) Pay all court and attorney costs; 4) Divide the

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147 Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 95. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 584. Péron and Fugier were then forbidden to act as trustees.

148 Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 95. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 582-3, 582n1. Fugier wrote this in a letter to Prudhommeaux that was undated but before his book was published in 1907.

149 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 582-3n1. Prudhommeaux offered Fugier's version in a letter that was presented from "his memory and without the aid of documents" without a "commentary" by Prudhommeaux. The reader could "confront his version and ours" so the "truth would emerge."

150 Sutton, Les Icariens, 138. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 584.

151 Péron to Alexis Marchand, May 24, 1887. ACIS. Péron referred to a figure of "$7,300" that the horses brought to the "common fund." He added that "for recompense, I had to suffer all the marks of stupidity, of jealousy, of an ungrateful beast, and I have to pay the costs encured for the defense of common funds."

remaining proceeds among the eleven persons officially listed as members of the Adams County young Icarian Branch.[153]

Thus, the attempt to transfer the "Act of Donation" assets from Iowa to California proved to be an impossible legal issue. In the final reckoning, one of the Californians wrote to Alexis Marchand that "the rupture of the merger between the Icaria group and ours has brought separation between the members of the two sides."[154] Surely, as Shaw predicted, this was a pesonal relationship problem, however, it was caused by the losses from the "Act of Donation." As for the Bluxome ranch property, they were going to "immediately re-deed a piece to each." Dehay was "charged by us to negotiate the San Francisco loan." Dehay remained on a section of the Ranch (108a.) as did Paul Leroux (198.19a.), U. Zurcher (152a.), Provost (109a.), Emile Bée (109a.), J.W. Leroux (24.83a), and T.J. Dehay (27.67a.).[155]

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[152] Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia, 97. The total assets 'donated' in 1879 were $14,937.93.

[153] Ibid., 95-6. Emile and Emielie Fugier, Emile and Louise Péron, Eugene and Marie Maurot, Michael and Veronica Bronner, Theresa James, Michael Brumme, and Louise Maurot. The dollar figures on these reimbursements can not be determined because Files 1696 and 1772 regarding this case are missing.

[154] Dehay to Citoyen Alexis, January 3, 1887, Wheeler Collection, ACIS. It was signed by Paul Leroux, Pierre Leroux, Anni Zurcher, A. Dehay, and Emile Bée.

[155] Baxter, "Icaria-Speranza," 9. Baxter included a map recorded in September 1898 showing the plots of land. The total that was divided was 728.69 acres. It was in the Illustrated Atlas of Sonoma County, California (Reynolds & Proctor, September 1898). The land plot was courtesy of The Bancroft Library. Berry, "A Grand-daughter," 14. Berry's grandfather Dehay had nine children. He died in 1923 (age 81). Berry's grandmother lived there until her death in 1945 (age 92). The Dehay's "old ranch home" had been "the main house of the colony." Dale W. Ross, A Photographic History of Icaria-Speranza: A French utopian experiment at Cloverdale, California (Dale Ross and The National Icarian Heritage Society, 1989), 35. In the early 1890s the Dehay family took ownership of the former French American Wine Company, changing its name to the

There was a great deal of discontent among the wives in California during this period of uncertainty. In a letter to Alexis Marchand in May 1887, Péron wrote that "the irritation between all the wives and children makes us suffer. It is only with a great effort of will that I can maintain my connections with Fugier in a tolerable condition for him and for me. I suspected for a long time that Mme. Fugier[156] made indirect efforts to her husband about conduct that would maintain our relations intact, and I regret to say that she has managed to make our relationship less cordial than otherwise."[157] Péron's comments portray Mme Fugier along with the other women and children as the cause of suffering and poor relationships between the men. He did not list his own specific disagreeable problems with Mme Fugier. While the "social anarchy" license was a liberating mode for men, when women had adverse "opinions" about issues, they were not exercising their right to "social anarchy" but their interventions were described as "indirect efforts."[158] After all the talk and evolution about equality for women and representative political rights, Péron, like other utopians, was still concerned about men maintaining

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Dehay Winery and continued to operate the winery into the early 1900s. Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 95. In Fugier's letter to Prudhommeaux, he noted that when all the legal processes were completed and costs paid, he found himself "after 28 years" on the street, "reduced to misery with my wife and six children." Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 598. Information in the Revue Icarienne, May 1883, showed that the Bronner and Fugier families lived in Corning where Fugier had a 350 acre farm. Prudhommeaux added that later on Péron had an artifical flower and fashion shop business in New York where he returned.

156 Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 517n1. Mme Fugier was the former Marie Mourot. Her brother Eugene Mourot married Marie Fugier. Paul Leroux married Françoise Fugier (Marie's sister)

157 E.Péron to Alexis Marchand, May 24, 1887. ACIS.

158 The Fugiers had contributed $1,827 to the Act of Donation.

power in marital relationships. Péron's perceptions about women did not incorporate the reality of "equal rights . . . without distinctions of sex" nor did they match his own "social anarchy" rights.

Living in "association" as Shaw pointed out was a challenging task for the Icaria-Speranzans but it was not the only factor that merited consideration. The Cloverdale members were in accord when they began the transfer of Iowa property to California which they expected would add to their funds. Likewise, Shaw had not had time to weigh the many environmental difficulties that afflicted their local economy. Nor had he or the Icaria-Speranzans anticipated the Iowa Court actions to distribute the assets of the Act of Donation (and the San Francisco financiers).[159] Prudhommeaux concluded that "Financially, Icaria-Speranza was a success. The land Dehay and his companions bought at $17 or $18 an acre was valued two years later at $60 to $100. But socially, the shock was complete. The colonists who came did not want to listen to anything, each was doing what was in his head and, at the least objection, he spoke of retiring from the society and taking his share of the funds. The people of Speranza were not made for the associated life." Prudhommeaux took this statement from a letter Fugier wrote him on October 23, 1905. Fugier did not specify at what point between 1881 and 1886, the threats by members to take their funds and leave became so powerful, or who the members were whose money wielded such power. The crises arose as the funds from Iowa could not be transfered to California where they were needed to rescue the deficits in 1885-86.[160] Evaluated within

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[159] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 581n1.

[160] Gaye LeBaron, The Press Democrat, Santa Rosa, California, June 22, 1875. LeBaron composed an article on Icaria-Speranza drawing from the work of Paul Kagan New World Utopias, and determined that "they overestimated the productivity of the land.

this wider context, it appears that when the "Donation" merger failed to hold up in Court, the goal of a prosperous 'associative life' evaporated.[161] The Icaria-Speranza Colony was not a "financial success" when it dissolved, despite Prudhommeaux's remarks about the rise in land values.

Louise Bettannier Mourot and her husband, Eugène, remained in Cloverdale and set up a Laundry, but the business team did not work out. On June 4, 1888, they dissolved the laundry "co-partnership" by "mutual consent." The business would be "conducted hereafter by Eugène Mourot alone." Perhaps, the repetitive drudgery of laundry work was less satisfying for Louise Bettannier Mourot who had held an 'executive' office in Iowa and given inspiring speeches.[162]

Back in the Iowa village of Icara, the "New Icaria" members had written a fresh Constitution on May 1, 1879. It had twenty-nine articles with a "limited franchise" for women in matters of admissions, constitutional revisions, and questions about morals, education, amusements, and propaganda. A woman could serve as clothing director.[163]

There were too many people to provide for with the crops they could grow. In 1886 . . . [it] failed financially." While Kagan and LeBaron's brief assessment differs from Prudhommeaux, economics must be understood as a primary cause of resentment and division.

161 Kagan, New World Utopias, 46. Kagan did not find the Colony to be a financial success and cited the slump in the economy in 1884 as a contributing factor along with the lack of strong leadership, factionalism, and the language barrier.

162 Reveille, July 2, 1887, June 23, 1888. Eugène Mourot and his wife "bought the laundry of R.B. Casey and will conduct the business as formerly practiced only on an improved scale. Mr. Mourot and his wife are practiced in their work and will promise to give the best satisfaction." Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 575.

163 Sutton, Les Icariens, 139-40.

This duplicity by the conservative party about women's vote, (they saw no problem with it before the trial in 1878) demonstrates that these utopian men, much like Péron, did not genuinely want women in politics and did not permit it. In contrast to the openness of the young Branch, the conservatives made it harder to become a member. Adult applicants had to contribute $100 (children $20), serve a year's probation period, and be approved by a nine-tenths majority vote. All had to obey the Constitution and Colony laws and could be expelled by a nine-tenths vote for not complying. Anyone who "fomented" an isolated party in the workshops or "revolted against" authority could likewise be expelled.[164]

Nonetheless, the issue of equality for women in politics plagued them. Five years later, New Icaria members changed their Constitution again. The suffrage question was taken up by Léonie Bettannier at an Assembly on January 5, 1885.[165] This time Arsène Sauva who in the past, was "all honey and rosy" to the insistent "Citoyennes!" and had refused to let the four women vote, "was no longer there to watch over the application."[166] Women were granted the complete franchise, a move that Marie Marchand supported. She

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[164] Ibid. Sutton stated that no new members came after these restrictive admission laws were agreed upon. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 597. Prudhommeaux did report several admissions which were temporary during the 1880s: elderly Claudine Deffauday in 1881 who died in a few months; Rose Collin admitted in February 1881 who left with her spouse eight months later; Georges Rouse, his wife and three sons who arrived in November 1886 and were a "gain for Icaria." They also extended their compassion to care for Elise Sauger in July 1884 who was blind and deaf. Her parents were ex-Icarians who left the Nauvoo community.

[165] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 595. Prudhommeaux wrote that women's right to vote was "Reprise (take back or resume) by the citoyenne Léonie Bettannier on January 5, 1885.

[166] Ibid., 597, 599-601. Sauva left on April 21, 1884 at the age of 44 with the sum of $584 for his twelve years in Icaria.

had written to her brother Alexis earlier about her surprise to discover that Maggie Humbert, a friend that she "spoke politics with" on an afternoon visit, "was altogether of a different opinion than I was on most things, we got terribly excited about women's rights, do you believe that she is against them?"[167] Marie's pro-rights opinion was very likely carried into the Assembly discussions, for two years after her talk with Maggie on women's rights, they had full suffrage.[168]

New Icarian women's voices finally had public legitimacy. Although there were hardly more than ten women left, they asserted themselves in small ways. Since the young people of the community went outside so much after the separation, they "gradually adopted the style of dress of the time."[169] Going "among strangers" in this way, the women of the Colony "found it necessary to follow some of the styles of the world. They copied their Sunday dresses from those of their neighbors -- overskirts, ruffles, and any other new fashions they could.[170] When she was fifteen, Marie had to spend time in town with the lawyers and in the courtroom. She was as concerned about her fashionable appearance as with the outcome of the property litigations. A painful self-consciousness fused with her enlarged political and social world.

As Clothing Directors, the women decided to sell their simple, homemade straw

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167 Sixty-one letters of Marie Marchand Ross and Alexis Marchand numbered and dated from May 15, 1881 to December 8, 1889. ACIS Gauthier collection., no 15 1882. Hereafter cited with number and year.

168 Gauthier, "Quest for Utopia," 101.

169 Ross, Child of Icaria, 125.

170 Ibid., 101.

hats outside. The money from this commercial activity was used to buy each of them "a new bonnet to suit her taste" in the local "millinery stores."[171] Icarian women no longer had to live with the rules men made to govern their appearance. The contradictory scars of two 'war' periods had destroyed the legitimacy of Cabet's stern dress codes. Women no longer awaited the elusive utopian uniforms, a vision which slipped quietly into the past.

But Marie's apparel was not her only personal concern during these years. She had been out of school for several years. When she returned, she was embarrased to find that classmates four years younger than she were able to master lessons ahead of her. The intimidating peer effects in the classroom caused her to "resort to hysterically weeping." She "wished she were dead."[172] When Marie refused to perform a French song at school, the teacher notified her parents, and they "took her to task, too." It was "more than she could bear" and Marie ran off crying in "a worse fit of hysterics than any of the preceeding ones. The more she cried, the worse she got . . . she cried more and more until she was quite sick and had to be put to bed."[173]

Marie had abandoned her usual self-control over these conflicting adolescent emotions. The reprimand from her parents was an unbearable blow to her spirit. After this traumatic episode, Marie recovered and scolded herself for her unruly behavior. Everyone treated her kindly and she vowed to try harder to make up the gaps in her studies. Soon afterwards, Marie began taking lessons from a music instructor in town. She was able to

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171 Ibid., 125.

172 Ibid., 118.

173 Ibid., 119.

share her new musical accomplishments with others in the Community. Her self confidence returned and she mastered her grades. Time and the meaningful vagaries of other experiences healed her wounds. Like countless children in the past, Marie was a silent casualty of men's power struggles, political or military. Icaria was no exception.

Marie Marchand married Will Ross, one of their hired workers, and left the Colony in 1888. The couple went to Western Normal College in Shenandoah, Iowa where Marie received a teacher's certification.[174] She had the first of five children in 1890. They were both Socialists and taught at various colleges during these years.[175] In 1896, Marie and Will spent time living at Commonwealth, a communal experiment near Columbus, Georgia.[176]

The decision to disband the New Icaria Colony came as a result of the aging of members who found the farm operations for 1,100 acres required them to hire more and more outside laborers. No one wanted the President's job and responsiblities.[177] A number of members had left during the 1880s and received reimbursements. The Fremont and Sauva families who left in 1884, for example, were paid $2,324 from the Colony funds.[178]

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[174] Sixty-one Letters, letters no. 34. 42, 50, 53. Alexis did not attend his sister's wedding to Will Ross. Ross, Child of Icaria, 128. Will Ross disliked farm work and "wanted to get an education and teach."

[175] Ross, Child of Icaria, 139-42.

[176] Dale W. Ross, "American Assimilation of Icarians- a Rough Road for Some," A Symposium, 1988, 3-4. The Ross's moved to New York in 1904 where they were active in the Socialist Party and attended the Rand institute for activist training. Her parents came to live with them when the elder Icarian Branch disbanded and died in a few years.

[177] Sutton, Les Icariens, 179n20.

[178] Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 597, 593. Ch. Lévy left in 1880, Léon Bettannier and Isidore Lemoine in 1881, Léoncio Cubells in 1883, Fremont and his son-in-laws, Armel

In 1891, Mme Léonie Bettannier had written a glowing account of the Colony to the editor of The Altruist. They had adequate funds, cultivated land, and the economy and social pleasures of communal living and work arrangements. She noted how they were all well cared for. "Complete harmony reigned within the Society."[179] Four years later as they commemorated their February anniversary, eight elderly members gathered to elect their officers. Marchand was 81 and declined to be president again. On February 26, 1895, they took a vote to disband against the wishes of Mme Gentry who wept about the break-up. She liked the advantages of communist life with its shared pains and joys. But her single voice was not sufficient to halt the "death of the Colony."[180]

The Circuit Court appointed Eugène F. Bettannier as the receiver. It took three years to complete the affairs.[181] The "eight survivors consented to share all the colony's assets with the twenty-one Icarians who had signed the 1879 'Contract.'"[182] Bettannier remained on the Colony site and several others stayed in or near Corning, Iowa. The Marchands went to live with their daughter, Marie Ross.

Cabet's utopian ideals had sustained the spirited people who came to the Icarian Colonies for over half a century. Even those who left took away thoughtful impressions of

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Marchand and Valmor Caillé in 1884, Sauva in 1884, Alice Sauger in 1887, and Marie Marchand in 1888.

179 Ibid., 599-602. Sutton, Les Icariens, 143-4. Léonie Bettannier's husband was "robust and strong" at the age of forty-five and had been President every year since the split. She concluded, "We wish that the working class everywhere could enjoy the same advantages. The most scrupulous equality reigns among us."

180 Sutton, Les Icariens, 142-3. Prudhommeaux, Cabet, 602

181 Sutton, Les Icariens, 143-4.

182 Ibid.

equality, fraternity, and liberty. Among the many changes in the Icarian system was the belated acknowledgment that women had the right to equal political representation. In conjunction with the Young Icarian's revised constitution that set forth a system of participatory democracy, women gained more individual liberty than Cabet would have countenanced. Unfortunately, these gender enrichments came during the later years of economic turmoil and relocation. The changing concepts of 'libertarian-communism,' however, did not cause their community disintegration, rather a complex mixture of environmental and legal difficulties reviewed in this chapter, coalesced and members chose to separate quietly. When the last three communities dissolved, the women knew they had a valuable patrimony of equal rights that Cabet was unable to conceptualize. Their gender gains were ahead of the mainstream society, but the utopian dream of Icaria metamorphosed into memory.

CONCLUSION

The acquisition of full political rights for a small remnant of Icarian women in 1879 climaxed thirty years of gender struggles waged by their predecessors. Although this action was an important historical marker in the Icarian narrative, it came too late to salvage their utopian enterprise which disbanded six years later amidst a convergence of economic crises. Hundreds of disillusioned Icariennes had left the colony during the first decade of its existence because they lacked power over their daily lives. Icaria was not a liberating place for them. Shortly after the first group settled in Nauvoo in 1849, Cabet introduced a 'transitory regime' policy that separated children over the age of two from their parents, a move that mothers were unable to change. This unexpected alteration disregarded the republican motherhood precepts that Cabet had set forth in the Voyage. A number of rebellious women questioned the need for this and several other so-called 'necessary' programs. They wanted more imput into the decisions made for their new community and demanded that women be included in the governing body. With the aid of male allies who petitioned to change their constitution, they incited a 'delicate' internal war that raged for seven months in late 1850-51. It ended after three days of intense gender negotiations and the removal of the rebel leaders. Tensions eased as the 'faithful' renewed their 'vows' of unity, but in the weeks that followed, other dissatisfied women left with their families.

Gender inequities persisted and a secret group of "Mariannes" developed that continued to resist Cabet's unequal organization. "Each day," he lamented, "90% of my troubles" are caused by women who have come to Icaria "without conviction." He

characterized them as 'ignorant' and 'obstinate.' By 1855, the women's opposition was so strong that Cabet acknowledged "all the mothers" were against him. In spite of his reprimands, they 'meddled' in the smallest affairs regarding their children's care and education. Icarian children, according to him, belonged to the Community and their lives were under the control of citizens who organized their boarding school regimens. Mothers were restricted to Sunday afternoon visits with their offspring. The Icarian Constitution provided citoyennes with consultative 'voices' but they had no real power. These gender politics in conjunction with other austerity measures related to housing, food, wardrobes, and work loads became untenable for many women who prevailed upon their husbands to leave. This was a difficult task, for withdrawal meant little or no compensation (another disputed formula). Some women even left without their husbands and children.

In Icaria's 'community of goods' system, Cabet's political tokenism not only failed to satisfy all women, but it was a major factor in the rapid turnover of members. Discontented women who remained sought refuge in an opposition "red" party that was precipitated by Cabet's 'retreat' policies and his bid to take back his dictator position in 1856. The disastrous Nauvoo schism that year, by all historical accounts, ruined the assets and long term success of Icaria. Prior to this present research on the issues of gender, the consequential role of women in the events that led to this split was ignored or, at best, trivialized.

Nonetheless, the seven Icarian colonies were a significant element in the United States communal landscape for fifty years. One cannot discount the Icarians dedicated efforts to create an equitable social organization and provide community housing, work,

food, health care, leisure activities, and lifetime security for all, despite the exclusion of women from politics until 1879. Scholars who have studied the cohesiveness of various communal groups have found that the longest lasting ones had strong religious bonds. God-given authority was a powerful cement. Icaria, however, was an exceptional secular organization that existed without a mystical-spiritual aegis. Members fostered the simple practice of lofty maxims ascribed to Christ, a 'man' they saw as a Communist who was dedicated to reforming society by sharing all things in common. They equated these concepts with the French Revolution's principles of equality, liberty, and fraternity.

This dissertation about gender relations in Icaria began with an attempt to distill the expectations women had about this utopian ideal and their enlistment in the movement. It examined a number of important gender issues. Why did women go to Icaria and why did so many leave? What effect did the feminists' suffrage drive in 1848 have on women's perceptions of themselves? To answer these and many other questions about the effects of gender on Icarian women's lives, this research followed their experiences in the seven colonies for half a century. The investigation explored Cabet's rationale for creating an egalitarian society. His proposals in Voyage en Icarie, Vrai Christianisme, and La femme, had many attractive features for women (and men). The list included equal education and excellent health care for all. Women could become doctors or priestessess (without spiritual powers). Icaria's gender relationships however, retained the patriarchy. Wives, paradoxically, were deemed equal, yet, nonetheless subordinated to their husbands' 'predominant' authority. Women and children were obedient, contented subjects of Icaria's benevolent, citizen-lawmakers.

This research on the dynamics of such unequal power determinations in Icaria adds to the growing body of comparable studies on the gender characteristics imbedded in republican, communist, socialist, and community politics of the nineteenth century. Women's suffrage in the Young Icaria Branch in Iowa was an exceptional change. (It was approved in the New Icaria Branch six years later.)

In the annals of history, the likelihood that plans for a utopian society set forth in a novel would be put into practice are rare. How did Icaria's idealistic communitarianism become reality? And, what departures from the text were made in the process? Many of these general points have already been studied. Jules Prudhommeax's 1907 research and Christopher H. Johnson's study of the French artisans and workers involvement in the 1840s have enriched the historical understanding of this movement. Neither however, fully anaylzed the gender factor nor the extent that it impacted on both Cabet's leadership and the success of the community, as the interpretations in this dissertation have shown. Likewise, recent studies by Claude Francis Gontier and Fernande Gontier (1983), Paul S. Gauthier (1992), and Robert P. Sutton (1994), did not give due attention to gender issues.

Because Icaria's images of a better social organization appeared at a critical period of labor stress and industrial transformation in the early 1840s, they engaged the interest of a large segment of the working-class and the intellectual populace. Cabet became the acknowledged head of communists across the continent by 1847. He hoped to extend his leadership by setting up a large Icarian community to prove his system. Since the French government was not interested in funding his initial project in 1844, he decided to establish a colony in the United States, an enterprise that occupied him and approximately two

thousand or more, men, women, and children for the next decade. After his death, it continued under new leaders in several locations for nearly forty years.

Enlisting women in the Icarian emigration, however, was a challenge. They were inclined to be both Catholic and Icarian - like the tolerant people in the Voyage - whereas men were more anti-clerical. When the Pope condemned communism in 1847 and placed Vrai Christianisme on the Index, women were less inclined than men to ignore the Church's directives by joining the Icarian emigration. Cabet struggled to convince hesitant women they would be emancipated and happy in Icaria, where there were no dowries and marriage partners were freely chosen. Divorce could be obtained, but rarely needed, for the contented couples whose family needs were provided. Cabet's campaign to win women's support was going well when the first contingent of men left for Texas on February 3, 1848.

While all Icarian scholars have recognized the impact of the revolutionary events of 1848 on the size of the movement, few have focused on the effects of Cabet's involvement with the feminists that year. The influence of their clamor for women's suffrage and political representation on the mindset of women colonists must be weighed. Wives of the first group expected to leave a month later, but their departure was stalled by the February revolution, which disrupted Icarians' economies. Money was important, but Cabet's interaction with feminists like Jenny d'Hèricourt, his newspaper columnist at this time, was even more significant. This research contends that the most destructive flaw in the colony thereafter, was his failure to grant women citizenship equal to men's.

Cabet's support for women's emancipation, in the context of the feminist politics of

1848, encouraged Icarian womens' committment to equal rights. Many Icarians agreed with the revolutionary feminists who requested that women be included in 'universal' suffrage. Cabet had hitherto written articles that raised women's consciousness about the injustices they suffered due to the abusive laws fashioned by men. Icaria, he had repeatedly announced, would liberate women. In March 1848, he began addressing the women who attended his Club as citoyennes, but when faced with his Club members unanimous support for women's suffrage, he hesitated. He would need time to study that 'delicate' question, he stated. Feminists wrote to thank him for his support of their causes. In the aftermath of the June days, however, Cabet's masculine-feminist demeanor receded, and, like his French counterparts, he asserted firm control over Icarian women's activity. Thereafter, he refused to grant women's requests for citizenship powers in their Nauvoo Colony. This was not a deviation from the political order he set out in the Voyage, but Icarian women had acquired sharper intellectual referents regarding their right to suffrage in a 'universal' society in 1848. Nonetheless, Cabet was unable to surrender his gendered assumptions about women's rational limits, although he expected to improve their conditions. Anthropologists have shown that this reactionary pattern by men was a common response to sudden social disruptions. At such times, women become scapegoats for their epistemological anxiety. This research has uncovered evidence that Cabet blamed women for many of his emigration difficulties. Allowing them as much 'liberty' as men in Icaria would interfere with the order he anticipated. Even after his death, other Icarian leaders continued to refuse women's requests for positions on the executive board. (They did, however, abandon Cabet's boarding school arrangements and adjusted childcare and

work duties, albeit motivated in part by economics.)

Gender also shaped the family structure in Icaria. During Cabet's reign, the family in Nauvoo never resembled that depicted in the novel. True to his patriarchal pattern, men and women were separated at work as were boys and girls at school. Couples (and bachelors) assembled for meals (in silence), at day's end, or for scheduled leisure activities. Parents and children were only united for a few hours on Sunday, a visitation period that Cabet regretted since he felt it reversed the instruction carried on in schools during the week. Cabet did not want children to value parental attachments over fraternal bonds. Familial displays of affection undermined Cabet's plans for the children's rational development. This gendered mind/body dichotomy appeared in several sections of this research and reflected Cabet's concept of reason as a male trait.

Mothers however, were exempted from workshops to nurse their infants for two years in Nauvoo, as in the novel. But, unlike the book, mothers were no longer able to care for them at home after that period and they were placed in the community nursery school. This painful separation very likely prompted Cabet's impression that all the mothers were against him. Not only were the novel's family ideals modified, but marriage itself was affected by changes during Nauvoo's 'necessary' transitions. When Icarian community was 'fully realized,' Cabet promised parents that their children would be able to return home after school each day. This never happened in his lifetime.

Bachelors upset the marriage order. There were many of them and they lacked a pool of marriageable partners. Cabet tried to bring in more girls with free admission conditions, but he cancelled his enlistment program when he discovered too much

'courtship' activity. News about 'immoral' transgressions were relayed to him. (And, sometimes to the Assembly for reprimands.) True to his puritan expectations, he drew upon such violations to smear the character of seven men who resisted his bid to retake his original Icar-dictator position. Women in Cabet's murky scenarios were the 'immoral' accomplices of the opposition men. Regardless of his moralist revelations, the majority were against his dictatorship and the group split in two. Cabet left for St. Louis, Missouri with his loyalist minority and died in a few weeks.

New leaders replaced him in St. Louis and in Iowa, where the remaining group obtained the title for property Cabet had purchased earlier. Political turmoil by women surfaced in both locations. For example, a party of young women who emigrated to St. Louis were very disappointed with the system and returned to Paris to complain to Mme Cabet. Reports from others who withdrew caused potential members to reconsider and membership declined. When a number of Colony men enlisted in the US Civil War, the labor supply was inadequate and mortgage payments could not be met. St. Louis Icarians dissolved their Community. The Icarians in Iowa also had to refinance their mortgage, but they were able to meet their payments thereafter. Here too, there were few new members. A level of unrest developed in a segment that wanted to expand their Iowa operations. They presented a list of grievances to their Assembly that included a complaint about the administration's treatment of women's views. This study traced the events that followed from this complaint to women's full political inclusion in a separate Icarian branch. Women found allies among new members (and in Jules Leroux's case, a 'special' contract spokesperson). Four 'obstinate' and daring women even voted illegally. Women were

active participants and were soon elected to their executive board. These were exciting times.

Their new Branch's organization attracted members who came so rapidly that their accomodations could not keep up with the demand. The rural work routine in Iowa did not fit many of the urban newcomers' skills and there was a high turnover rate. Their generous reimbursement policies depleted their funds and bills could not be paid. A committee left to search for a better site to relocate where income might be accumulated at a faster rate than farming and they chose to settle in California. They signed a new co-partnership contract there which set out liberal arrangements for members, including women's political rights. The transfer of the Iowa group's assets was disputed by ex-members and the case was taken up by the court. The costly settlements absorbed their monies and the Californians had hefty mortgage payments. They disbanded in 1886. The other branch of the Icarians who remained in Iowa was composed of many elderly members who had to hire workers to carry out their agricultural operations. They too, dissolved their Community in 1898.

Of itself and at this late date, it seems that Icarian women's political powers had little to do with the end of these communities. But the voting Icariennes as well as those who had struggled in vain and left understood the value of equitable gender relationships that extended to the political arena. One can not resist the temptation to speculate - what 'if' Cabet and the Assembly men had given women full political rights at the peak of their 1850s enthusiasm when so many members were in the community? And, what 'if' men, women, and children had been allowed to engage in 'fraternal' relationships, instead of

being assigned gendered workplaces and school separations constructed by Cabet's puritanical mindset? Such speculation is fruitless, however, since allies for women rights were not only scarce in Icaria, but they arrived too late to rescue their utopian idyll.

This concluding sketch of the turning points where gender impacted on the directions of the Icarian community needs to be incorporated into the historical record. Women's studies scholars who have applied gender as an exploratory tool to study similar issues and communities such as Carol A. Kolmerton, Claire Goldberg Moses, Joan W. Scott, Karen Offen, Barbara Taylor, Sarane Alexandrian, Lynn Hunt, Laura Struminger, Édith Thomas, Michèle Riot-Sarcey, Louise Tilly, and Peggy Reeves Sanday have added insights used in this research. They noted the puritanical attitudes and patriarchal patterns imbedded in the theories and practices of socialism and communalism. Icarian historians like Prudhommeaux faithfully recorded many of Cabet's words and the behaviors of women without recognizing the importance of gender resistance to the community. This investigation of gender relationships has recovered the distress of powerless Icarian women and its importance to the shifts ('wars') in the movement and to its eventual decline. All, of course, was not bleak and some women stayed on despite their unequal positions. They managed their day-to-day activities within allowable frameworks and were rewarded for their compliance. Icariennes found ways to celebrate the hope that Cabet's so-called period of 'necessary' changes would pass and more 'agreeable' times would come. They looked forward to a future utopia when Icaria would be finally 'established.' Those who balked at Icaria's gender inequities searched elsewhere.

APPENDIX A

Icarian Community
Conditions of Admission

Made in Nauvoo: January 22, 1850
Published in Paris: June 12, 1850
English translation: Nauvoo: Icarian Printing Establishment, 1854.[1]

CONDITIONS OF ADMISSION

The principles, the object and the means of the Icarian Community, being different from those of other societies, of other emigrations, of other colonies, and of other communities, *conditions of admission*[2] should necessarily be different.

All persons, to whom our conditions are not agreeable, are perfectly free to reject them and not to unite with us; those only can conscientiously unite with us, who adopt, without any repugnance, all the Icarian conditions. The following are these conditions. It is necessary:

1st. To be well acquainted with the Icarian writings.

It is necessary to approve the Icarian system; and, to be able to do this, one must *know* it; and, in order to have this knowledge, one must be acquainted with the writings which expose it, especially the *Voyage in Icaria. -- How I am a Communist. -- My Communistic Creed. -- The* 12 *Letters concerning Communism. -- True Christianity. -- The Icarian Colony or Republic*. Each family should have a copy of each of these works and of these *Conditions*.

No one should ask for admission into the Icarian Society, if he does not know the system & its writings; the first thing to be done is to obtain and study them.

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[1] Appendix A, Conditions of Admission, is a 32 page pamphlet preserved in the Corning, Iowa Gauthier Collection ACIS. Cabet published 37 of these 48 Admission Conditions in Le Populaire, March 3, 1850. The 11 others were not displayed to the general public in his Paris newspaper, very likely due to the sensitive nature of certain requirements such as the one requiring members to adopt Vrai Christianisme as their religion [39]; the regulation that the "Community dispose completely of the children . . . without being constrained by their parents" [45]; and, perhaps Cabet wanted to avoid reactions concerning the vain, egoistic, "ignorant" women who "were the principle cause of desertions and withdrawals, by their influence upon feeble and blind husbands" (some of these women had signed the embezzlement charges) [42]. These issues are covered in Chapter Thirteen of this study.

[2] Italics, syntax, and spacing are copied from the original, with an occasional bracketed [sic] to clarify spelling/meaning.

2d. To know how to read, to write, and to sign the name. (The French is the public language in Icaria.)

In order to fulfil the first condition, it will be necessary to be able to read, and study the Icarian writings. It will be necessary also to be able to read, and even to write and subscribe demands, acts and engagements. Not to know how to read will be attended with great inconveniences. Moreover, he who does not yet know, can learn before presenting himself; and if he desires ardently to know it, he will learn in a short time.

However, if a workman, especially from the country, has become acquainted with the Icarian principles, through the explanations of friends; if he possesses all the qualities of a good Icarian, and if he would be likely to be a very useful member, the fact of his not being able to read and write will be no obstacle to his admission, at least to his provisional admisssion.

3rd. To adopt completely the Icarian system.

The Icarian Colony has one special aim; that of proving, by experience, that Icarian Communism is possible. Consequently, for any one to enter it, it is absolutely necessary to adopt completely, with an entire conviction, without any hesitation and without any repugnance, the Icarian system, its doctrine and its principles. In one word, to be admitted to found *Icaria*, it is necessary to be in truth an *Icarian*.

Each one is entirely at liberty not to adopt the principles and conditions of the Community, without being held in less esteem; but then he should not present himself as an Icarian: it is an affair of probity. He who would cause himself to be admitted by deceiving the Community in this respect, would commit a species of treason and expose himself to being unhappy, while he would trouble and compromise the Colony of Community.

4th. To act *devotedly* to the Icarian Community, for the interest of the People and of the entire Human Race, considering himself as a *Soldier of Humanity*.

It is not wrong for an Icarian to desire to make a part of the Icarian Community for his own reasona'le [sic] and well understood personal interest, particularly for that of his wife and children; but to attain his object, in co-operating for the prosperity of the Community, it is necessary, first of all, that he *devote* himself; that he engage to *devote* himself; that he consider himself as a Soldier of Humanity, determined to fulfil all the duties of a soldier, always ready to support privations, fatigues, and perils, always submissive to discipline and always faithful to his standard.

5th. To be devoted especially to the cause of women and children.

One of the principal aims of the Icarian Community is to render to women and children all their rights and to do everything to insure their happiness.

One of the first duties of an Icarian is to protect women, to respect them, and to neglect nothing to render them happy.

6th. To adopt the principle of Equality in all things - without any privilege for any one.

The Equality is not absolute, but relative. Equality of toils *according to the strength*, Equality of enjoyments *according to the wants*; Equality in everything, in the nourriture, in the lodgings, in the clothing; Equality especially in the wardrobe, for the purpose of avoiding one of the most fruitful sources of jealousies, of quarrels and of troubles.

Wardrobes, because of their inequalities, have been one of the principal causes of all the discussions amongst women, of all the divisions and of all the difficulties for administration. As soon as the thing shall be possible, the Community will furnish the same wardrobes to all the men, to all the women and to all the children, taking away the old wardrobes and disposing of them on the best terms for the general interest.

7th. To adopt the principle of *Fraternity*.

To accept it with all its consequences; to adopt its associates for Brothers and Sisters; to promise to aid, defend and love them, to be indulgent and tolerant, to smother every emotion of anger and resentment, and to practice in all things this precept, *"Do unto others that which you wish that others do unto you."*

8th. To abstain carefully from all *injuries*, from all *abuses*, and from all *calumnies*.

This is an essential condition; for quarrels, offensive words, reproaches and accusations trouble and compromise the Colony. Before admission, every one may and should communicate all that can be an obstacle to the admission; but after the admission has taken place, all reproaches concerning former conduct should be avoided.

9th. To adopt the principle of *True Liberty*.

To promise to respect the liberty of others and to practice the maxim, *"Do not to another that which you would that he should not do to you;"* and to submit to a decision of the majority, preceded by a free and regular discussion.

10th. To adopt the principle of Community, by renouncing all individual property.

This is the fundamental point of the Icarian doctrine. An Icarian cannot be the proprietor of anything, neither of his lodgings, his clothing, his utensils, nor of his arms, &c, &c. He has the *use* or the *enjoyment* of the objects which the Community intrusts to him, but he does not own them: *the ownership can only pertain to the Community*, amongst the members of which it is undivided, social or common property. During the first years, and until the Society is completely based, organized and developed, all the books should be placed in a common library; likewise so, all the instruments in the cabinets of physic and chemistry; all the utensils in the workshops or in the magazin; and all the arms, &c., in the arsenal or the social depot.

11th. To adopt the principle of *Unity*.

To promise to use all endeavors that the Community constitute but one body, one soul, one heart and one mind.

12th. To carry or cede to the Community *all his goods* of whatever nature.

His money, his moveables, his immoveables, his accounts, &c, &c; even his wardrobe, his jewels, his utensils, his arms, his books, &c., in one word, *all his goods*, present and prospective, even future donations and successions, because, in Community, no one can be richer than another, nor have personal property, because no one can be better treated than another.

13th. Nothing should be *concealed* or *held back*.

He who conceals or retains a portion of his property will be richer than he who gives his all. He will be less devoted, less constant, less faithful, more disposed to withdraw without any cause, and more capable of inducing others to go with him.

If any one cannot approve this condition of giving his all, he is at perfect liberty to reject it; but then he should not present himself for admission. To declare that one has given his all, while he retains something, will be lying, deceiving, violating the principles, not to be an Icarian, and even committing a kind of theft; it would be, consequently, a fault exceedingly grave!

14th. To bring to Nauvoo, at least 400 francs or 80 dollars, independent of a good and complete wardrobe, sufficient for two years.

It is above all for the interest of the poor that the Community has been conceived and will be established; consequently it would be infinitely desirable that it were able to receive those who have nothing except large families, and good qualities and talents. We doubt not but that the Community will pursue this course some day, after it shall have been established by the devotion of those who have contributed something to commence it; but for the present and for some time to come, a small portion is and will be absolutely necessary, in order to consumate the purposes of the enterprise. A woman must remit the same portion as her husband; each child, under seven years old will be required to pay 200 francs or 40 dollars. Each one will also be required to pay his traveling expenses till his arrival at Nauvoo. No one should start with the expectation that the over-plus of another's portion will be turned over to him without special authority, received from the Society before his departure. On arriving at Nauvoo, each one should give a detailed *inventory*, containing his wardrobe and utensils. This inventory will be verified.

He who should present himself without his wardrobe and portion, will commit a very grave fault and expose himself to the disgrace of being *refused*. Such an one would not be an Icarian, but an egotist, since he would compromise the Community. He would not even be reasonable, since he would find himself in a compromised Community.

15th. Each one should exercise a *useful industry*; or be able to employ himself at some useful occupation.

In Community, every one should work, and work equally -- each according to his strength.

16th. To engage to work the *earth*, if it should be necessary.

The cultivation of the earth may be the first necessity in the commencement of the Colony; all then should be willing to engage in it.

17th. To engage to work in the *workshops*.

In Community, all work is executed, not in particular lodgments, but in large workshops, fixed or moveable.

18th. To devote to the Community all his industry, all his capacity, and all his time.

Neither can work, either for himself, his family or his friends. This is not necessary, since the Community works for all, and it would be neglecting the common work, and even exciting jealousies and disputes. One should work, applying always the principle: *Each for all, all for each*.

19th. To be *laborious*.

Each one has more or less aptitude, facility, taste and even habit of working; but as labor is the life of a Colony just springing into existence, as there will necessarily be many remarkable for their ardor, their zeal & their devotion to labor, one who can do but little will naturally find himself exposed to jealousies, to criticisms, and to accusations of faint heartedness and laziness, which although exaggerated, will not fail to give trouble to the Society. He then who has not the facility or habit of labor should refrain from asking his admission.

20th. To be *vigorous*.

All which has been said in the preceding number will be applicable to this. -- Besides, the voyages upon the sea and upon land with all their privations and torments, are very painful, especially on account of the tempests, or the bad roads, and exhaust the vigor, like the first labors of clearing and constructing a Colony. -- He who would present himself without having the necessary strength and vigor would compromise, at the same time, both himself and the Community.

21st. Not to be *too aged*.

When Icaria shall be well founded and developed in all its perfection, far from

possessing any feeling unfavorable for old men, it will entertain nothing but sentiments of regard, of respect and kindness towards them; but in the start, in the commencement, if the Community had nothing but old men, or if they were too numerous, it would perish with them; for, as a general thing, they are infirm, without force and without activity, and especially exposed each day to become sick or enfeebled, or unfit for labor, cases in which they become a charge so much the more heavy as the Community will endeavor to spare and care for them. -- Notwithstanding, the general interest may authorize some rare exceptions. But it would be a great imprudence for an old man, to place himself *en route* for the Colony without having previously received from Nauvoo special instruction to come.

22nd. To have no contagious or incurable or grave *malady*: nor any infirmity which can prevent him from labor.

In the first place, the sick or infirm are unfit for the labor and fail at the workshop. Then, infirmaries, special cooks, a pharmacy, remedies more or less extensive physicians, nurses, watchers, &c., become necessary. A portion of those who are well are employed and their time is taken up by their attentions upon the sick. Deaths being more frequent produce effects more or less sad. All the combinations of labor and of the workshops, of repasts and expenses, become reversed. The inconveniences are enormous and inumerable, without considering that of being able to ameliorate rapidly the Icarian generations, which is one of the principal objects of the Community. These inconveniences have already endangered our enterprise at the commencement in 1848 and 1849, when the young and vigorous men deserted their post and left us with a disproportionate number of old men, women, children and invalids. Therefore we want sound healthy men: we do not require a certifcate; it is an affair of honor.

23rd. To be temperate, frugal and simple.

Some day, Icaria will give to her members the useful and the agreable, without any other limit than reason, the prescriptions of hygien and the necessity of maintaining equality without any privilege, in accordance with the principle: *for all or for none*; but in the commencement, at the epoch of formation, it is necessary to apply the Icarian rule: *first the necessary, then the useful, and at last the agreeable.* Therefore it is necessary to be temperate, frugal, simple in all things, in the nourriture, in the clothing, lodging and furniture, as it becomes a soldier of Humanity, a devoted servant of the Community. He who would be a gourmand, an Epicure, a sportsman, would only be the slave of his senses, incapable and unworthy of being one of the Founders of the Community. Without being happy himself in a young and feeble community, he will bring trouble to it by his exigencies and regrets.

24th. No *tobacco*.

Tobacco is generally useless, often injurious, disagreable to those who do not use it, enslaving, expensive and often dangerous. It creates often a want so imperious that men

have been known to put an end to their existence to deliver themselves of the torment of not having tobacco. It is often a great embarrassment to procure tobacco while on a voyage or in the desert. It is an expense to be regretted when there is a necessity for economising for the Colony: or for those Brothers who ask to be aided to come to unite with it. It is disgusting, for example, in a cook, and, as was once the case with us, it might prevent those from employing him when they needed his services. It is dangerous; for more than once has the pipe or the cigar caused fires. We ourselves have unhappily had experience of it: one of our teamsters, by his pipe set fire to a building which with all it contained; was consumed by the flames causing us a heavy loss, and might have burned the whole Community, persons and property. And the use of tobacco had become a passion so dominant that the same teamster in spite of this terrible lesson, recommenced smoking in another stable, although in violation of positive rules; others smoke in the common refectory, or in the sleeping rooms, others in their chambers; and some even in their beds at the risk of burning everything!

When Icaria shall have become sufficiently great and strong, she will then do what she may judge best in this respect. It is probable, however, that tobacco will not be admitted, or only as a medecine or remedy, after the prescription of a physician. The Colony will have enough of other enjoyments more proper and less individual!

But at present, the interdiction of tobacco appears to us a necessity, and certainly we will not suffer our children to learn the habit.

Let him then who has the habit of using tobacco not start for the Icarian Colony, unless he feel that he has sufficient courage to discard the habit on the voyage.

On his arrival he will engage never to smoke in any building, nor even in another place, as also not to snuff nor to chew.

However, as there are some men who may have this practice, of which they may think it impossible to break themselves immediately, it will not be an insurmountable objection; but they should engage to make all efforts to rid themselves of the habit as soon as possible.

25th. *No strong liquor.*

It is about the same as with tobacco. It is useless, injurious, expensive and dangerous. Some workmen have insisted that they could not work without taking whiskey once and even several times during the day, and reclamations upon the subject of whiskey have been the source of much embarrassment in the administraton of the Colony. Nevertheless, cannot a true Icarian forgo the use of whiskey as all the Icarians have that of wine for the use of coffee and tea at their repasts?

Still, if some liquor should appear necessary, in the morning, before commencing work, the Community will distribute it.

26th. To have no *predilections* or *repugnances* for certain aliments, which would render alimentation too expensive or too difficult.

To say, for example: *I will not breakfast without coffee or milk, or I cannot eat bacon, I must have something else,* is not a crime certainly; but when such things take

place in founding a Colony in the desert, it is an embarrassment, an expense, an inconvenience, and in the place of emigrating, persons of this disposition had better to rest where they are.

27th. To be accustomed or resigned to the pains and to the inconveniencies of the common life.

When Icaria shall have become perfect in its strength and power its common workshops and its machines, its kitchens, its tables, its libraries, it will be another thing than the libraries, machines, kitchens, &c., which each one has in Individualism; and when the Community shall furnish to all its workmen separate lodgements, appropriate and commodious, with all the necessary furniture, the social life will possess almost nothing but advantages without inconveniences and will be infinitely more happy than the individual. But, at present, while they voyage *en masse*, heaped up in a vessel upon the sea or in the river; while they lodge, eat and work in a kind of confusion and pellmell, they are necessarily tormented, incommoded, deprived of a portion of their liberty; and hence there spring up quarrels, discontents and divisions which trouble and menace the existence of the Society; the first Icarian expeditions have furnished only too many proofs of these things, for it was perhaps the quarrels resulting form the torment of the voyage that contributed principally to the first divisions and to the first disasters. Yet, these voyages, the confusion and pain must necessarily be endured during the *period of laying the foundation*, one should therefore habituate himself in advance, or resign himself, as a courageous and devoted soldier, to all the torments of the common life; and if any feel that they have not the force to make this sacrifice, they had better rest where they are than enter the Community and compromise its experience.

28th. To dispose of nothing which belongs to the Community.

Each one is a co-proprietor of all things which belong to the Community, and nothing belongs exclusively to any individual. *Everything belongs to all*, and *nothing to a particular person*. Consequently, the Society, or the authority which represents it, has the sole right to dispose of anything whatever; hence no one can dispose of anything by his own will, for his own personal interest or that of another; to dispose of anything arbitrarily would be to commit a kind of theft and especially of disorder. Let each one reflect well upon this engagement.

29th. No *envy or jealousy*.

One of the principal sources of unlooked for difficulites in the Community since the first departure, is envy and jealousy, passions essentially opposed to Fraternity. Sound yourselves, then, and if you feel that you have any envious disposition do not come!

30th. To avoid exciting *envy*.

But that one who would wish some privileges who is vain because of some

advantages he may possess, and who would take pleasure in exciting envy and jealousy, would be still more unworthy of the title of an Icarian: let him not come to Icaria; for he will find there neither esteem nor happiness.

31st. To be accustomed to cleanliness.

When one lives in individualism, if he is alone, he can be unclean without giving offence to any one. And yet uncleanliness, which may compromise the health, is neither suitable for any reasonable and reflecting man, who has the sentiment of human dignity, nor above all for an Icarian who wishes to work for the amelioration and for the perfection of Humanity; but in the social or common life, and above all in the fraternal life, cleanliness in all things, upon the body and in the clothing, in the lodging and in the furniture, in the kitchen and in the infirmary, in the work and in the workshop, at the table and in the reunions, is a rigorous duty of fraternity toward the Brothers, which the sight of uncleanliness might offend and wound . . . Uncleanliness might at the same time be a source of danger for the general health and a cause of quarrels and divisions in the Colony.

32nd. To observe *decency* everywhere, in actions and in words.

It is one of the first duties of the social and common life. -- Obscenity is entirely useless and more worthy a brute than a man. Without doubt decency and modesty will be amongst the principal objects of Icarian education for the young boys as for the young girls, and consequently the men and the women should carefully avoid everything which might be a bad example or a bad lesson for the children.-- Without doubt also, the Icarians, who engage to devote themselves to the cause of the women (No. 5th), would not wish to show their want of respect for them and to outrage them in using in their presence words which they could not hear without blushing. Consequently it is a duty for the Icarians, in all things, to respect decency and modesty which are the most beautiful ornaments of women, and amongst the most effacious means of assuring the common happiness.

33d. To be *careful, economical.*

To see that nothing is broken, nothing destroyed; to be careful that nothing is lost, to economise so as to expend nothing without a necessity for it, are duties which reasonable men owe to themselves, even while living in individualism; but for an Icarian, in the interest of the Community, they are duties far more imperious, since Icarians have promised devotion to the Community. (No. 4.)

Everything which is lost or which is suffered to be lost, or which is expended without necessity, is a kind of robbery from those Icarians whom poverty hinders from coming to us and who could be enabled to come if the Colony would use care and economy; and if any member of the Colony should say: "I have no need of being careful and economizing, since it is the community which defrays expenses," he will violate at once all the principles and all his engagements.

34th. Not to *hunt* or *fish* as a recreation.

As a means of furnishing aliment, hunting and fishing can be useful & considered as a work and a function, and then it will be necessary to select the hunters and fishermen experienced and practiced, organizing them in a manner as to render their labor fruitful; but considered as pleasures, hunting and fishing would be individual pleasures, fatiguing, perilous, expensive and opposed to the Icarian principles. What would become of the women, on the days of rest, should the men abandon them to amuse themselves in the chase or fishing? And then, was it to amuse themselves that the Icarians left their country and came three thousand leagues, taking upon themselves the title of soldiers of Humanity? While the Icarians shall be on the march in the desert, they should have guns to defend themselves and to furnish nourriture from the chase; but when they are settled, to spend money for arms and powder to amuse themselves in killing worthless animals, is an inconsequence.

35th. To observe *silence*.

Silence is a necessity, at the school, in the office, at the infirmary, in a course, in a public assembly; at the table it is a rule generally adopted, as in the large meetings; in the workshop during the work it is still a kind of necessity if they wish that each one work without hindering others from working.

We do not speak of the words and the noise which are necessary to the execution of labor itself, but of those causes which are foreign to labor and which hinder or injure it.

It is a torment, says some one perhaps! But there are many others of them, thousands of others in the old society! To have all the advantages of association it is necessary to make some sacrifices. Hence there is no community without labor and no labor without silence. Experience has enlightened us. Many of the difficulties experienced by the Colony up to the present have originated in prattles or discussions in the workshops, discussions which have nearly always resulted in calumnies, in criticisms, which have produced trouble in the Society.

It is necessary also to avoid screaming out and making useless noise which may incommode some one.

36th. To love *organization* and *order*.

It is true that *organization* and *order* are restraints upon liberty; but this restraint is a necessity; for without organization and without order no labor, no production, no society is possible.

37th. To submit to *discipline*.

It is the same thing with discipline: without it, there is no labor, no Society possible. We know that the word *discipline* is offensive to some ears; but why should Icarians feel themselves wounded or humiliated by having, in all their great moveable workshops, & in all their great works, chiefs or directors, when those directors are chosen

by themselves, for the general interest of labor, when each workman can be a director, and when those who direct or command are obliged to do it with fraternity? He is not an Icarian who is not willing to take the engagement to obey without resistance and without murmur; for this would produce anarchy, which would paralyse everything, and there would be discord and chaos which would destroy the Society. If there be any then who are not willing to submit to organization and order, let them not come to Icaria; for all agree in saying that *quality* is to be preferred to *quantity*.

38th. To be disposed *to marry* when it can be done.

Marriage is the ordinary and general rule in Icaria; society, order and peace are there founded upon marriage and family; Community will be perfect there only when it shall have no celibacy.

39th. To adopt for their *Religion*, the TRUE CHRISTIANITY, and for their *worship* the practice of FRATERNITY.

When Icaria shall arrive to perfection, when the Icarian education shall have formed generations the most enlightened and the most untrammeled by superstitious prepossessions and prejudices, the most complete liberty will then protect all religious opinions and all worships, if it be possible that the highest development of human intelligence and human reason in all the Icarians shall not form the same opinion upon religion and worship as upon all other questions. But at present, and during the epoch of formation, it is necessary that all those who present themselves to enter Icaria have the same religion and the same worship to evade all discussions and all quarrels upon this subject. And this Icarian Religon is Christianity in its primitive purity as it is exposed in a work entitled: TRUE CHRISTIANITY, based upon the idea of a first cause called Nature or God, considered as the Father of all men. All those who wish to profess and proclaim Materialism, or Atheism, or Catholicism, and who wish the catholic worship with its cathedrals, its priests, its confession and its ceremonies, are perfectly free to have them and we will respect their opinions; but let them not come amongst us, because we have need of harmony and of unity.

40th. To engage *never to be hostile*.

To be hostile towards the Community for which they have sworn love and devotion, towards comrads whom they have adopted for brothers, would be a monstrosity. Yet, we have seen this monstrosity, and it has done us injury. It is on this account that we require the applicant to take the engagement which he can do upon his arrival, never to be *hostile*.

41st. *To take nothing away*, in spite of the Society.

This would be a real theft, which might disorganize and compromise the Society. Yet, a sad experience condemns us to demand the formal engagement to carry nothing

away without the consent of the Community.

42nd. It is as necessary for women, married or unmarried, to fulfil all the foregoing conditions as for men.

There are stronger reasons for making woman comply with the conditions than man; for when she is not imbued with the spirit of Icarianism, she can draw her husband away and bring to the Community more trouble and disorder. We have had sad experiences of this in 1849; there were some women who called themselves Icarians but who were not, who by no means understood our doctrines, who had only egotism and vainty [sic: vanity] with ignorance, without social qualities and without judgement, and who left France only to screen their husbands from the persecution which their revolutionary conduct had drawn upon them; these women, we say, have been the principal cause of desertions and withdrawals, by their influence upon feeble and blind husbands.

43rd. To guarantee that his wife has really fulfilled all the conditions.

In order to be admitted with their wives, several Icarians have declared that their wives possessed the same principles while in reality they did not, and had only left their homes from a kind of restraint, or from some motive of personal and selfish interest. This was a fault infinitely grave on the part of the husbands, it was wanting in the first duty of an Icarian, which should be *devotion* to the Community.

44th. To guarantee that his children have no essential vices, either moral or physical.

Children, who will be born in Icaria and of whom the Community will have charge of the education, will have no vices which will be difficult to correct. In some years when the Community shall have suficient means, in money, in lodgings, and in instructors, she can take charge of from one to ten thousand children without dreading their faults, their bad habits or even their vices; but during the first years of formation, the bad habits and the vices of some children, especially those a little advanced in age, may occasion grave difficulites, as we know but too well by experience. It is necessary then that the children have no essential defects and that their parents warrant therein, under their moral responsibility.

45th. To consent that the Community dispose completely of the children.

The education of the child should commence at its birth,and this education will form the strength and hope of the Community. It is necessary that the Community dispose entirely of the children, from their birth, without being constrained by their parents. Without doubt the mother should have the right of nursing her child; but all the questions which relate to his physical, moral and intellectual education concern the Community. Yet there are mothers, ignorant and obstinate, opposed to all amelioration, to all reform, who

have compromised the health and even the life of their children, by a blind tenderness and by senseless prejudices. Hence it is necessary that each one formally give their consent to this condition. If there are those to whom this condition is repugnant they are at perfect liberty to reject it; but let them not present themselves for admission, for they are not Icarians.

46th. To accept the *Constitution*, deliberated and adopted at Nauvoo, with all the *laws* and *declarations*, made and to be made, and to engage to execute them without criticism and without murmuring.

This is a manifest necessity without this faithful execution there is no Society possible; and one of our most essential political principles is that each one has a perfect right to oppose any *project of laws*; but that after a free and regular vote, the *minority* should submit to the *majority* and execute the law as a sacred thing.

47th. To remit, on arriving at Nauvoo, the following information.

1st, A detailed account of all that they bring with them: money, clothing, linen, property, utensils, books, &c.; -- 2nd, a written and subscribed testimony to adopt the Constitution and all the foregoing conditions; -- 3rd, a demand for admisssion.

48th. The applicant should present himself before a Commission charged with verifying his informations, -- of interrogating and examining him, -- of opening an inquest, -- and of making its report to the Gerance and to the General-Assembly, who shall proclame upon his demand for admission.

Made at Nauvoo on January 22d 1850.
Published at Paris on June 12th 1850.

CABET
President of the Icarian Society

APPENDIX B

ACT OF DONATION
to the
ICARIAN COMMUNITY
(By Jeune Icarie members)

Know all men by these presents that we: Antoinette Cubels, Thérése James, Louise Bettannier, Marie Mourot, Madeleine Vallet, Valentine Vallet, Louise Péron, Léonie Dereure, Francoise Leroux, Adéle Gauvain, Emilie Fugier, Maria Laforgue, Henriette Vallet, Caroline Gauvain, Jean Haegen, Michael Brumme, Antoine Gauvain, Emile Fugier, Alexis Marchand, Simon Dereure, Jerôme Laforgue, Paul Leroux, Emile Péron, Eugène Mourot, Pierre James, Justin Vallet, Auguste Gauvain, Alexandre Vallet, being members of the Icarian Community of Adams County, Iowa, and being desirous of promoting its interests, and of establishing a perpetual fund for the promotion of the business and principles of said Corporation, as set forth in its Articles of Incorporation adopted and recorded in Book No. 2, of Miscellaneous, page 372 in the office of Recorder of Deeds, Adams County, Iowa. -- do hereby donate, assign, and set over, unto the said Corporation, each for ourselves, the several sums, property, rights, and credits as follows, to with:

All our right, title and interest unto the several sums, subscribed by us, on the books of said Corporation, being the property and interest received by us as our share of the old Corporation of Icarian Community, and which we were found to be entitled to by a Board of Arbitration that was selected to settle up between the members of the Old Icarian Community; the same to be held by said Corporation to them and their successors forever, never to be divided between the individual members of said Corporatlion under any circumstances whatever; but to be used by the Corporation for the general purposes of its organization, and in case said Corporation shall for any reason dissolve, and fails to keep its organization renewal from time to time, upon such dissolution, the above amount as donated, after the payment of debts of the Corporation, shall be accounted for and paid over to any number of Icarians, who shall become incorporated on the same principles and for the same purposes as are set forth in the Articles and By-Laws of this Corporation.

It being understood by the donators hereof, the capital hereby donated is to be capital stock of the said Corporation, only stipulating that it shall not be subject to a division in case of dissolution, but shall go to any number of Icarians who may reorganize in case of such dissolution, on the same terms as now donate, stipulating farther that the Corporation shall use such sums from time to time as the majority may deem sufficient in publishing, advertising and circulating the business and principles of the Corporation.

STATE OF IOWA
Adams County.
[witnessed on April 22, 1879 by Fannie J. Maley, Notary Public and recorded on April 28, 1879 in Book 2, Miscellaneous, p. 378, by Jonas P. Cupp, Recorder.[1]]

APPENDIX C

LAW UPON ADMISSION into the ICARIAN COMMUNITY[2] [Jeune Icarie]

SECTION I. Preliminary Considerations.

The practice of the principles of pure democracy, the realization of the economic system which includes the most rational ideas of contemporaneous Socialism, and which is, so to speak, its synthetic ideal conception, collides with serious obstacles, in these days when the lack of moral culture is the general rule.

It is not without difficulties, without suffering, without severe trials, that an experiment, unique in its nature, is made upon a corner of the American continent, to embody in concrete living form the objects that are regarded by minds the most fully emancipated from the errors of our epoch as the supreme end toward which humanity tends, in its evolutionary march toward better and better forms of society -- that is, forms that are more and more just. The power to pass with a single leap the immense distance which separates this new social order from the old order is not given indiscriminately to all. For Individualism and Communism being at the antipodes of each other, it is necessary that one should be endowed with a will, a courage, a self-control, not at all common, to pass suddenly and safely from the first mode of life into the second.

Not that this fact depends on defects inherent in Communism, or that it is derived from some abstruse social combinations, or some political complication, difficult to conceive, since there is no politico-social organism more simple, more clear, more open to all minds, nor, above all, more equitable, than the Community organization. An instant's reflection suffices to comprehend that where the *needs* determine the *rights*, and where *abilities* furnish the measure of *duties*, the social problem is simplified to such a degree that no accounts are required between associates, and that REASON alone, taking inspiration from the means and the circumstances, gives the true rule of conduct -- the law of laws.

One comprehends also that from the day in which individual accounts cease individual interest is merged in the general interest, and that as a consequence the source of all evils and contentions is dried up.

It is not, therefore, to Communism, abstractly considered, that must be attributed the checks and reverses to which hitherto the attempt to realize in our epoch the social form of the future has been subjected. These misfortunes are the effects of a multitude of causes which are foreign to it.

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[1] Péron Brief History, 25-7. 19 Articles of Incorporation had been recorded April 16, 1879.

[2] This May 1, 1879 document with 23 articles for admission to Jeune Icarie were printed in Péron Brief History, 30-34. [Also available in a French edition.]

Among these causes there is one which makes itself particularly felt: it is the difficulty of recruiting with families whose habits, unselfishness and education permit them to live a life so intimate in its daily associations as the communistic life and to whom all labor, from the most humble to the most exalted, appears equally honorable because equally necessary.

Why should there be astonishment at the difficulty of finding such recruits in individualistic society, since it inspires only egotism in the greater part of its members, develops in them only the desire of distinction, of superiority, and sanctions with violence the odious régime of classes?

But that which is difficult is not impossible. There are certainly in the world a goodly number of persons that the false morals and doctrines of individualism have not been able to corrupt, and who consequently combine the necessary conditions for the practice of the most radical principles of Socialism.

Now it is only with these elements that one can attempt to make a durable model of social organization which, in our opinion, will finally govern the generations of the future. It is only with them that one can found Icaria.

These considerations make it our duty to give to all applicants for admission into Icaria the following salutary council:

If, in making application for admission into Icaria, you are moved only by personal or family considerations, -- remain where you are!

If your application is dictated only by the hope of finding in Icaria better living, better lodging, a better dwelling, better clothes, and less work to do, -- remain where you are!

If you are accustomed to gratifying certain fancies, little cravings, such as drinking beer, wine, or coffee at every repast, etc., etc., and are not able to deprive yourself of these things, at least for some years, or until Icaria shall be sufficiently developed to give to its members not only necessaries but luxuries; if you do not know how to be useful and not burdensome, -- remain where you are!

If you are not thoroughly convinced of the superiority of Communism over all other social systems; if you are not a pure Commmunist; if you are subject to the impulses of egotism; if you are not capable of subordinating what you believe to be your individual interest to the general interest; if you fear that you will not be able to live where everything is common, even money, property, and objects of general use that you would bring on entering; if you are unable to endure contradiction, opposition of opinion, the rejection of your propositions by the General Assembly; if your temperament renders the faults of others insupportable to you; if you cannot consider Icaria as a humanitarian society where your first duty is to accelerate social progress upon the earth by the greatest possible propagandism of the principles of the Community; if for you this consideration does not take the place of more sensual gratifications, and you cannot consent that a part of the fruit of your labor should be consecrated to this work; if the practice of equality in proportion to the needs and faculties shocks your feelings; if you cannot tolerate equality of the sexes, nor leave the control of your children to the Society; if all these conditions are impossible to you, it will not be counted a crime to you, but then do not come to

Icaria, for you would not be happy and could not make a long sojourn. Better remain where you are and strive for personal improvement.

SECTION II.-- *Admission.*

ART. 1. Admission into the Community is at first provisional, then definitive or absolute.

ART. 2. These two forms of admission are decided by the General Assembly, but require the presence of at least two-thirds of its members having the right to vote.

SECTION III.-- *Provisional Admission.*

ART. 3. Provisional admission may take place while the candidate is at his home outside of the Community.

ART. 4. The candidate should make his application in writing, and add to it --

(1.) A short biographical sketch, giving the principal features of his life, his exact age, his place of birth, his profession, his family position, the habitual state of his health, and that of his wife and children, stating also whether he has infirmities, apparent or concealed.

(2.) A profession of faith and a declaration by which he affirms that he has read and well understands the Constitution, the Articles of Incorporation in the State of Iowa,[3] the conditions of admission into the Community, and that he adopts them without reservation.

(3.) A detailed statement of his possessions in money, in credits, in real and personal property, indicating also whether the latter can be turned into ready money, and how it is situated.

ART. 5. When the applicant shall have a family, his wife and such of his children as are of adult age shall be subject to the same conditions of admission as himself.

ART. 6. In this case, the provisional and absolute admission of the husband shall involve that of the wife and *vice versa*. The admission must take place, in the case of married people, by couples.

ART. 7. When the applicants shall have children under fourteen years, the admission of the parents will include their children.

ART. 8. But when the candidate shall have children more than fourteen years of age at the time of their arrival in Icaria, they shall be required to pass through all the formalities of definitive admission, like other candidates, at the age which gives them the right of voting, that is when they become twenty years old.

ART. 9. When the Assembly shall consider itself sufficiently informed respecting applicants, it shall by a viva-voce vote decide upon their provisional admission -- a

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[3] Prudhommeaux's Appendixes have the Icarian Constitutions written at Nauvoo (1850); Cheltenham (1859); Jeune Icarie (1879); Nouvelle Icarie (1879) and (1880). Shaw's Appendix III has the 62 articles of the Contract and Articles of Agreement of the Icaria-Speranza Commune [n.d.]. Prudhommeaux has Acts of Incorporation for State of Illinois (1851) and State of Iowa (1860). The Jeune Icarie Act of Incorporation (1879) is in Peron's Brief History 25-27.

majority of two-thirds of the members having the voting privilege being necessary for a decision.

ART. 10. It shall immediately fix a date when the provisional member may leave his present home to join the Community.

ART. 11. On arriving, the provisional member should immediately deposit in the hands of the Secretary-Treasurer:

(1.) A list of his outfit of clothing, and that of his wife and children, which should be in good condition and sufficient to last for at least one year.

(2.) A list of his tools.

(3.) All his money, his jewels, his deeds of property, and his credits.

(4.) A declaration over his signature that he will demand no wages for himself, nor for his wife, nor for his children, in case of voluntary or constrained withdrawal during his novitiate.

ART. 12. When these formalities shall have taken place, the provisional member shall participate in the benefits and privileges of the Community with the same rights as full members.

ART. 13. The term of the novitiate is strictly set at six months, to date from the day of the arrival of the candidate in Icaria.

ART. 14. A vote of two-thirds of the members of the Assembly can prolong the term of the novitiate four months.

ART. 15. Upon the demand of at least five voting members, and by a subsequent vote of a majority of the members of the Assembly, a provisional member can be constrained to withdraw from the community at any time previous to the expiration of his novitiate.

SECTION IV. -- *Definitive Admisssions.*

ART. 16. During the last fifteen days of their novitiate the provisional members shall make a written application for full membership.

ART. 17. Within the same time the candidate shall appear before the Committee on Admissions, who shall interrogate him upon Community principles, satisfying themselves whether he fulfills all the conditions legally required, and whether all the formalities have been complied with.

ART. 18. The Committee on Admissions shall make a report to the General Assembly, including a recommendation of the acceptance or rejection of the candidate.

ART. 19. The candidate shall not be present in the Assembly while the Committee is making its report and their report is under discussion. Nevertheless five members shall have the power to call him before the Assembly and to put to him such questions as they may deem useful in enlightening them before the vote is taken.

ART. 20. After the discussion, the Assembly shall pronounce by Yea and Nay, the roll being called, and by a two-thirds majority of all members having the right to vote, upon the full admission of the candidate into the Community.

ART. 21. When the provisional members shall not have received two-thirds of the votes for their full admission, the Assembly shall set a time during which they shall withdraw from the Community, which delay shall not exceed two months.

ART. 22. The persons thus rejected shall claim no wages nor any kind of

retribution for labor performed or services rendered during said time. It is stipulated in advance that food and lodging are a sufficient compensation.

ART. 23. The present law is subject to revision every six months, beginning May 1, 1879, and by the absolute majority of the members of the General Assembly.

APPENDIX D

LAW
UPON WITHDRAWAL AND EXPULSION
from the
ICARIAN COMMUNITY
[Jeune Icarie]

SECTION I. -- *Preamble.*

When a person has resolved to live in Communism, and has made his demand for admission into Icaria, the greatest prudence, the most serious reflection, should be exercised in the accomplishment of the act, which, by its good or bad results may be classed among the most important acts of his life.

No inconsiderate enthusiasm for the beauty of the Icarian system should influence his mind, nor have weight in his decision. It is important that he separate from the causes of his determination all sentimentalism, all enthusiasm of a nature to conceal the truth from his eyes and make him conceive of the Community as much more beautiful, more developed, more perfect than it really is, and its members better than they really are.

In the distance defects are unperceived, forms harmonize, all is embellished; men are exalted in their merit, and things appear more beautiful than they are.

But if it is necessary that one should always be on his guard against mirages and illusion, it is especially important that he should do so in reference to an act which, may result in the future, in regrets to all concerned.

Icaria does not escape the rule of illusions! The experience of many years demonstrates, on the contrary, that the hope of ameliorating his situation, the idea which he generally forms of Icaria and Icarians, the joy that he experiences in the thought of being able to live according to his principles, exercises over every distant candidate an irresistible enchantment, which in many cases suffices to conceal from him the inconveniences of our Society of equality, and leave on his mind only a conception of its advantages.

To these natural inclinations toward the transports of enthusiasm are added the great influence of the writings of Cabet, picturing the splendors that Communism shall one day realize, and also the favorable impression that the regular publication of LA JEUNE ICARIE cannot fail to exercise over the mind, by its exposition of the organization, the principles, and the grandeur of the end which the Community proposes to itself.

But in all things -- it is necessary to repeat -- it is a long distance from the desire to the realization, from the principle to the fact, from the theory to the practical embodiment; and what is true elsewhere is true also in Icaria. Those who desire to join it ought to be thoroughly impressed with this fact, and act only after having thoroughly considered the gravity of the situation.

For, let us not forget, enthsiasm is ephemeral! When its inspiration has passed, deceptions, discouragement, succeed to the enchantment, and a prompt return to

individualism is often the sad consequence of it.

Theoretically, quitting old society to embrace the Communistic life should be an irrevocable act. Those who join themselves to the Community should do it for all time; and whatever property they possess should be deposited in the social fund without power of recall. For if it is reasonable that one should withdraw himself from the iniquities of individualism, to adopt a better form of association, there can be no reason for quitting the latter in order to live again under the yoke of laws which one has once rejected with all his convictions.

Change for the better is logical; returning upon one's steps, in the path of progress, is an absurdity.

Moreover, withdrawal often involves a multitude of inconveniences for the Society and the seceders.

In what concerns the definite deposit of property there is, in fact, a certain inequality in this respect, that one family can retain some rights over a deposit while others have nothing which belongs to themselves.

It is true that the inequality reappears only on the morrow of their departure. While persons live in Icaria equality is perfect as regards possession. But for the Communists this difference with the seceders is not less an evil, which the financial weakness of Icaria can alone justify.

Later, when the Community shall have grown, when its production shall be better assured and its general situation prosperous, it will be able, while giving increased comforts to its members, to exact guarantees of stability, and to establish equality even in the case of withdrawing members.

Meanwhile many inconveniences would result from holding too rigorously to principles deduced from pure reason, and upon this point, as upon others, it is necessary to conform to the exigencies of practical life.

Nevertheless, the sincere and firm intention to remain permanently in Icaria should be the basis of the application of every candidate.

But since the weakness and variableness of men compel us to anticipate withdrawals, and since, on the other hand, a member may so disregard his duties that the Society will feel itself under obligation to exclude him, it is important to regulate in advance, in the interest of seceders and of the Society, the conditions which shall govern voluntary or constrained withdrawals.

SECTION II. -- *Withdrawal.*

ARTICLE 1. Every member, provisional or absolute, can at any time, by giving notice to the delegates one month in advance, withdraw from the Community.

ART. 2. The withdrawing member shall give notice of his purpose in a written paper or letter of withdrawal.

ART. 3. The withdrawing members shall not be relieved of his duties until the Assembly shall have passed a vote accepting his resignation of membership.

SECTION III. -- *Withdrawal in the Novitiate.*

ART. 4. When a provisional member shall decide to withdraw, the money, deeds, jewelry, credits, tools, and other things that he may have deposited on entering, with the knowledge of the Trustees, shall be returned to him.

ART. 5. The provisional member, being considered in everything save voting a full member, no interest, rent or revenue whatsoever, be it in money or in commodities which shall have been obtained by money, the credits or the property that he shall have deposited upon entrance, shall be returned to him. The revenue in all its forms belongs to the Community.

SECTION IV.-- *Withdrawal of Full Members.*

ART. 6. After having accepted the resignation of a full member, the General Assembly shall take into consideration the time that said member has passed in the Community, the services that he has rendered to it, the value of his deposit, the condition of his family, his personal resources, and allow to him, under the title of gift, such sum of money or such property as the financial condition and interest of the community, being well considered, shall at the time permit it to give.

ART. 7. The withdrawal of the husband involves the withdrawal of the wife, and *vice versa*, also the withdrawal of their children under twenty years of age. By a two-thirds vote the latter may be readmitted upon their application.

SECTION V. -- *Cash Deposits.*

ART. 8. When a member who has deposited in the common treasury more than a hundred dollars shall have offered his resignation of membership, the General Assembly shall designate the times and the successive payments in the refunding of such deposit.

ART. 9. Desposits not exceeding one hundred dollars shall be refunded within one year after the withdrawal of the depositer.

ART. 10. The same amount shall be refunded that was deposited; that is, it shall be refunded without interest.

ART. 11. Likewise, after the dismissal of a member, the sums which the Community shall refund to him in partial payments, by the direction of the General Assembly, shall not bear interest. The exact amount contributed shall be refunded.

ART. 12. Articles 8, 9, 11 shall be in force until the present debt of the Community is paid.

ART. 13. After that the General Assembly shall have the power to determine in advance the sums which shall be refunded yearly in case of withdrawal.

SECTION VI. -- *Deposits other than in Cash.*

ART. 14. When a member shall contribute to the Community a deposit other than cash, such as houses, lands, credits, mortgages, horses, cattle, etc., the said deposit, with a statement of its character, shall be recorded to the credit of the member on the books of

the Community.

ART. 15. In case of withdrawal this deposit shall in the course of six months be returned to him in the condition in which it shall be at the time.

ART. 16. When the Community shall have sold a part or the whole of the lands, houses or property of any kind, deposited by a member, the net product of this sale shall be placed to the account of said depositer, and he shall be reimbursed just as though his deposit had been made in ready money.

ART. 17. The tools, arms, instruments, machines, books, furniture, etc., shall be returned immediately and in the condition in which they are at the time of withdrawal.

ART. 18. No damage or indemnity shall be accorded for tools, instruments, or property of any kind, which shall have been mislaid, used, damaged, or destroyed.

SECTION VII. -- *Special Contracts.*

ART. 19. When a candidate shall possess considerable money, and the conditions of the present law shall prevent his admission, the Community may make a special contract with him respecting the manner in which his capital shall be refunded in case of his withdrawal.

ART. 20. Nevertheless this special contract shall not be in opposition to article 10, concerning the non-payment of interest for time anterior to withdrawal.

ART. 21. Special contracts shall be recorded upon the books of the Community at the pages devoted to the contracting persons, and signed by the latter and two Trustees.

SECTION VIII. -- *Expulsion.*

ART. 22. When a member shall not wish to conform to the laws; when he shall refuse to fulfill his duties; when he shall conduct himself improperly toward his associates; when his general attitude shall constitute a real danger to the Society, he can be expelled by a vote of two-thirds of the members.

ART. 23. This expulsion can only take place when the accused has been notified of the misdemeanors charged against him ten days in advance of the day for their investigation, and he shall have been given full liberty to defend himself before the Assembly.

ART. 24. As in admission so in dismission, the expulsion of the husband implies the withdrawal of his wife and reciprocally, also the withdrawal of the children under twenty year of age.

ART. 25. Expelled members shall be settled with in accordance with the law upon withdrawals, as in the case of dismissed members.

SECTION IX. -- *Revision.*

ART. 26. The present law is subject to annual revision beginning from the 1st of May, 1879, by a majority of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly.

This law was unanimously approved by the General Assembly Dec. 8, 1879.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. SOURCES

A. Manuscript Sources

1. The Center for Icarian Studies (CIS) at Western Illinois University, Macomb, Illinois was the largest US source for materials used in this study. It was established in 1977 with the goal of bringing together in one place all material dealing with, or written by the Icarians. The archives contains microfilms of Icarian documents from the Lovejoy Library, University of Southern Illinois - Edwardsville (SIUE), Le Populaire, and other Icarian newspapers, as well as valuable acquisitons donated by Icarian descendants. Robert P. Sutton is the Director of the Center. The CIS Archives Specialist is Marla Vizdal.

2. Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris (BHVP). Papiers Cabet. This French archive has an extensive collection of Cabet's correspondence, mostly from the 1840s. There were a number of letters to Cabet from Icarian women and some of his replies to them.

3. International Instituut voor Sociale Geschiendenis (IISG) Archief Cabet. The Institute has most of the Cabet - Beluze correspondence and manuscripts dealing with the American Colonies. This material records the problems Cabet had with women and with his educational arrangement. It acquired the documents accessed by Prudhommeaux for his 1907 study. Kees Rodenburg heads the French Research section.

4. Adams County Icarian Society (ACIS), Corning, Iowa. The Icarian Society in Iowa has copies of many of the Icarian newspapers, legal documents, letters, photos, and written works. It has acquired materials used by Paul S. Gauthier for his text on the Icarians as well as the documents and books donated by Wayne H.Wheeler of the University of Nebraska. Wheeler did extensive historiography research on the Icarian Colonies.

B. Printed Sources

1. The following are the relevant works of Étienne Cabet utilized in this study, listed in chronological order. A more extensive catalog of Cabet's Icarian documents can be found in the dissertation of Christopher H. Johnson, "Étienne Cabet and the Icarian Communist Movement in France, 1839-1848." Ph.D. History: University of Wisconsin, 1968 and in Jules Prudhommeaux, Icarie et son Fondateur Étienne Cabet (Paris: Edouard Cornély & cie, 1907).

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___. Woman: Her Qualities, Titles, and Rights. English translation. Nauvoo: Icarian Printing, 1855. Original La Femme, ses qualités, ses titres, ses droits; son malheureux sort dans la présente société; causes du mal; remède; son bonheur dans la communauté. Paris, 1844. Seventh letter of Douze lettres.

___. Le Vrai Christianisme suivant Jésus-Christ. Paris: Bureau du Populaire, 1846.

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___. Meeting des Citoyens de Nauvoo à l'establissement des Icariens. August 6, 1949. CIS SIUE.

___. Influence et manoeuvres des Jésuites. [n.d. ~ fall 1849]

___. Icarian Community Conditions of Admission. reprint of original in Paris: June 12, 1850. Nauvoo: Icarian Printing, 1854. Gauthier Collection, ACIS.

___. Constitution de la Communauté Icarienne votée à l'unanimite le 21 Février 1850 et révisée, discutée et votée de nouveau à l'unanimité le 4 Mai 1851. Nauvoo: Imprimerie Icarienne, 1851. ACIS.

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___. Ce que je ferais si j'avais 500,000 dollars. Paris: 3 rue Baillet, 1854. CIS SIUE.

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___. Colonie ou République Icarienne dans les États-Unis d'Amérique, son Histoire. deuxième édition Paris: chez l'auteur, 3 rue baillet; et chez tous les libraires, Juillet 1855. ACIS.

___. Colonie Icarienne aux États-Unis d'Amérique. Sa Constitution, ses lois, sa

situation materiélle et morale, après le premier semestre 1855. Paris: Chez l'auteur, 3 rue baillet; et chez tous les libraires, Janvier 1856. Detroit Public Library, Detroit, MI.

___. Guerre à mort de l'opposition contre le cit. Cabet, Fondateur et President d'Icarie et mémorable séance de la nuit du 12 au 13 mai 1856 de 7 1/2 du soir à 6 du matin. Nauvoo: Typographie Icarienne, 1856. ACIS.

___. Le Cit. Mourot n'a-t-il pas une mission en Icarie. Nauvoo: Typographie Icarienne, 1856. ACIS.

___. Toute la vérité. Nauvoo: Imprimerie Icarienne, May 3,1856. ACIS.

___. Farewell of Mr. Cabet and the True Icarians to the Inhabitants of Nauvoo. Icarian Studies Newsletter, Summer 1984, 2. CIS.

2. Brochures and Books by Icarians, former Icarians, and those closely associated with them. (Not chronological.) These works contain material pertinent to the understanding of women acquainted with Cabet before and after the US emigration. The writings by Marie Marchand Ross who was born in the Colony, contain many useful details about the period after the 1860s.

Anonymous. "Anonymous Account of The Revolution of 1848." MS 1047 BHVP.

Crétinon, Jean-François, and Lacour, François-Marie, "Allons en Icarie" Deux ouvriers viennois aux États-Unis en 1855, textes établis et présentés par Fernand Rude, Grenoble: 1980.

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Ross, Marie Marchand. Child of Icaria. original Bethel, Conn. 1938 reprint Corning: Gauthier Publishing Co. 1986.

3. Newspapers and Almanacs by Cabet and the Icarians. Select newspapers.
The three newspapers edited by Jules Leroux, stored at the Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkely, are included in this list. Leroux had an exceptional 'contract' with the Iowa Icarians, drawn up because they wanted a 'propaganda' outlet. He was not a bona fide member, but his newspapers had articles about their activities. In 1878, his press machinery was used to print the Jeune Icarie newspaper. Leroux's death ended comments about the Icarians in California. However, the editor of the local paper, Cloverdale Reveille, made annual trips to France and was interested in the French Colony. His paper contained useful material related to the Icarians and local events. I examined the Reveille microfilms stored at the Cloverdale Library from the 1880s to the 1890s. Cabet and the Icarians were the subject of many newspaper articles in New York, New Orleans, Illinois, Iowa, London, and France, that I have foot-noted when cited but not listed separately.

Almanach Icarien astronomique, scientifique, pratique, industriel, statistique. Cabet, ed. Paris: Bureau du Populaire, 1846. Special Collections: Labadie Rare Book Room, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

Cloverdale Reveille. Microfilms Cloverdale Public Library. Cloverdale, California.

ColonieIcarienne. 70 pages of typescript copy dated from July 19, 1854 to October 9, 1954. CIS SIUE. This paper appeared in English and French editions.

L'Étoile du Kansas organe de la République française et universelle. ed. Jules Leroux. Kansas: January 1, 1873. Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.

L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa organe de la République française et universelle. ed. Jules Leroux. Corning: January 1, 1877. Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.

L'Étoile des Pauvres et des Souffrants (anciennement: L'Étoile du Kansas et de l'Iowa) organe du Communisme liberateur des Peuples et de l'Individu. ed. Jules Leroux. St. Helena, Napa Co., California: February 1, 1881. Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.

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ABSTRACT

GENDERED UTOPIA: WOMEN IN THE ICARIAN EXPERIENCE, 1840-1898

by

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May 1998

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Major: History

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy

Etienne Cabet's utopian novel, Voyage en Icarie (1840), depicted a country organized according to the French Revolutionary principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity that he equated with Christ's tutelages. Its National Assembly of citizens exercised the reason that Cabet deemed Nature had given men to pass beneficial laws which provided for the lifetime needs of all. This research began with an exploration of the background sources Cabet used in his utopia, especially those related to women. Icarians boasted that they had female doctors, surgeons, and priestesses. Everyone was able to choose a marriage partner without a dowry and were permitted divorce. Children of both sexes were educated equally, albeit in separate schools. Many women readers joined their supportive voices to those of workers, artisans, and thoughtful intellectuals who praised Cabet's utopian society. A large Icarian movement developed during the 1840 decade.

Soon after the novel's companion text, Vrai Christianisme, appeared in 1846, Cabet announced his plan to set up an Icarian community in Texas. However, he found it

difficult to convince women to leave. His newspaper esssays stressed that Icarians would be dedicated to women's affranchissement (liberation) and many were persuaded to join the emigration. The first Advance Guard departed for Texas three weeks before the 1848 Revolution. This upheaval disrupted the livelihood of countless Icarians. Of singular significance at that time however, was Cabet's support for Icarian women that he began calling citoyennes. They were linked with a feminist movement that advocated women's inclusion in France's 'universal' suffrage proposals. Consequently, some women who left for the Colony demanded political rights which were not present in Cabet's novel. Shortly after their arrival, Assembly men voted to place children over age two in boarding schools with parental visits limited to Sunday afternoons. Women's dissatisfaction with this and other laws that they lacked power to change caused many withdrawals. Cabet complained that 'ignorant' and 'obstinate' women led their 'weak-minded' husbands out. He reported that women caused 90% of his troubles each day. After six years, he believed that "all the mothers" were against him. A secret group of 'Mariannes' joined 'Red' party conspirators in an 1856 'war' that divided the colony. Cabet died shortly after the group separated.

The two Icarian factions relocated but continued to be effected by women's pursuit of political rights. When another 'war' split their Iowa community in 1879, one branch wrote a Constitution granting women full electoral powers. Gender equity was not enough to overcome their economic problems and the colonies disbanded by 1898. This study of the multifarious incidents related to women's quest for equitable power for fifty years in seven Icarias expands the historical scholarship. It concluded that the Icarians attempt to create an ideal society was seriously marred by Cabet's defective gender concepts.

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